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A COLLECTION
OF
Tracts and Treatises.

A
COLLECTION
OF
TRACTS AND TREATISES
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
NATURAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES,
AND THE
Political and Social State
OF
I R E L A N D,

AT VARIOUS PERIODS PRIOR TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Treatises by BOATE, WARE, SPENSER, and DAVIS.

With an Index.

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IRELANDS
NATURALL HISTORY.

I R E L A N D S NATURALL HISTORY.

Being a true and ample Description of its
Situation, Greatness, Shape, and Nature ;
Of its Hills, Woods, Heaths, Bogs ; Of its Fruitfull Parts and
profitable Grounds, with the severall way of Manuring
and Improving the same :

With its Heads or Promontories, Harbours,
Roades and Bayes ;

Of its Springs and Fountaines, Brookes, Rivers, Loughs ;
Of its Metalls, Mineralls, Freestone, Marble, Sea-coal, Turf,
and other things that are taken out of the ground.

And lastly, of the Nature and temperature of its
Air and Season, and what diseases it is free from,
or subject unto.

Conducing to the Advancement of Navigation, Husbandry,
and other profitable Arts and Professions.

Written by *Gerard Boate*, late Doctor of Physick
to the State in *Ireland*.

And now Published

BY

SAMUELL HARTLIB, Esq ;

For the Common Good of *Ireland*, and more especially,
for the benefit of the Adventurers and Planters therein.

Imprinted at *London* for *John Wright* at the *Kings*
Head in the Old Bayley. 1652.

Common-wealths Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland,
and Chancellor of the Univerfity of
OXFORD.

To the Right Honorable

Commander in Chief (under the *Lord Generall Cromwell*)
of all the Forces in *IRELAND*.

IT is a very great and signal Truth, that *all the works of God* are both wonderfull and *precious, much sought out by all those that love him*: and it is the guilt of the wicked, that as *they regard not the Lord*, so they *consider not the Operation of his hands*; for the Lord hath *revealed his Truth, even his Godhead and his Eternall Power* by his Workes, that Rom. 1. 20. such as respect him not, in the Creation of the World, and in the wayes of his Providence, may be without excuse: Now it seems to me, that the end for which God hath not left himself without a Testimony in Nature, is not only, that we should in our spirit *glorifie him as God and be thankfull*, but that also Act. 14. 17. our Outward Man should be made sensible of his goodness, and partake of that supply of life, which by his appointment the Creature can yeeld unto us, *if happily we may feel after him and find him therein*. Act. 17. 27. So that such as respect him not in his wayes of Nature, being careless to seek them out, do make themselves also incapable of the blessings of Nature through

their ignorance and neglect of the good things which God hath provided for them thereby: *for all things are Ours, things present and things to come; and Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come:* for as by the act of Faith we are made capable of the good things of the life to come, because by the truth of God, as it is the Object of our Faith, they have a spirituall being and Subsistence in us; so by the act of Reason rightly ordered we are made partakers of the the benefit of this life, because by the effect of Gods Wisdome and Power in Nature, as they are the Objects of our Reasonable facultie, they have a bodily being and Subsistence in us: and as the Wisdome of God doth many wayes manifest it self, not only in Spirituall, but also in Outward and Bodily things, so there are many parts of Humane Learning, some whereof are subservient to the Private life of a single man, some to the comforts and Publick Use of a Society, and amongst all these parts of Learning which relate to a Society, I can conceive none more profitable in Nature, than that of Husbandry. For whether we reflect upon the first settlement of a Plantation, to prosper it, or upon the wealth of a Nation that is planted, to increase it, this is the Head spring of all the native Commerce and Trading which may be set afoot therein by any way whatsoever. Now to advance Husbandry either in the production and perfection of earthly benefits, or in the management thereof by way of Trading, I know nothing more usefull, than to have the knowledge of the Naturall History of each Nation advanced and perfected: For as it is evident, that except the benefits which God by Nature hath bestowed upon each Country be known, there can be no Industrie used towards the improvement and Husbandry thereof; so except Husbandry be improved, the industrie of Trading, whereof a Nation is capable, can neither be advanced or profitably upheld.

There is a twofold body, and a twofold life in man, which God hath created, the one is Naturall, the other Spirituall, and ^{1Cor.15.46} the Apostle tells us, *that the Spirituall is not first but the Naturall, and afterward that which is Spirituall;* as the Bodies and lives of men are ordered by God, so we must conceive of the frames of their Societies, that the Naturall is

before that which is Spirituall, and that in Gods aime it is a preparatory thereunto; although in the use which men make thereof, this aime is not obtained: for seeing *in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom hath not known God; therefore God* ^{1 Cor. 1.} *is pleased by another way which to the world doth seem foolishness, to manifest his Power and his Wisdom unto salvation, namely by the Preaching of the Gospel in the name of Iesus Christ and him crucified;* and although hitherto, since the death of Christ, the dispensation of wisdom hath not yet opened the conduit pipes of Naturall Knowledge to cause the souls of men to flow forth and partake of the life of God therein, by reason of the prevalencie of Sensuall inclinations, and of the want of due reflection upon Christ, in whom alone the perfect use of Nature is brought home to the glory of the Father, by the Spirit, yet when the time of *the Restauration of all things shall come from the presence of him who will come shortly and will not tarry*, then the works of the Devill, whereby he hath brought us, and the whole Creation under the bondage of Corruption, shall be destroyed, and when the Nature and Right use of the Creature by his means obscured, shall be revealed, then also the properties and application of the Creature *in the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God*, shall be subjected unto Grace.

These great and mighty changes, which God is making in the Earth, do tend to break the yokes of Vanity, and to weaken the Power, which hath wreathed the same upon the necks of the Nations, these Changes seem to me to presage the neer approaches of this Liberty, and the advancement of the ways of Learning, whereby the intellectuall Cabinets of Nature are opened, and the effects thereof discovered, more fully to us, than to former Ages, seem in like manner to prepare a plainer Address unto the right use thereof for us than our forefathers have had: which will be effectually to the manifestation of Gods Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, when the great promises shall be accomplished, *that the Earth shall* ^{Isa. 11.9.} *be filled with knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea, and that we shall be taught of God, from the least to the greatest:* and although *the Father hath reserved in his own hand the times and seasons*, wherein these promises are to be ^{Heb. 8.11.} fulfilled,

fulfilled, yet as by the dawning of the day we can know that the Sun is neer rising, so by the breaking of yoakes and the breaking forth of the means of more perfect knowledge, both in Naturall and Spirituall things we may see the drawing neer of the promises, which will in their own times Constitute
 Isa. 40. 5. *the day of Salvation unto all the Earth, wherein all flesh shall see the glory of the Lord together.*

The expectation of this day is *the hope of Israel*; and those that wait for the Lord, and his appearance therein, shall find a plentious redemption; namely such as having this hope *purifie themselves that they may be found in peace at his appearing*, and such as being solicitous to bestow their talents in their way and generation, to the advancement of his approaching Kingdom, shall approve themselves as faithfull servants to him in that day. Of this Number I am perswaded your Honours are in these Nations as Leading Men; therefore I have made bold thus to address myself unto you, and to inscribe this Work unto your Names, that it may see the light under your joint patronage. God hath made You very eminent Instruments to set forward one part of the preparatives of his great Work, the breaking of our yoakes, the other part, which is the Advancement of Spirituall and Naturall sanctified Knowledge, your Zeal, I am sure will carry you to countenance by the wayes which Providence shall open unto You. Therefore I hope it will not be without acceptance, what in this kind (though but a mean beginning) I have here offered. Your influence upon it to set forward Learned Endeavours of this Nature for a Publick Good may be a blessing unto Posteritie, and your relations of Eminent note, unto *Ireland*, to watch for the good thereof, and to the Universities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, to countenance all the meanes of profitable learning, have encouraged me to make this Dedication; besides the expressions of your Honours willingness, to favour me in my undertakings, which I knew no way so well to resent, as by offering to your Generous Inclinations, the Objects, which are worthy of being considered and set forward in order to a common good. I look also somewhat upon the hopefull appearance of Replanting *Ireland* shortly, not only by the

Adventurers, but happily by the calling in of exiled *Bohemians* and other Protestants also, and happily by the invitation of some well affected out of the *Low Countries*, which to advance are thoughts suitable to your noble genius, and to further the settlement thereof, the *Naturall History* of that Countrie will not be unfit, but very subservient. Thus beseeching the Lord to prosper all your undertakings to the glory of the Kingdom of Christ, I take my leave, and rest unfeignedly

Your Honours most

humble servant,

SAMUELL HARTLIB.

To the Reader.

Gentle Reader,

SOME particulars there are concerning this following Work, of which I think it fit you should be advertised: and for as much as I can tell you no more of them than what was written to me by the Authors most Loving and Learned Brother, give me leave, in stead of mine own Words to present you with his said Letter on that subject, being such as doth follow.

Sir,

I AM very glad to understand by you, that my Brothers work of the *Naturall History of Ireland*, is not only not lost, as I greatly feared it was, and that you have found it in perusing those books and papers of his, which he had left behind him at London; but that you are a going to print it, and have already contracted about it: by the doing whereof I am fully perswaded, that you will gain both credit and contentment, and that those shall no wayes be losers, who will be at the charges of doing the same. For though I say it, the work is excellent in its kind, as not only full of truth and certainty, but written with much judgment, order, and exactness; so as it is to be preferred before most *Naturall Histories* of particular Countries, and may well be equalled to the very best, for as much as there is done of it. For to make it a compleat *Naturall History*, there should be joyned to that

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which

which my Brother hath gone through two Books more, the one of all kind of Plants, and the other of all sorts of living Creatures; which also might have been expected of him if God had given him longer life. For he intended, as soon as he had published this part, to have fallen also to the rest, if he had found that he had not lost his labour on what was done already, and that it had met with a gratefull acceptance abroad, such as might have encouraged him to take further paines about the perfecting of it: in which case he was resolved to have also joined a Fourth book to those other Three, concerning the Natives of Ireland, and their old Fashions, Lawes, and Customes; as likewise the great paines taken by the English, ever since the Conquest, for to civilize them, and to improve the Countrie. You say you wonder, and others may justly concurre with you in that your wonderment, how a Countrie could be so accurately described by one, who never was in it. For although my Brother hath been in Ireland, and that he hath ended his dayes there, yet he had both begun and finished this First Book of his Naturall History of Ireland, some yeares before he went thither, or had any thoughts of doing so: seeing that he begun to write that work in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1645, and made an end of it long before the end of the same year: whereas he went not to Ireland untill the latter end of the year 1649, and dyed at Dublin within a very short while after he was arrived there, viz. on the 29th of Ianuary, 1650. Now to answer that difficulty moved by you, be pleased to know that I being come from Dublin to London in the beginning of May, 1644, and having stayed there untill the latter end of October, great part of that conversation which he and I had together during those six months, was spent in reasoning about Ireland, and about all manner of particulars concerning the Morall and Civill, but chiefly the Naturall History of the same: my Brother being very careful to inform himself of me, about all things appertaining thereunto. For besides that his curiositie, which was very great for to enrich his mind with all manner of laudable knowledge, was of itself alone capable enough for to make him inquisitive in that

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kind;

kind; he was there-besides led thereto by his own interest, having ventured great part of his estate upon the escheated lands there, according to the severall Acts made by the King and Parliament in that behalf. And having set down in writing what he had so heard of me, he conferred afterwards about the same with severall of those gentlemen, whom the bloody combustions of Ireland had driven away thence, and made to resort to London; he being very well acquainted with them, especially with Sir William Parsons and Sir Richard Parsons, which two having above all others a very perfect insight into that land, and into all matters belonging to the same, were wonderfull well able to satisfie any of those Questions, which from time to time he propounded unto them, either about those things that he had already learned of me, or about such others, of which he had forgot to speak to me, or on which I had not been able fully to inform him. In this manner he brought that Work together, the which to accomplish yet further, he sent to me still as much as he had finished, desiring me to review it diligently, and to add, put out, or alter, what I should see cause: wherein also, as in the first informations, I was not wanting to contribute whatever was necessary, as far forth as my knowledge did reach unto, and according to those Observations, unto which I had very studiously and with singular delight applied myself during those eight yeares that I lived in that Iland: whereunto I had so much the more opportunity, because that as my constant abode was in Dublin, so I made very many journeys into the Countrie, and by means thereof saw great part of it, especially of the Provinces of Leinster and Ulster, and by reason thereof also it would be an easie matter for me, to make-up those parts of this work which are still wanting. Thus I beleve to have fully taken away the forementioned Objection, and to have given you as perfect an account about the grounds and the manner of the writing of this Naturall History, as was expected by you. And having nothing else to trouble you with all at the present, I shall end these with my most hearty wishes, that notwithstanding any discouragements, or any want of incouragement, you would still go on in that most commend-

able purpose, of furthering as much as in you lieth all manner of reall and profitable knowledge: the which indeed hitherto you have done so largely on very many occasions, as must needs greatly redound to the generall good of Mankind, and make your memory precious to them in all future ages.

Your most affectionate
and humble servant
ARNOLD BOATE.

Paris 4th Aug.

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IRELANDS

NATURALL

HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

Of the situation, shape, and greatness of Ireland: it's divisions into Provinces and Counties: of the English Pale: the principall townes of that Nation.

Sect. 1. *Situation of Ireland.*

IRELAND, by the Irish themselves called *Erin*, and by their neighbours the Welsh *Yverdon*, lieth in the North-west Ocean, having on the West side no land nearer than *America*, or the West-Indies, and thereof that part, which above *Nova francia* and *Canada* running North-ward, hath of the English received the name of *New-Britain*, but of other Nations before of *Terra Laboratoris*. The next land over against it on the South is *Galicia*, one of the Kingdomes of Spain, from which it lieth divided some dayes sailing. Northwards it hath the Scottish Ilands, by the Geographers called Hebrides or Hebrudes; the principall of which are Eust, Lewis, Skye, Ila, and Mula. On the East-side is Great-Britain, and all the three parts of it, to wit part of Scotland, the whole West coast of England, and all Wales.

Sect. 2. *Distance betwixt Ireland and severall places upon the coast of Great-Britain.*

The Sea, which parteth Ireland from Great-Britain, being of a very unequall breadth, is more narrow in the North-end, less in the South-end, but broad in the midst, as far as it washeth

washeth the English coast, being the full length of the two Counties of Cumberland and Lancashire, opposite against which are situated in Ireland the Counties of Down, Louth, and Dublin. Thesea which is inclosed betwixt these Counties, and compriseth in its middle the Ile of Man, is well neer of an equall and uniform breadth every where, not being in any place much broader or much narrower, than it is betwixt the havens of Dublin and Leverpoole, the distance betwixt which two is reckoned by the English Pilots to be of fortie leagues, or sixscore English miles. But Wales in two or three places commeth a great deal neerer to Ireland, and in some as neer again. For Holy-head, being the most Westerly corner of the Northerliest part of Wales, called Anglesey, lieth just half way between Dublin and Leverpoole or Chester, being twenty leagues, or threescore miles, from Dublin, and ten or twelve houres sail with a reasonable good wind; which distance is no greater, than what the eye may very well reach: for a man whose sight is but of an ordinary goodness, may at any time in clear weather with ease discern the high and mountainous coast of Wales from the top of the Dublin mountaines. And about the same distance, as is betwixt Dublin and Holy-head, is also betwixt St. Davis-head, a Promontory of Pembrookshire (which shire is situated in the most South-west part of Wales) and the Irish Promontory in the county of Wexford, which the natives call Can carne, and the English Sea-men Tuskard-point. Also the Promontory of Carnarvan in Wales, called Brachipult-point, and lying betwixt Holy-head and St. Davis, is well neer at the same distance from the next Irish shore, as either of those other Welsh Promontories. But between Brachipult-point and Saint Davis-head the Sea doth much enlarge it self (although nothing so much as betwixt Ireland and England) making a great inlet on the coast of Wales, the which here retireth it self a great way backwards: whereas to the contrary the Irish shore, which lieth opposite to it, extendeth it self in an equall manner, without any great Bayes or inlets.

As for the North part, where Ireland and Scotland are neighbours, there this Sea groweth very narrow; insomuch as Gallo-way, a county in that part of Scotland, is distant with its most

westerly shoare from the Ardes (a little country and demy-land so named in the most Northerly part of the county of Down in Ireland) not above five Leagues; which space the open boats, wherein they ordinarily here do pass from the one kingdome into the other, use to sail in three or four houres time: and Cantyre, another Foreland on the West shore of Scotland, more to the North than Galloway, is neerer yet unto Ireland: so that in these two places the one Nation may perfectly be seen and discerned out of the other at all times, whensoever it is no very dark gloomie weather.

Sect. 3. *Shape and bigness of Ireland.*

The shape of this Iland is long-waies square, but not fully: for to say nothing of severall corners and Forelands, which run out a great way into the Sea, nor of divers great Bayes and Inlets, which the sea maketh here and there, in the three other parts of this Iland; the fourth part, called Munster, doth greatly alter that figure; for in lieu of stretching it self first from the North to the South, and then from the South to the West, it runneth altogether sloping from the North-east to the South-west; and there besides it stretcheth it self much further into the Sea with its Western shores than any other part of Ireland on the same West side.

As for the bigness thereof, questionless it is to be reckoned among the chief Ilands of the whole World; and of Europe the principallest of all, except only Great-Britain, the which is more than twice as big: for being as long again, as it is broad, it is at the narrowest (which is just in the middle, where Dublin is situated) no less than an hundred miles broad; seeing that Athlone, which lieth just half way betwixt the two Seas, is fifty miles distant from Dublin; and in Ulster, where Ireland is at its broadest, it is in most places ten, or twelve, and in some twenty miles broader. In the length, if from the middle of the Northern coast one do go directly Southward, one shall find it to be about two hundred miles. But if you shape your course more to the East, the length will be found less by some miles, because the coast of Munster runneth so sloping, as we have said before: and to the

contrary, if one measure the length of Ireland more to the West, it will be found to be a great deal more than two hundred miles. And if the measure were taken not through the inland-parts, as now we have framed it, but all along the seashore, the length would amount to a great deal more than what now we have declared (as well on the East as on the West side) in regard of the inequality of the coast, and of the great Bayes and Fore-lands, which make it in most places very much run out to the seaward, or into the landward: for which same reason the circuit of the whole Iland, taken alongst the shoare, is by far greater, than otherwise the proportion of its length and breadth would seem to require. The Miles here mentioned must be understood not of the common English ones, three whereof make one League, or Holland mile, but of the Irish, the which are about one fifth part bigger, so as five Irish miles do amount to about six English.

Sect. 4. *Division of Ireland into Provinces and Counties.*

This Iland is divided into four principall parts, called Provinces, *viz.* Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, and Munster: of which the first and the last extend themselves from the one sea to the other, Ulster in the North, and Munster in the South. Leinster and Connaught, lying betwixt those two forenamed Provinces, have the sea only on one side, Connaught on the West, and Leinster on the East. To these four most Writers and Records add a fifth, called Meath; but that is really a part of Leinster, and ordinarily now is held to be such.

Each of these Provinces is again divided into divers Counties. Ulster hath eleven, whereof six on the sea side, *viz.* Fermanagh, Doneghall *alias* Tirconnel, Colrairie, Antrim, Down, Louth; and five within the land, *viz.* Cavan, Monaghan, Ardmagh, Nether-Tirone, and Upper-Tirone. Leinster comprehendeth likewise eleven Counties, Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford on the sea side, East-Meath, and Catherlogh or Carlo, within the land, but with a little nook reaching unto the sea; West-Meath, Kildare, Kilkenny, Kings-county, Queenes-county, and Longford altogether within the land. Munster is divided into six Counties, two within the land,

viz. Tipperary and Limerick; and the other four, Waterford, Cork, Desmond, and Kerry, situated on the sea-side, but stretching themselves a great way into the land. In Connaught there be six Counties, *viz.* Clare *alias* Tomond, Gallogway, Majo, and Sleigo, situated on the Sea, and Roscomen, and Leitrim within the Land.

Sect. 5. *Of the English Pale.*

There is yet another division of Ireland, whereby the whole land is divided into two parts, The English Pale, and the Land of the meer Irish. The English Pale comprehendeth only four Counties, one whereof is in Ulster, *viz.* Louth, and the other three in Leinster, to wit Meath, Dublin, and Kildare: the originall of which division is this. The English at the first conquest, under the reign of Henry the second, having within a little time conquered great part of Ireland, did afterwards, in the space of not very many yeares, make themselves masters of almost all the rest, having expelled the natives (called the Wild Irish, because that in all manner of wildness they may be compared with the most barbarous nations of the earth) into the desert woods and mountains. But afterwards being fallen at odds among themselves, and making severall great warres the one upon the other, the Irish thereby got the opportunitee to recover now this, and then that part of the land; whereby, and through the degenerating of a great many from time to time, who joining themselves with the Irish, took upon them their wild fashions and their language, the English in length of time came to be so much weakened, that at last nothing remained to them of the whole Kingdome, worth the speaking of, but the great Cities, and the forenamed four Counties; to whom the name of Pale was given, because that the authority and government of the Kings of England, and the English Colonies or Plantations, which before had been spread over the whole Land, now were reduced to so small a compass, and as it were impaled within the same. And although since the beginning of this present age, and since King *James* his coming to the Crown of England, the whole Iland was reduced under the obedience and government of the English Lawes,

and replenished with English and Scotch Colonies; nevertheless the name of English Pale, which in the old signification was now out of season, remained in use, and is so still, even since this last bloody rebellion, wherein the inhabitants of almost all the Pale, although all of them of English descent, have conspired with the Native Irish, for to shake off the Government of the Crown of England, and utterly to extinguish the Reformed Religion, with all the professors thereof, and quite to root them out of Ireland.

Sect. 6. Cities and Chief Townes of Ireland.

This Iland hath in it severall Cities, among which Dublin is the principall, being the chief City of the whole Commonwealth, the Residence of the Governour, the Counsell of State, all the Great Officers, the Exchequer, Judges, and Courts of Justice; being also adorned with an Universitie, the only in all Ireland. It is situated in the Province of Leinster, about the middle of the length of Ireland (as already hath been mentioned) not far from the Sea, an Inlet whereof maketh a harbour for this City; which harbour, although none of the best of Ireland, (whereof in the next chapter but one shall be spoken more at large) is neverthelesse frequented with more ships, and hath greater importation of all things, than any other Haven in the kingdome; by reason that all sorts of commodities are much more readily and in greater plenty vented here than any where else, what in the City it self, being great and populous, what into the country, for in the time of peace almost all Leinster and Ulster were wont to furnish themselves from Dublin of all kinds of provisions and necessaries, such as were brought in out of forreine Countries.

Next to Dublin is Galloway, the head-city of the Province of Connaught, to be reckon'd, as well for bigness and fairness, as for riches; for the streets are wide, and handsomely ordered, the houses for the most part built of free-stone; and the inhabitants much addicted to trafick, do greatly trade into other countries, especially into Spain, from whence they used to fetch great store of wines and other wares every year.

In the third place commeth Waterford, situated in the Pro-

vince of Munster; and in the fourth Limerick, the head-city of the said Province, both townes of traffick, situated on goodly havens, and of reasonable bigness and handsomeness.

Cork, in the Province of Munster, and London-derry, in the Province of Ulster, are less than any of the formentioned, but otherwise handsome places, well built, and very fitly situated for traffick and navigation, as standing upon very good Havens.

As for the rest of the Townes, Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Bandonbridge are passable and worthy of some regard both for bigness and handsomeness: But Colrain, Knockfergus, Belfast, Dundalk, Wexford, Youghall, and Kinsale are of small moment, the best of all these being hardly comparable to any of those fair market-townes, which are to be found in almost all parts of England. And as for Cassel, Rosse, Lismore, Clonmell, and Kilmallock in Munster; Sleigo and Atlone in Connaught; Molingar, Trimme, Kels, Navan, Aboy, Nace, Carlo, Arckloe, and Wickloe, in Leinster; Carlingford, Ardee, and Down in Ulster, all of them walled Townes, they are scarce worth the mentioning, because there are few Market Townes in England, even of the meanest, which are not as good or better, than the best of them all. We could give a more perfect relation of this particular: but because this serveth little to our purpose, and properly doth not concern the Naturall History, we have thought it best to touch it but briefly.

CHAP. II.

Of the principall Havens of Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Waterford Haven.*

THE Havens of *Ireland* are so many in number, and for the most part so fair and large, that in this particular hardly any land in the whole World may be compared with this, as will easily appear by the particular rehearsall thereof, which we are now to make, first of the best and chiefest in this Chapter, and of the others in the next. We shall begin with Water-

ford Haven, the which being situated on the confines of Leinster and Munster, runneth some seven or eight miles into the land, not winding or crooked, nor with any great nookes or inlets, but almost in a straight line, (extending in it self North and North by West) and in most parts of an equall breadth, all the way deep and clear, having no rocks or sands, but only two or three little ones, which lying not across nor in the midst, but by the sides, may be shunned very easily. Without the Harbour it is eleven and twelve fathoms deep, in the mouth seven and more, inward six fathoms. Within the Easterly corner is a good road, in four or five fathoms; and on the other or Westerly side, five or six miles from the mouth, is another good road, very commodious as well for them who go forth, as those that will sail upward to Waterford. Upon the East-side, about halfe-way the length, lieth a very strong Castle called Duncannon, which so commandeth this Harbour, as no ships can go up or down against the will of those in the Fort, without running extreme hazard.

This Haven in the end divideth it self into two armes, both a great deal inferior to the principall harbour in breadth and depth, but yet such as are capable of ships of a good big port, especially the left, which runneth Westward to the City of Waterford, whereof this whole Haven beareth the Name, being situated some four or five miles from that division, and a little below the place where the river Shure falleth into this Harbour. The right arm being the mouth of the river Barrow, and extending it self straight along, goeth up to Ross, (a Town in former times famous for trade) the which is much about the same distance from this division, as the division is from the mouth of the Harbour.

Sect. 2. *Carlingford Haven.*

On the whole coast of Leinster there is not one fair large Harbour, so as the next good Haven from Waterford Northwards is that of Carlingford; which two Harbours, in sailing straight along the coast, are above an hundred miles distant.

This Haven is some three or four miles long, and nigh of the same breadth, being every where very deep, so as the big-

gest ships may come there to an anchor; and so invironed with high land and mountains on all sides, that the ships do lie defended off all winds; so that this would be one of the best havens of the world, if it were not for the difficultie and the danger of the entrance, the mouth being full of rocks, both blind ones and others, betwixt which the passages are very narrow: whereby it commeth that this harbour is very little frequented by any great ships, the rather because there is no traffick at all, nor any good Town seated on this Haven. For the town of Carlingford, whose name it beareth, is a very poor place, hardly worth the speaking of. About eight miles from the mouth of the Harbour is the Nurie, a fine little Town, untill in this late bloody rebellion it was for the greatest part destroyed by the Irish: by which Town passeth a little river, called the Nurie-water, which discharging it self into the Harbour some four or five miles below the Nurie, is not portable but of very little barkes and boats, and that only when the tide is in.

Sect. 3. *Strangford-haven, and that of Knockfergus.*

About thirtie miles Northwards from Carlingford-haven is the Haven of Strangford, the which in its entrance is almost as much encumbred with rocks of both kinds, as that of Carlingford. It is some five or six miles long, and beareth Northwestward, being the mouth of a great Lough, called Lough Cone; the which being but two or three miles broad in the most places, but some fifteen or sixteen long, doth ebb and flow untill the utmost ends of it: so that there goeth a very strong tide in this Harbour, which makes the same the unsafer, especially in great storms and high winds, for which there is no great defence here. On this Haven, and on the neighbouring Lough, there lyeth never a good Town, Strangford being more inconsiderable yet than Carlingford.

The next great Harbour upon this coast, and about twenty miles more to the North, is that of Knockfergus, being a great wide Bay, the which in its mouth, betwixt the Southern and the Northern point, is no less than ten or twelve miles broad, growing narrower by degrees, the farther it goeth into the land,

the which it doth for the space of fifteen miles, as far as to the Town of Belfast, where a little river called Lagon (not portable but of small boats) falleth into this Harbour. In this Bay is a reasonable good Road before the Town of Knockfergus (seated about nine miles within the land,) where it is good anchoring in three fathoms, and three and a halfe. On the North side of the Bay, somewhat neer the Sea, under a Castle called Mouse-hill, is a sand-bay, where it is good anchoring for all sorts of ships, aswell great as small ones, for the North and North-west winds: but bad riding for the South-west.

Sect. 4. Sheeps haven, Lough Suillie, and Lough Foile.

The three fore-mentioned Havens of Carlingford, Strangford, Knockfergus, are all in the Province of Ulster, on the East side thereof. The said Province hath also three good Havens on its Northern coast, not very far distant the one from the other, *viz.* Sheeps haven, Lough Suillie, and Lough Foile. Every one of these is a Lough (which the very name of the second and third sufficiently testifieth) opening it self into the sea: of the which Sheeps haven and Lough Suillie although they be fair large Harbours, as well as Lough Foile, and that Ships may ride there defended off all winds, Lough Suillie being also of sufficient bigness to contain a thousand great vessels, yet are they very little frequented, because there is not any trade nor traffick, nor any good town placed upon or neer them.

Lough Foile is of a great bigness, at least twelve miles long, and in most places five or six miles broad, being almost every where of an equall breadth, except at the two ends, where it groweth narrow, being of an Ovall figure. For at the mouth, betwixt Magilion's point and Greencastle, it is hardly a mile and a halfe broad: and at the other end it is much narrower yet, running from thence with a long arm some miles into the countrie, being liker to a broad River, than to a Lough. Upon this Arm, three or four miles from the great Lough, is the town of London-derry, in a place where that Arm turneth and windeth it self in that manner, as it invironeth the town on three sides. It is nothing big, consisting only of two long

streets, the which cut one another cross-ways in the midst; but it is very handsome, the streets being broad and well paved, the houses some stories high, and built for the most of free-stone, with a handsome Church, Market place, and Key: and is inclosed with a thick and very strong stone wall, being one of the principall fortresses of Ireland. It is but few yeares old, having been built up from the ground by a company of London Adventurers under the reign of King *James*. Before the mouth of this Lough lyeth a great sand, called the Touns (upon which it burneth greatly, when the wind bloweth from the sea) but so as a fair broad and deep channel remaineth betwixt the said sand and the West-side of the land, where there is at all times fourteen and fifteen fathoms of water, as in the mouth it self some eight or ten. Entring into the Lough, there are very great sands on the left hand, from the one end to the other, which are some miles broad from off the land; and of the right hand are some little sands or shelves here, lying close to the land. Betwixt these runneth a broad channell in most parts three and four fathoms deep: and in that Arm, whereon London-derry standeth, it is deeper yet, in some places no less than ten or twelve, and before the Town four and five fathoms: so as this is one of the best and most commodious harbours of all the Land.

Sect. 5. *Kilbeg and Dungall Haven.*

The Country of Tirconnel, the which taketh up the whole West-side of the Province of Ulster, runneth a great way into the Sea with its Southern part, on the South side of which Foreland there are two very Fair Havens, the one not far from the other, *viz.* Kilbeg and Dungall Haven. Kilbeg is a fair round Bay, where the greatest ships that go upon the seas, may at all times with their full lading enter and come to an anchor; being distant about twelve miles from Cape de Tellin, the outmost or most Western point of that forenamed Foreland of Tirconnel. The entrance is very narrow, so as unto them who are comming to it, there seemeth to be no opening there, until they are very neer, but it is very clean, as well in the mouth, as in the Bay it self, and nothing that can hurt the

ships either comming in or going forth, being entred, one may anchor where one will, in five, six, seven, eight fathoms, or more.

Three or four miles to the South from Kilbeg is a cape, called St. John's point, and six or seven miles Eastward from the said Cape is Dungall-haven, wide and deep enough, but in the entrance greatly incumbred with shelves, sands, and rocks, so as great care and circumspection is requisite, to enter or go forth safely. These two Havens have their names of villages seated on them, which are very small and no wayes considerable.

Sect. 6. Broad-haven, Akill-haven, and Galloway-haven.

The Province of Connaught, extending herself betwixt Ulster and Munster, taketh up the greatest part of the west-side of Ireland, it hath also some good Ports, as namely Broad-haven: another to the North of Akill head; and a third, situated between the main, and the North and East side of Akill Iland, in which one may ride in seven and eight fathoms, and be defended off all winds; although it be rather a Sound, than an inclosed Harbour: for the ships which are come into it, need not to go forth the same way again, but sailing on betwixt the Main and the Iland, may at the south end of the Ile come again to the open sea. These Havens are nothing famous, being very seldome resorted unto by any great ships, except such as by tempests and foul weather, or some other accident, are necessitated to shelter themselves in the same.

But the famousest Port of this Province is that of Galloway, being a very great Bay, some miles broad, and many more long, having in the mouth three Ilands, (named the Iles of Aran) the which lye North and South by the side one of the other, there remaining three channels for to come out of the sea into this bay. One channel runneth betwixt the Land and the Northern Iland, called therefore North-sound: the second between the same Northern Iland and the middlemost; which channel, being the most usuall of the three, is commonly stiled St. Gregory's sound: and the third between the Southernmost Iland and the main, named South-sound: the channel

betwixt the Southern and the middlemost Iland not being passable by reason of the sands and shelves, wherefore the name of False-sound hath been given to it.

The whole North-side of this bay is very foul with sands and rocks, so as one may not approach the shoare in a great way: at the end of which sand, and in the innermost part of the Bay, lyeth a little Iland, called in English, Mutton-Iland, and by the Irish Ennis Kerrigh, which hath the same signification; at the East side whereof one may anchor in five or six fathoms of water; but from thence Northwards untill the City of Galloway, which is the space of two or three miles, none but little vessels and barks can go, the City standing not on the Bay it self, but on the broad water like a river, the which not far above Galloway comming out of a great Lake, called Lough Corbes, dischargeth it self into the Bay a little above Mutton Ile.

Sect. 7. *The Havens of Limmerick, Smerwick, Dingle-bay, Ventrie, and Dingle-Icoush.*

The next great Haven on the West side of Ireland, to the South of Galloway, is that of Limmerick, which Haven divideth the Province of Connaught from Munster, being of a huge length, no less than fifty miles: for so far it is from the mouth of the Haven untill the City of Limmerick, to whose walls great vessels may go up, without meeting with any thing else in all that way, save a many little iles, but not any foul places, Rocks, or sands. This harbour is nothing else but a great Lough (halfe way its length growing somewhat narrow, but immediately enlarging it self again into a great breadth) whereinto the River Shanon, (upon whose bank Limmerick is situated) dischargeth it self a little way below the said City; although the English and the Irish both call it the Shanon all the way untill the Sea, as it were not a Lough into which the River falleth, but the River it self thus enlarged.

Comming out of this Harbour, the Land on the left hand shooteth a huge way Westwards into the Sea, on the side of which Fore-land, ten or twelve miles at this side of the uttermost point (betwixt which and the Iles of Blaskes passeth the

Sound of the same name) is the Haven of Smerwick, not very great, deep, but clean, and well inclosed.

At the other side of this Fore-land, and to the North-east from the Blaskes, is a fair and very large Bay called Dingle-bay, the which goeth very many miles into the land, having in it divers good Havens, one whereof, called Ventry, is four or five miles from the Sound of Blaskes Eastwards; and three or four miles further is Dingle-Icoush, before the mouth of which Harbour, and at the West-side of it, lieth a rock, called the Crow, round about the which one may sail without danger, it being always above water, but at spring tides, at which time the sea doth overflow it.

Sect. 8. *Maire, Bantrie, and Beer-haven.*

Against the South-east corner of Dingle-bay lieth a great Iland, called Valentia, betwixt which and the main is a very fair and safe road. And a little way beyond that Iland goeth in another huge Bay, called Maire, which shooteth into the Land a great deal further than Dingle-bay: and somewhat further is a third Bay, called Bantrie, which equalleth Maire both in breadth and length; in both which, as well as in Dingle-bay, there be severall good Harbours and Roads.

Maire hath in the mouth some fifty or five and forty fathoms of water; entring in further, there be six and twenty, twenty, and eighteen; afterwards you come to ten, and to six, and in the innermost parts to three and two fathoms; being throughout very clean, and free from all kind of Rocks and Sands, except in very few places.

As you enter into Bantrie, side-ward upon the left hand lieth a reasonable big Ile, called the Iland of Beer-haven, betwixt which and the Main there goeth in a fair Sound, being a great musket shot broad; the which in its whole length, from where it beginneth untill the place where it endeth at the further part of the Iland, being the space of some miles, serveth for a very good and safe port, wherefore also it beareth the name of a Haven, being called Beer-haven. A good way within the mouth lye some Rocks in the midst of the channel, the which at high water are overflown, and you may sail

of either side of them: and at the other side of this Sound, where the same commeth out into the Bantrie, there lye two great Rocks just in the mouth, betwixt which the ships may pass, as also betwixt the same and the land of either side. All the rest of this Harbour or Sound is everywhere very clean and clear, and very good anchor ground, ten, twelve, and thirteen fathoms deep.

Sect. 9. *Whiddie haven and Langerf.*

In the innermost of the Bantrie lyeth an Iland about three miles long, called Whiddie, betwixt which and the Main is a very fair wide Bay, (being the uttermost end of the great Bay Bantrie) where you may every where come to an anchor in three, four, five, or six fathoms, in as much or as little water as you will, according as you have a mind to ride neer the shore or further from it, being every where clean ground. Ships may enter into this Bay or Sound in two severall places, at both ends of the Iland. But the entrance at the South-end is very dangerous, because that there betwixt the Iland Whiddie and the Main land it is in most places foul and Rockie: but in the other entrance, at the Northern end of the Iland, is both room and depth enough, it being much broader than that at the South-end, and eight and nine fathoms deep; and there is nothing that can do hurt, except only a row of Rocks a little musket shot from the shoare, the which being covered at high water, do not begin to appear but at half ebb.

Right against this Iland, at the other side of Bantrie, is a Haven called Langerf, in which is every where good anchoring and good ground; only at the one side, on the right hand close to the mouth, lye some foul grounds, the which fall dry at the ebb of a springtide.

From Beer-haven to the Northern corner of the Iland Whiddie, the Bantrie tendeth East-North-East and North-East, eighteen or twenty miles in length. Over against Beer-haven, in the midst of the fair water, it is deep forty, six and thirty, and thirty fathoms; beyond the Iland fifteen and sixteen; but further in, approaching the Ile of Whiddie, it is again twenty and five and twenty fathoms deep.

Sect. 10. Downams bay, Baltimore-bay, and Baltimore-haven.

Next to the Bantrie, and only by a narrow neck of land divided from it, is Downams bay, being great and wide (although no ways comparable to any of those three already described) a very commodious Road to save ships in, and good anchor ground every where.

The land to the East of this Bay shooteth out very far to the Sea-ward; the uttermost point thereof, called Missan-head, being the Southermost Cape of all Ireland. For Cape de Clare, being about twenty miles further to the East, and somewhat more Southerly, is not on the Main, but in an Iland.

Beyond Missan-head is another Bay, far greater than any of those three forenamed, but nothing like the same in shape, nor in the same manner running with a long arm a huge way into the land, but rather approaching to the figure of a half moon. In this Bay is Crook-haven, School-haven, and several other great Havens, not only on the main land, but also in some of the Ilands, whereof there is a great number in this Bay. The most Easterly of all these Ilands is Baltimore, the which surpassing all the others in bigness, giveth its name unto the Bay.

That part of the Bay which lyeth betwixt this Iland and the Main, having a narrow entrance, but within of a great largeness, is a marvellous good Road, where ships may come to an anchor on either side, and lye defended off all winds. It is five and six fathoms deep on the sides, and six and seven in the midst. In the mouth of the Harbour, next to the East-side, lyeth a blind Rock; and in the midst of it another Rock, which appeareth at low water. There is nothing else that can do hurt. This Haven being far the principallest of all this Bay, hath its name, as wel as the Bay it self, of the Iland, being called Baltimore-haven. To the North of that Iland lyeth another Iland, called Spain-Iland, where one may pass betwixt these two Ilands to the West, and so out of Baltimore-haven go into the Sea. But only with smaller vessels, because half flood there is not above twelve or thirteen feet of water in all that channel.

Sect. 11. *Castle-haven, Rosse-haven, Clandore-haven
with the Havens of Kinsale and Cork.*

Some miles beyond Baltimore-bay, is Castle-haven, where ships may come to an anchor in twelve fathoms of water, being of a reasonable bigness, and very clear and clean, as well in the entrance as within.

Between Castle-haven and Kinsale are two other good Havens, to wit that of Rosse and of Clandore, in which there is water enough, and very clean ground.

The Haven of Kinsale is one of the famousest of all Ireland; ships may sail into it, keeping in the midst of the channel, without any danger either without or in the mouth of the Harbour, except a blind Rock close to the East point. Within the haven, on the West-side, lyeth a great shelf, which shooteth a great way off from the land, but leaving a very large passage along by the side of it, in which, as in all the rest of the Harbour, it is many fathoms deep. This Haven for some miles goeth in North-North-East, but afterwards turneth West-ward untill the Key of Kinsale, where ships may ride in eight or nine fathoms of water, being defended off all winds.

Ten or twelve miles to the East of Kinsale is Cork-haven, the which goeth in North-North-East, being within large and wide, running a great way into the land: for the town of Cork, untill whose Key this Haven is very clean and deep, is seated many miles from the Sea, and from the mouth of the Harbour.

CHAP. III.

*Of the lesser Havens, and the barred Havens of Ireland,
also of the Roads and Anchor-places upon the Coast,
and in the little Ilands near the Coast.*

Sect. 1. *Wexford Haven.*

AFTER the description of the principal Havens of Ireland, we shall come to them of less moment, in which number we put all those, which either in their entrance, or within, have not water enough for the bigger sort of vessels; as likewise those, the which being deep enough, are but very little,

and of a small pourprise; and in this description we shall observe the same order as in the former, beginning with Wexford, and so going North-ward, then West, afterwards Southward, and lastly East and North-Eastward, untill we have gone about the whole Iland.

The Haven of Wexford runneth in West, and by North, and with her innermost part altogether Northward. Just before this Haven lye two great shelves of Sands by the side one of the other, of which that on the South-side is called Hanemans-path, and the other North-grounds. There goeth a channel betwixt Hanemans-path and the land on the South-side of the Haven, and another betwixt the North-side and the North-grounds; but this last hath but six feet of water at full flood, and in the other eight feet with the flood of ordinary tides, and ten at spring tides. The chief channel is that which goeth in betwixt the two Sands, being four and five fathom deep. Besides these Sands there is another Shelf in the mouth of the Harbour it self; which kind of sandy-banks lying across in the mouth of Harbours and Rivers, are usually called *Bars*; and the Havens which have them, *Barred-havens*. With a high flood there is about sixteen feet of water. Being past the Bar, you have for some way three fathoms of water, three and a half, and four; but afterwards for a great way but ten feet, and ten and a half, with a high flood; although under the Castle where the Ships come to an Anchor, you have four fathoms, and before the Town three; but because of the fore-mentioned shallows, no vessels can go to Wexford, that draw more than ten feet of water, but must unlade and lade in a Creek near the mouth of the Haven on the south-side, about three miles from the Town, where is water enough, but no shelter from the South-west winds, the which do come over the land to this place.

Sect. 2. *Dublin-haven.*

Dublin-haven hath a Bar in the mouth, upon which at high-flood and spring-tide there is fifteen and eighteen feet of water, but at the ebb and nepe-tide but six. With an ordinary tide you cannot go to the Key of Dublin with a Ship,

that draws five feet of water, but with a spring-tide you may go up with Ships that draw seven and eight feet. Those that go deeper cannot go neerer Dublin than the Rings-end, a place three miles distant from the Bar, and one from Dublin. This Haven almost all over falleth dry with the ebb, as well below Rings-end as above it, so as you may go dry-foot round about the ships which lye at an Anchor there, except in two places, one at the North-side, half way betwixt Dublin and the Bar, and the other at the South-side not far from it. In these two little Creeks (whereof the one is called the Pool of Clantarf, and the other Poolebeg) it never falleth dry, but the Ships which ride at an Anchor remain ever afloat ; because at low water you have nine or ten feet of water there. This Haven, besides its shallowness, hath yet another great incommodity, that the Ships have hardly any shelter there for any winds, not only such as come out of the sea, but also those which come off from the land, especially out of the South-west ; so as with a great South-west storm the Ships run great hazard to be carried away from their Anchors, and driven into the sea ; which more than once hath come to pass, and particularly in the beginning of November, *Anno*, 1637, when in one night ten or twelve Barks had that misfortune befallen them, of the most part whereof never no news hath been heard since.

Sect. 3. *The Havens of Drogheda and Dundalk.*

The Haven of Drogheda, or, as the word is pronounced in common use, Tredagh, is very troublesom to be got into, as having not only a Bar lying across before its mouth, over the which vessels cannot pass but at high water, but also very narrow in the mouth : this Haven not being an Arm or Bay of the sea, but only a River which keepeth her own bigness until the end, without receiving any notable enlargement of the sea about her mouth, as other rivers use to do. Upon this Bar is as much water as upon that of Dublin ; and the ships which can pass the Bar, may go up to the Key of Tredagh ; which Town is seated about two miles from the mouth of this River, which is called the Boine.

Sixteen miles to the North of Tredagh standeth Dundalk, where a wide open Bay (made by the giving back and retiring of the coast) growing narrow, and receiving a little River, which above Dundalk is but a small Brook, maketh a kind of Haven, where never is much water, and with the ebb may be passed over a-foot; wherefore, and because there is not any shelter for the winds comming from the sea, nor any usuall traffick, this Road is very little frequented.

Sect. 4. The Havens of Dondrom, Arglas, Old-fleet, Belletree, and the Band.

A few miles on this side of Strongford, are the Havens of Dondrom and Arglas, the one not far from the other, both little, and not very deep, but safe: And a little way beyond the Northern point of the Bay of Knockfergus, is Old-fleet-haven, a Harbour of the same sort as those two last mentioned.

Port Belletree, six or seven miles to the West of Fair-foreland (the North-Easterliest point of Ireland) is as little as any of those three, less defended of the winds, and the ground sharp and foul.

Some miles further is the Haven of Colrain, called Band-haven, the which is nothing else but the mouth of the river Band, the which here falleth into the sea, keeping her own narrowness untill the end, in the same manner as we said above of the Haven of Tredagh. This River passing through Lough Neagh, the greatest Lake of all Ireland (the which receiving severall rivers, hath no other out-let into the sea but the Band) carrieth a mighty deal of water, the which being inclosed in a narrow channel, poureth it self into the sea with great violence: for which reason, and because of the narrowness of the mouth, this Haven is very hard to enter, having also but little depth, so as vessels which draw eight feet of water, must at least have three quarters of the flood before they can enter.

Sect. 5. Tellin-haven, Mackswins-bay, the Havens of Balle-shanon, Sleigo, Endrigo, Moy, and Niffudoy.

Upon the West coast of Ulster, about half way between
 32 Cape

Cape Tellin and Kilbeg, is Tellin-haven, a round Bay, with good sand ground, which will contain about thirty Ships: West and South-West winds blow directly into it, but off all other winds one is there defended.

Two or three miles Eastwards from Kilbeg is Mackswins-bay, where a Ship may ride safe without Cable and Anchor: but the entrance being every where beset with rocks, it is dangerous to go into it.

Some miles to the South-West of Dungal-haven, is Balle-shanon, being the mouth of that short River, by which Lough-Earn, one of the greatest Lakes of Ireland, dischargeth it self into the sea; which River runneth just on the borders of the two Provinces of Ulster and Connaught, dividing the same; this having a Bar before it, by reason whereof no bigger vessels than of thirty or forty tuns can enter into it.

Sleigo and Endrigo are two little Harbours, situated near the one to the other, in the North part of Connaught, very much encumbered with Rocks and Sands in the entrance, but otherwise reasonably deep; for a ship of two hundred tuns may come and ride before the Town of Sleigo.

About half way between Sleigo and Broad-haven is Moy, being the innermost of a great Bay, divided from the rest by a little Iland somewhat long, the which lyeth cross in that manner, that only one channel remaineth, whereby to go out of the great Bay into the lesser, or the Haven, which channel is twelve feet deep; but in the Haven it self, being nothing else but two little Creeks, divided asunder by some sands lying betwixt them, it is about fifteen or sixteen feet deep; but in the little channel which passeth into the inmost creek, being neerest to the Village Moy, there is but nine feet of water at full flood with an ordinary tide.

Some miles to the South-East of Sline-head, (a famous Cape in Connaught, and situated about half way the length of that Province) is Port Niffadoy, a reasonable good harbour, but very dangerous to get into, the sea there round abouts being full of Rocks both blind ones and others.

Sect. 6. *The Havens of Trailie, Youghall, and Dungarvan : item of Wickloe, Arckloe, Malahide, &c.*

At Trailie, half way between Smerwick and the mouth of the Haven of Limerick, is a Fair Haven but none of the biggest.

About the middle way between Cork and Waterford is the Haven of Youghall, before the which lyeth a Bar, not to be passed but at high water.

Twelve miles Eastwards from Youghall, is Dungarvan, being a narrow Tide-haven, whose mouth is full of Rocks, many of which do not appear, and so more dangerous, and at low water it falleth dry, so as one must go into it at high flood, and pass amidst the Rocks.

As for the Havens of Arckloe (where with high water it is but six feet deep) of Wickloe (where at full flood you have but ten feet of water) Malahide, a little to the North of the Bay of Dublin; Coldach-haven, and Red-haven, the first betwixt Lough Foile and Lough Suillie, and the other betwixt Lough Suillie and Sheeps-haven; Milk-haven, not far from Sleigo; Mablin-haven, betwixt Waterford and Wexford; and some others of the same nature: they are so little, that they will hardly serve for other than Fisher boats, and therefore scarce merit the name of Havens.

Sect. 7. *Roads upon the Coast of Ireland, from Waterford to Fair-Foreland.*

Besides this great number of Havens in Ireland, there are many good Roads, where ships at need may save themselves, and commodiously come to an anchor, not only upon the coast of the Main land, but also in the most part of the little Ilands, which lye round about Ireland.

To begin with those on the Main. From the point of Waterford to Carnarord, being the space of about twenty miles, the coast is full of Bayes, where one may come to an anchor. Under Carnarord ships anchor in six and nine fathoms. In St. Margaret's bay, three miles from Carnarord it is good anchoring in five and six fathoms, sand ground. A little further

is the bay of Grenore, where you may anchor as neer the land as you will, in six, five, four, or three fathoms.

Some miles from Wexford to the point of Glascarick, from which place to the bay of Dublin, being about fifty miles, the coast is full of inlets, where it is very good anchoring, in good sand ground, especially to the North of Arckloe-head (in a fair sand bay everywhere in eight, seven, or five fathoms) and between Arckloe and Missan-head, being the space of six or seven miles.

In the mouth of the Bay of Dublin, at this side of the Bar, is good anchoring, as well on the South side, before the Village Dalkee (which place is known by the name of Berton Road) as on the North-side, round about that great Cape, named the Head of Houth.

Between Strangford-haven and the Bay of Knockfergus are divers good Anchoring-places; but all that Coast is very foul with Rocks, and blind Rocks. To the North of Knockfergus are divers inlets, where one may come to an Anchor; there are some Rocks, but they all stand above the water, so as easily they may be shunned.

Sect. 8. *The rest of the Roads upon the Coast of Ireland.*

To the West of Fair-Foreland the coast is flat and clean, so as there ships may Anchor every where in eight and nine fathoms. Under the point of Eniston on the West-side one may Anchor for Easterly winds, or to stop the tide.

Between Lough Suillie and Sheeps-haven is an inlet where Ships may come to an Anchor; but the ground is somewhat foul.

On the West-side of Cape Horn Ships may ride at Anchor for Easterly winds: And along the whole coast between Cape Horn and the Iles of Arran is every where good Anchor-ground; as also upon the West coast between St. John's point and Dungal-haven, being the space of five or six miles.

In the Sound of Blaskees it is good Anchoring on the South-side of the point for Northern and Western, and on the North-side for the contrary winds.

On both sides of the Old-head of Kinsale, by the Dutch Mariners called Cape Velho, ships may Anchor as deep or shallow as they will.

There is also a good inlet for to Anchor in a few miles beyond the Haven of Cork; and on the East-side of Ardimore-head is a Bay, where it is good riding for Westerly winds in seven or eight fathoms.

There is also a good Anchoring place or two betwixt Dunganvan and the Haven of Waterford.

Sect. 9. Roads in the Islands of Salters, Dalkee, Irelands Eye, and Lambay.

As for the roads in the Ilands; about half way betwixt Waterford haven and Carnarord lie two little Ilands, a mile or two from the land, called Salters: the Southmost whereof, which lyeth furthest from the land, is much bigger than the other: ships may pass between these two Ilands in five, six, and seven fathoms. On the East-side of the lesser Iland is a good Road to come to an anchor in seven or eight fathoms, where ships may ride in safety for South-west, West, and North-west winds: and on the North-west side of the bigger Iland ships may anchor in seven, eight, or nine fathoms, the Road being defended off South-South-East, and East-South-East winds. Close by the South point of Dublin-bay lyeth a small Iland, called Dalkee, betwixt which and the Main land passed a sound seven, eight, and nine fathoms deep, in which you may anchor under the Iland. On the North-side of the Head of Houth lyeth another small Iland, scarce half a mile in compass (wherein, as also in Dalkee, no body inhabiteth, both serving only for to feed cattell) having a decayed Chapell on the West-side, over against which ships may come to an anchor.

Three or four miles beyond Ireland's Eye lyeth the Ile of Lambay, belonging to Sir William Usher, who hath there a fine little castle of free stone, and close by it a village, wherein dwell divers families, of Fishers and Husbandmen, who plow part of this Iland, and upon the rest feed cattell and sheep. The whole Iland, being about three miles in compass, is high

land, wherefore it may be seen a great way off. On the North-side of this Iland, ships may anchor in twelve and thirteen fathoms for a Southerly wind. For a Sea-wind the ships must ride on the West-side, over against the Castle: but that Road is not very good, because always in that Sound, being about three miles broad, goeth a great sea.

Sect. 10. Roads in the rest of the little Ilands about Ireland.

Right against the Promontory of Fair-Foreland lyeth the Iland Raghleens, where ships may sail round about, as well at the outside, as betwixt it and the land, according as the wind and tide serve. On the South-west side is a fair Bay with very fine Sand-ground, where ships may ride defended off all winds. A little way on this side and to the East of Brandhaven lyeth Skires Portrush, a Rocky Iland, the which on the South-side hath a fair Bay, very good Sand-ground, where ships may anchor in six or seven fathoms, being sheltered of all winds, except the East-North-East wind, the which along the Coast doth directly blow upon it.

There is a good Road on the South-East side of the Ile of Aran, situated on the North-West side of Ireland: and betwixt this Iland and the Main there lye three or four small Iles, where ships may anchor in divers places, and be secured off all winds.

There is also a good Road for some winds under Eneskie Iland; the middle-most of the three Ilands situated betwixt Akill head and Sline head, called Boche, where is good anchoring in four fathoms; under the Northern-most Iland of those three lying in the mouth of the Bay of Galloway; under Enis Morrow, one of the Blaskees; under Dorses Ile, lying betwixt the Bayes of Maire and Bantrie, in the Sound which passeth betwixt the same Ile and the Main land.

Ten or twelve miles to the East of Cork haven lyeth an Iland called Ballycotton, where ships may anchor in five or six fathoms for Westerly and Southerly winds. There is also a good Road on the East side of Capel Iland, a little Ile, lying three or four miles from the mouth of the haven of Youghal.

CHAP. IV.

*Quality and Fashion of the Irish Coast or Shoares,
Item, a brief description of the principall
Promontories or Heads of Ireland.*

Sect. 1. Of the low and Strandie Shoares of Ireland.

THE Irish Coast is not every where alike; but of severall sorts: in some places the land along the Sea is low and flat, having a broad sandy strand, with a row of sandy hills, the which doth part the land from the strand, in the same manner as it is upon all the Coast of Holland and Flaunders (where these kind of hills are called Duynen or Downes) only with this difference, that they are not so large nor high, as in the Low-Countries, and that the rowes of them take up but a little space in breadth. This kind of Strand is in most parts of Fingall (being a portion of the Countie of Dublin Northwards towards Tredagh, and a good way beyond that, and elsewhere. In other places lye no Downes or Sandy hills, nor any other heights, betwixt the Strand and the land, it being only defended from the overflowing of the Sea by an unsensible rising.

Sect. 2. Of the high and hilly shoares of Ireland.

In other places the land is high and hilly on the sea-side; part whereof doth descend by degrees towards the sea, having a Strand below; but elsewhere the land is high and steep, being washed underneath by the deep sea, so as ships of a great burthen may sail close by it; the which may be observed not only in the Heads or Capes, the most part whereof are thus fashioned, but in many other places, and in great extents of the coast. For as concerning the saying of *Giraldus*, that Ireland every where upon the coast is very low, *Est per omnia sui latera marinâque littora terra valde demissa*, that is evidently repugnant to the truth. Some of these high shoares are bare naked Rocks, covered with very little or no earth, so as scarce any thing groweth upon them

but dry grass and heath; others are stony within, but have at the top a reasonable deep mould, and all over clothed with good grass; some of them being so exceeding steep towards the Sea-side, that it is impossible for man or beast, being come to the further end, to go one step further, without falling down and being lost. So as it hath happened, that cattle and sheep feeding in those places, when they were come to the top, and following the grass, suddenly tumbled down, falling head-long into the sea, or upon the hard sharp Rocks standing at the bottom.

Sect. 3. *Capes on the East-side of Ireland.*

The Heads or Capes of Ireland are in great number, and many of them very observable, to the great commodity of the Sea-faring men. In the South-Easterliest point of Ireland is the Cape of Greenore, five or six miles to the South of the Bay of Wexford, being not very high, but steep, and flat at the top: and three or four miles to the South-west from it is the point of Carnarord.

Betwixt Wexford and Dublin there be five Heads: that of Glascarick, which the Dutch Mariners call the Blew point, and the Steep point, twelve miles to the North of the Bay of Wexford, being of no great height. That of Glaskermen or Arckloe being well-neer at the same distance from the Head of Glascarick, as that is from the Bar of Wexford. Missan-head, some nine or ten miles further to the North. The head of Wickloe, six miles beyond Missan-head, being steep and rocky, divided at the top into two little Hillocks. And the fifth and last of all, that of Bray, about fifteen miles beyond Wickloe, and five or six miles to the South of the Bay of Dublin, being a great and high Cape, shooting a good way into the Sea, and so steep, that it is ten fathoms deep there close under the land.

On the North-side of Dublin-bay is the Head of Houth, a great high mountain, three or four miles compass in the bottom; having the sea on all sides, except the West-side, where with a long narrow neck it is joined to the land; which neck being low ground, one may from either side see

the sea over it, so that afar off it seemeth as if it were an Iland. This Head may be seen a great way off at sea; for even upon the land one may very perfectly see it, not only upon the Key of Dublin, which is six miles from thence, but nine or ten miles further Westward.

Upon all the coast from the Head of Houth to Dondrom, being the space of about three score miles, is none considerable. But some miles Beyond Dondrom, and three or four miles at this side the Haven of Arglas, is St. John's point, a Head and Fore-land which shooteth a good way into the sea.

The next Head beyond St. John's is the point at the North-side of the Haven of Strangford, which the Dutch Mariners by a notable mistake call the point of Arglas.

All these Capes lye on the East side of Ireland, whose utmost point Northward is the Promontory of Fair-Foreland.

Sect. 4. Capes on the North-side of Ireland.

About fifty miles to the West of Fair-Foreland, and well neer the middle of the North-coast, is the Head of Enyston, which with the land next adjoyning lyeth much more Northward, and runneth further out into the sea than any other land upon this coast, being of a great height, so as it may easily be known by any that once have seen it.

Some forty miles more Westward beyond this Promontory lyeth the Cape which is known by the name of Horn-head, being a Hill with two hommocks at the top, in fashion somewhat like unto two horns, from whence it hath received its denomination.

Sect. 5. Capes on the West-side of Ireland.

Upon the West-side of the Irish coast are four principal Heads, viz., Telling-head, lying about thirty miles to the South-west of the Iles of Arran, the which are situated over against the North-Westerliest point of Ireland. Akil-head, some miles to the South of Broad-haven, being not on the Main but in an Iland. Sline-head, which by the Sea-faring men is called Twelve-pence, because the land sheweth it self in twelve round hommocks, being situated well neer in the

middle of the West-coast: and Lupis-head, which is the Northern-point of the Haven of Limmerick.

As for the other Heads upon the same West-side, namely those three betwixt the Haven of Sleigo and Broad-haven, by the Irish Pilots called Can-Moin, Can-Killaloy, and Can-Jores, (Can in Irish betokeneth a Head in all sorts of significations) Renilira and Clegan, between Akil-head, and Sline-head (which last the Irish call Can-Leme) Brain and Calew, situated to the South of the Bay of Galloway; and Can-Sanan, being the South-point of the Bay of Limmerick; those are less considerable.

Sect. 6. Heads on the Southern Coasts of Ireland.

Upon the South-West-side of Ireland, the principall Heads are Cape-Dorses (situated in an Iland of the same name, betwixt the two great Bayes of Maire and Bantree) and Missan-head, situated betwixt the Bayes of Bantree and Baltimore; being the same, in *Camdens* opinion, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Notium*, that is Southern, it being the most Southerly point of all Ireland.

Upon the South-East-side is the Head of Clare, standing in an Iland on the East-side of the Bay of Baltimore; and a great way from thence, the old Head of Kinsale, called Cape Velho by the Dutch Mariners; which Head, to those that come sailing along the land afar off, seemeth to be an Iland, being a point which shooteth a great way into the sea, whose utmost, or most southerly end is very high and steep.

Upon the same side standeth the Head of Ardmore, which runneth a great way into the sea from the land on both sides, and because of its height may be seen many miles off.

CHAP. V.

*Of the Sands or Grounds, Blind-Rocks, and other Rocks in the Irish Sea.**Sect. 1. Of the Grounds before the Coast betwixt Dublin and Wexford.*

THE Sea which invironeth Ireland, is as free from Shelves, Sands, or Grounds, as any in all the world, not alone upon the other sides, where the same is wide and open, far distant from all other lands, but upon the East-side where the same is inclosed betwixt Ireland and Great Britain, in which whole space it hath not any other Sands than those situated along the coast between Dublin and Wexford. These indeed are of a huge extent, but not turning and winding as most part of the Grounds in other places, but in a streight line, North-North-East, and South-South-West, being farthest from the land with their North-end; and as they go Southward, so they do come neerer to the land; and near the Tuskar, a Rock right against the point of Greenore, in which place they end, they are not much more than two miles distant from the land; whereas the distance betwixt the North-end, neer the Iland Dalkee (which Iland, as before we have shewed, lyeth at the entrance of Dublin bay, about threescore miles from the Tuskar) is above eight miles. They are all of a Stony-ground, in some places but one fathom deep, and a fathom and a half; but in the North-end two fathoms and a half, and three fathoms.

Betwixt these Grounds and the land lye two or three little Sands, besides those which lye in, and before the mouth of the Bay of Wexford: one betwixt the South-end and Greenore; another to the South of the Head of Glascarick, a good mile from the land, called Rush and Ram; and a third one mile to the South of Arckloe-head, called Glaskermen, somewhat more than half a mile from the land, and about two miles long.

Sect. 2. *Of the Channel betwixt the Land and the forenamed Grounds.*

The Channel betwixt the great Grounds and the land is very deep all over, so that the biggest vessels may pass through it from Dublin to Wexford, and from Wexford to Dublin, taking care only that they do not come too neer the Grounds, the which being very steep on the inside (as they are also without, or on the East-side, where ships may not come neerer to them than in twenty four and twenty five fathoms, because that in twenty fathoms one is close by them) it is requisite not to go further off from the land, than in seven or eight fathoms, in which depth ships may within a cables length sail all along the coast, the which here everywhere is very clean, and free from all danger. And even between the land and the forenamed small Grounds, Glaskermen and Rush and Ram, the Sea is very clean and deep, so as most ships do pass betwixt them and the land, and not about by the outside of them.

These Sands in four severall places are cut thorough with fair, broad and deep channels, whereof the one is over against the Bay of Wexford; the other against Glascarick, being no less than fifteen or sixteen fathoms deep; the third right against Arkloe, in which channel it is about seven or eight fathoms deep; and the fourth is directly against Wickloe.

Sect. 3. *Blind Rocks upon the Coast of Ireland from the Saltees unto Wickloe.*

There are some blind Rocks in this Sea, but lye for the most part close under the land, or neer some of the little Ilands or high rocks, so as they may easily be shunned, the rather, because most of them do at low water appear either in part or altogether. To speak a little of these in order: the Saltees, two little Ilands situated half way between the Haven of Waterford and the head of Carnarord (of the which hath been spoken heretofore) have both at the North-side some blind Rocks; whereof those which lye neer the bigger and southermost Iland, fall dry at low water. About three miles to the South of the same bigger Iland lyeth a blind Rock called Kin-

more, of the bigness of a ship, at half ebb it cometh above water, and is so steep, that with the side of a ship one may lye close against it, and have fourteen fathoms of water, so as without any danger one may sail very close by it. To the South-East of the forenamed bigger Iland do also lye some blind Rocks, called the Frailes, the which may be seen at low water, and ships may pass through the midst of them. About half a mile from Blackrock (a noted Rock whereof shall be spoken anon) lyeth a blind Rock, called the Barrell, of the which one must take heed very carefully. A little to the West of Carnarord lyeth a small Rocky fowl, close under the land. Betwixt Carnarord and St. Margaret's Bay it is foul and Rocky, but the foul grounds do not reach far into the Sea.

South-South-East from St. Margaret's Bay lyeth a Blind rock, called Calioagh, the which at low water falleth dry. From the point of Greenore a riffe of blind Rocks and Stones runneth almost the length of a mile into the Sea, the which at low water falleth dry a good way from the land. At the North-side of the Head of Arckloe lyeth a little stony row, the which is shunned very carefully by the ships, not daring to come neerer to it than in five fathoms of water.

Sect. 4. The rest of the blind Rocks upon the Coast of Ireland.

Just to the South of the Head of Wickloe, a little way from the land, lyeth a Rocky sand called Horse-shoe; betwixt which and the land ships may sail thorough, if need be: but that being full of danger, it is done very seldom; and a little further to the South lyeth a little blind Rock close by the land, called the Wolf, the which at half ebb cometh above water; betwixt which and the land fishers boats do pass.

The like blind Rocks and Rocky Sands lye upon the coast betwixt Tredagh and Dundalk, as also betwixt Dundalk and Carlingford, in both places close under the land: at both the points of the Havens of Carlingford and Strangford under St. John's point, situated half way between those two havens: on both sides of those two great Rocks, a litle way beyond Strangford Haven, called Southrock and Northrock: between

the Ilands of Copland Iles and the land, at the south point of the bay of Knockfergus: round about those great Rocks over against Oldfleet, called the Nine Maids: to the West of the little Iland called Sheeps Iland: betwixt Port Belletree and Skires Portrush, which rocks are called the Chickens: half way betwixt Lough Suillie and Sheeps-haven, a mile or two from the land, which Rocks the flood doth cover, but at ebb they come above water; and in severall other places upon the West-coast and the South-coast, the which it would be tedious all to particularize: wherefore we will conclude this rehearsall of the Blind Rocks with that which to the West of St. John's point (a point situated three or four miles Southwards from Kilbeg-haven) doth lye somewhat more than a mile off from land, upon which the Sea breaketh with great noise, and nevertheless one may freely and without any danger sail between the same and the land.

Sect. 5. Rocks in the Irish Sea, upon the East-side and the North-side of the Coast.

There be also divers Rocks that always stand above water, the which as they are dangerous in the dark night, and in misty weather, so at other times they are rather profitable than hurtful, forasmuch as they serve the Sea-faring men for Sea-marks, and help them to discern the situation and distances of the coasts; wherefore also the most part of them have received peculiar and proper names. The principall of this whole number is the Tuskar, a great black smooth rock, of fashion like unto a ship turned the upside downwards, but as big again, lying South-Eastwards from the point of Greenore the space of three miles. To the South-West of the Tuskar a great way, and about a mile and a half from the bigger of the Saltees, is the rock Kinbeg. To the North-East of the Saltees stand two Rocks not far the one from the other, of which the one of its situation is called Northrock, and the Southermost the Tuns. To the East of these two, and about three miles from the point of Carnarord, lyeth Blackrock, being clean of all sides, so as ships may freely sail round about it without any fear or danger.

A mile or two to the North of Lambay lieth a great Rock called Rock Abill, about which ships may sail of all sides.

Two miles beyond the North-point of the Haven of Strangford are two great Rocks, the one called North-Rock, and the other distant two miles from it to the South, South-Rock: the North-Rock is a number of Rocks lying close together, divers whereof are covered at high-water. From the end of these two shoot out riffes of foul and rocky-ground; but betwixt them goeth a broad, clean, and deep channel, through which all manner of ships, even the biggest, may pass.

Six or seven miles to the North of the Bay of Knockfergus, and three miles from the land are the Nine Maids, being great Rocks that lye but a little above the water, or low Rocky-Iles, with a great number of blind Rocks about the same, so as ships may come no neerer to them than within five or six mile.

Of the same kind of low Rocks, or little Rocky-Ilands, are also those who are called Enesterhull-Ilands, being situated before the most Northerly-point of Ireland, betwixt Lough Foyle and Lough Suillie.

Sect. 6. *Rocks in the Irish-Sea upon the Western and the Southern-Coast.*

Near the Ilands of Aran upon the North-West-coast of Ireland lye severall high Rocks, called the Stags of Aran; and such other Rocks, called the Stags of Broad-haven, lye three or four miles from the Northern point of Broad-haven. Three miles to the North-West of Akil-head lyeth Blackrock, a great, high and black Rock, with severall other Rocks neer unto it.

On the North-side and West-side of the Ilands Blaskees, lying over against the most westerly point of Ireland, are severall great Rocks, some whereof are called the Horses and others the Bucks.

Seven or eight leagues to the South of Blaskees lye three great Rocks, called the Skelligs, the Easterliest about three miles, and the westerliest six or seven miles from the land; the which, to those that come from the South, when first they begin to see them, resemble the Sails of Ships.

Without the Head of Dorses lye three other great Rocks, whereof the uttermost, or the most Westerly, is called the Bull, the middlemost the Cow, and the third the Calf, being clean round about, so as without any danger one may sail between them.

Five or six miles West and by South of the Head of Clare lyeth a high steep rock alone in the sea called Fastney, the which at the first appearing looketh like the sail of a ship.

Two or three miles to the East of Baltimore, and a mile or two from the land, lye five or six high steep Rocks called the Stags, as those of Aran and Broad-haven, to those that come from the East along the land, when first they begin to have them in sight, they resemble some Spires or Pointed-steeple standing together.

Two miles Eastwards from the mouth of the Haven of Kinsale, lye two great black Rocks, the one somewhat farther from the land than the other.

There lye also severall Rocks neer the little Ilands of Dalkee and Irelands Eye, the one situated before the North-point, and the other before the South point of the Bay of Dublin, as heretofore we have shewed. Likewise on both ends of the Ile of Lambay, half way betwixt the same Iland and Tredagh-haven, close by the land; near the Iland Raughlins, near Skires Portrush, and in severall other places, but the principal and most considerable are those whereof we have spoken.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nature of the Irish-sea, and of the Tides which go in the same.

Sect. 1. *The Irish-sea not so tempestuous as it is bruited to be.*

THAT part of the Irish-sea which divideth Ireland from Great-Britain, is very much defamed both by Ancient and Modern Writers, in regard of its boysterousness and tempestuousness, as if it were more subject to storms and raging weather

weather than any other, and consequently not to be passed without very great danger: *Mare quod Hiberniam & Britanniam interluit, undosum inquietumque, toto in anno non nisi paucis diebus est navigabile.* That is, *The sea which passeth betwixt Ireland and Britain, is boysterous and restless, so as but few days in the year ships can go upon it; saith Solinus: With whom Giraldus (who severall times went to and fro betwixt England and Ireland) fully agreeth, writing in this Manner, Hibernicum Mare concurrentibus fluctibus undosissimum, fere semper est inquietum, ita ut vix etiam æstivo tempore paucis diebus se navigantibus tranquillum præbeat:* That is, *the Irish-sea being very boysterous through the concourse of the waves, is almost always restless, so as even in the summer-time it is hardly for a few days quiet enough to be sailed upon.* Likewise also Camden and Speed give unto this sea the surnames of boysterous and tempestuous. Yea it is a common Proverb in England, *As unquiet as the Irish-sea.* Nevertheless it is nothing so bad as they make it; and the words of Stanyhurst, in his annotations upon Giraldus, *Mare Hibernicum satis tranquillum est, nisi ventorum vi agitur, & non solum æstate, sed etiam summa hyeme vectores ultro citroque navigant:* *The Irish-sea is quiet enough, except when by high winds it is stirred, so as not only in the summer, but even in the midst of winter people do pass it to and fro,* are altogether true, and confirmed by daily experience. True it is that some ships do perish upon this, but the same happeneth as well upon other seas, who are all subject to the disaster of tempests and shipwracks.

Sect. 2. *Causes of the Loss of such Ships as perish upon this Sea.*

The common cause of the casting away of ships upon this sea, and upon the East-coast of Ireland, is this, that in the long dark Winter nights (when this disaster is more frequent than at other times of the year) some furious storm arising, the ships are dashed against the Rocks, against the rocky Shoares, or against those Grounds which extend themselves betwixt the Tuskar and the Bay of Dublin, whilst the Steermen and Pilots by reason of the darkness not being able to discern the land,

or any of their wonted marks, do not know which way to steer to shun those dangerous places, or to keep themselves in the open sea.

Sect. 3. *Nature of the ground of the Irish-sea.*

The ground of the Irish-sea, as well in the midst, as under the land is almost every where clear sand; but in some places black and muddy or oasie-earth: In very few places rough and sharp; and scarce any where else but in the Bay of Wick-loe, so hard and stilly compacted, that the Anchors can take no hold of it.

Sect. 4. *Of the Tides in the Irish-sea.*

What concerneth the Ebbing and Flowing in this sea, which invironeth Ireland: upon all the West-side it floweth against the land, and the Ebb falleth back from it into the sea; the Flood from, and the Ebb towards the West; for which reason very great tides, as well of Ebb as Flood go upon all this coast, not only the open shoares, but in the bayes and inlets (even those which go a great way into the land, as the Haven of Limmerick) so as those, who have been at Galloway, do assure us, that it doth so mightily ebb and flow there, that at high water great vessels may sail over those Rocks, the which with the ebb come above water.

Upon the other side of Ireland it ebbeth and floweth along the land; for upon the North-side of Ireland the Ebb and Flood falleth in the same manner as upon the West-side, flowing from, and ebbing towards the West. But upon the East-side, from Fair-Foreland unto Carlingford, the Flood commeth from, and the ebb falleth to the North: as upon the rest of this East-side, to wit, from Carlingford to Carnarord, it floweth from the South, and ebbeth from the North. For although upon all this side the Flood runneth along the land, yet doth it not take its beginning from one and the same, but two contrary points; the which two floods comming the one out of the Main-sea in the North, and the other out of the Main-sea in the South, do meet and stop one another before the Haven of Carlingford.

From Tuskar and Carnarord as far as to the Head of Clare,

being the whole South-East-coast of Munster, the Flood falleth along the coast East-North-East, and the Ebb West-South-West. But upon the rest of the coast of Munster, beyond the Head of Clare Westward, which coast lyeth West and by South, the Flood falleth East-ward, and the Ebb to the West.

Sect. 5. *Strong Tides in the Sounds. Strange Propertie of the Bay of Wexford in the matter of Tides.*

That which the Sea-faring men do witness, that in the sound of Blaskees, of Dalkee, and in that of Lambay, as also in some other narrow channels of this sea, there goeth a very strong Tide, as well of the Ebb as Flood, is no other than may be observed almost every where else in places of the like nature.

But it is much to be wondered, what the same do relate of the channel or entrance of the Haven of Wexford, to wit, that it ebbeth and floweth there three houres sooner than without in the open sea; so as when it is high water in the channel of that Haven, and upon the bar of the same, the Flood doth still for half a Tide, or three hours after, strongly run by it to the North; whereby it commeth to pass that the end of Hane-mans-path (a great Sand lying just before the Haven of Wexford) is cast up more and more to the North; and that the channel which passeth by the North-side of that Sand, being the entrance of the Haven, is now more to the North than it hath been formerly. And as it floweth three houres longer in the open sea than upon the Bar and in the channel of this Haven, in the like manner also, the Ebb in the sea falleth to the South three houres after that it is low water in the same place, but not so strongly as the Flood.

Sect. 6. *Some other strange particulars about the Tides in the Irish-sea, related by Giraldus, but found not to be true.*

More strange it is what *Giraldus* writeth of the Havens of Wickloe and Arckloe, to wit, that in Wickloe Haven it ever floweth, when in the sea it ebbeth; and that it ebbeth there when it floweth in the sea. And that in the same River (this Haven being nothing else but the mouth of a little River)

the water is salt as well when the ebb is at the lowest, as at the flowing and high-water: And that to the contrary in that Rivelet, which at Arckloe dischargeth it self into the sea, the water keepeth its sweetness at all times (never receiving the mixture of any saltness) as well with the flood and high water, as with the ebb. But experience sheweth these things to be repugnant to the truth; as also what he writeth of a Rock not far from Arckloe, at the one side whereof he saith that it always ebbeth, when it doth flow on the other; and to the contrary. Also that in Milford-haven (situated in the Southernmost part of Wales, in a manner over against Waterford) and upon the next coasts, it ebbeth and floweth at quite contrary times to what it doth at Dublin, and the coasts thereabouts; so that it should begin to ebb in Milford-haven when in the Bay of Dublin it beginneth to flow, and to flow in Milford-haven when it beginneth to ebb at Dublin: Which how untrue it is, all those can witness, who having been in both places, have had the curiosity to observe the times and houres, at what age of the Moon soever, wherein it doth begin to ebb and to flow there.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Springs and Fountains, item, of the Brooks and Rivelets of Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Of the Springs and Fountains.*

HAVING sufficiently spoke of the Sea wherein Ireland lyeth, and of whatsoever belongeth thereunto; we shall now, before we come to treat of the land it self, speak of the Waters within the Land; first of the Springs and Brooks, afterwards of the Rivers, and lastly of the Loughs or Lakes.

As for the first, to wit, Fountains and Springs, Ireland is very full of them every where, not only in the mountainous and hilly parts, but even in the flat and champain countries: Which Springs for the most part are all of one and the same fashion, being like unto a small pit full of water up to the brim; at the lower side whereof the water doth run forth, without

making any noise or bubling. For that kind of Fountains which forcibly burst out of the side of a Rock, or spout their water on high, are very rarely to be found in this kingdom. The water of these Well-springs is for the most part cool, clear, and pure; free from all strange smell and taste: in which properties nevertheless, and in the wholsomness of the water, the same differences are found, and for the same causes as in other countries. For those which spring out of a gravelly or sandy ground are purer than those that spring out of earth or clay; those that rise out of a stony or Rocky ground, cooler than any of the former; those that are exposed to the sun, and freely receive the beams thereof, especially of the morning-sun, have lighter and wholsomer water, although less cool than those which are contrarily seated; and so for the rest.

Sect. 2. *Spaes and Holy-wells in Ireland.*

A few yeares since some Fountains have been discovered in Ireland, some of them not far from Dublin, and others in other parts, whose veins running through certain Minerals, and washing off the vertue of the same, yeeld a medicinall water, apt to open the obstructions of man's body, and to cure other accidents thereof; which kind of Fountains are commonly called Spaes, a name borrowed of a certain village in the country of Liege, in which there is a Spring of that sort, absolutely the principallest, and the most effectuall of all those of the same kind, and therefore of very great renown in near and in far countries. Besides these Spaes there are also a great number of other Fountains throughout all the Land, called Holy-wells by the inhabitants, whose water not differing from that of other Wells, in smell, taste, or in any other sensible quality, nevertheless is beleev'd to be effectuall for the curing of severall diseases. But experience doth shew, that those vertues are not found in the Springs themselves, but only in the vain imagination of the superstitious people; the which also having dedicated every one of those to some particular Saint, do expect the supposed vertue rather from the power of them, than from any naturall efficaciousness inherent in the water it self.

Sect. 3. *Of the fabulous Fountains of Giraldus Cambrensis.*

As for those wonderfull Springs mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, one in Munster whose water presently maketh them gray that wash their head or beard therewith; one in Ulster, of quite contrary vertue, so that the persons washed therewith never come to be gray; one in Connaught, whose water good and commodious for the drinking, and other uses of man, is hurtful, yea deadly to cattle, sheep, horses, and all other sorts of beasts; and yet another in the same Province, the which being on the top of a high hill, far from the sea side, ebberth and floweth twice a day, in the same manner as the sea, I could not hitherto come to the speech of any, who in our times had seen those Fountains, or observed any such thing in them: Which maketh me doubt, that that good man hath been deceived herein by his credulity, as in innumerable other things, the which being evidently untrue and fictitious, are by him related for certain truths. As in this matter who seeth not the idleness of that fiction concerning a certain Fountain in Munster, whereof he writeth, that as soon as any body doth touch it, or but look at it, it be-ginneth presently to rain most heavily over all the Province and continueth so to do, untill a certain Priest, appointed for that purpose, and who hath never lost his Maidenhead, do appease the fountain in singing a Mass in a Chappel standing not far from thence, and built expressly for that end: and in besprinkling the same fountain with Holy-water, and with the Milk of a Cow of one colour.

Sect. 4. *Of the Brooks in Ireland.*

No country in the world is fuller of Brooks, than Ireland, where the same be numberless and water all the parts of the land on all sides. They take their beginning three severall manner of waies. Some have their source of Fountains the which for the most part are very small, not only those who carry the water but of one spring (most of which are rather like unto a gutter, than a brook) but even those into which the water

of severall fountains doth flow together. Others rise out of Bogs, the which besides their own universall wetness being full of springs, and by reason thereof gathering in them more water than they are able to drink in or contain, do necessarily send out the same in convenient places, and so give a beginning unto Rivelets and Brooks. The third sort take their beginning out of certain small Loughs, which brooks ordinarily are of a reasonable bigness, and far surpass the other two sorts; although there do not want some, even of this kind, which are very little. And there is very few of any of these kinds, who come to any notable bigness, as long as they continue to be solitary, and untill having received the water of severall other Brooks do thereby grow more considerable than they were in their first originall.

These Brooks, besides the great good they do the land in watering the same, and besides the commodity they afford of drenching the Cattell and other Beasts; do also greatly serve the inhabitants for another good use, to wit, the grinding of their corn, whereunto the Windmills are very little used in Ireland, because they have the conveniency, through the great number of Brooks, to erect watermills in every quarter where it is necessary: which bring a great profit to the owners, being kept and maintained with less cost and labour.

Sect. 5. Of the swelling and overflowing of the Brooks.

Some of the Brooks do flow in an equall bigness all the year long, without receiving any notable increase or diminishing: but far the major part do change according to the wet or dry seasons of the year, and as many of them as come out of the mountains, or run thorough hilly countries, swell so excessively, when any great rain doth fall, that they not only overflow the next low grounds, doing many times great damage in them, but also bring the wafering men into great distress; for it commeth to pass very oft, that a brook, which ordinarily is very shallow and still, riseth so mightily through the multitude of the rain water, which from the next mountains and hills descendeth into it, that a good horse cannot pass without swimming, where at other times a child easily may wade

over: and with that abundance of water is commonly joined so strong and impetuous a current, that man and horse are often carried away with it, to their extreme danger; and whatsoever we say here-in of the Brooks, is much more to be understood of the rivers, the which otherwise in convenient places or fords may be passed over; wherein the aforesaid danger is greater yet: so that few yeares pass in Ireland, in the which some persons are not drowned in that fashion.

Sect. 6. *Strange invention of a man to pass a Brook, greatly risen by the abundance of Rain.*

It shall not be improper to insert here a particular observed by a very credible and reverend person, *Theophilus Buckworth*, Bishop of Dremore, the which he hath severall times related to my Brother and others, being this; The Lagon, a little River or Brook, which passeth by the Town of Dremore, upon a certain time being greatly risen through a great and lasting rain, and having carried away the wooden-bridge, whereby the same used to be passed at that Town; a country fellow who was travelling that way, having stayed three days in hope that the water would fall, and seeing that the rain continued, grew impatient of staying longer, and resolved to pass the Brook whatever the danger was; but to do it with the less perill, and the more steadiness, he took a great heavy stone upon his shoulders, whose weight giving him some firmness against the violence of the water, he passed the same without harm, and came safe to the other side, to the wonderment of many people, who had been looking on, and given him all for a lost person.

Sect. 7. *Of the Brooks of Dromconran and Rafernam by Dublin.*

Of these dangerous Brooks there are two hard by Dublin, both running into the Haven somewhat more than a mile from the city, the one at the North-side thereof, a little below the Village Dromconran, which is seated upon the Highway from Dublin to Drogheda; and the other at the South-side, close by the Rings-end. This called Rafernam-water of the village

by which it passeth two miles from the sea, and the same distance from Dublin, is far the worst of the two, as taking its beginning out of those great mountains South-wards from Dublin, from whence after any great rain such abundance of water is descending to it, that the same, which at other times is of very little depth, groweth thereby so deep, and exceeding violent, that many persons have lost their lives therein; amongst others Mr. *John Usher*, Father to Sir *William Usher* that now is, who was carryed by the current, no body being able to succour him, although many persons, and of his nearest friends, both afoot and horseback were by on both the sides. Since that time a stone bridge hath been built over that brook (as over Dromconran-water there hath been one from antient times) upon the way betwixt Dublin and Rings-end; which was hardly well accomplished, when the brook in one of those furious risings quite altered its channel for a good way, so as it did not pass under the Bridge as before, but just before the foot of it, letting the same stand upon the dry land, and consequently making it altogether useless: in which perverse course it continued, untill per force it was constrained to return to its old channel, and to keep within the same. To go from Dublin to Rafernam, one passeth this River upon a wooden-bridge; the which although it be high and strong, nevertheless hath severall times been quite broke, and carried away through the violence of sudden floods; although at other times, and when that Brook doth only carry its ordinary water, a child of five yeares may easily and without danger wade through it; and a tall man on horseback riding underneath it, not being able to reach it; in the great floods the water many times riseth so high, as that it doth not only touch, but floweth quite over the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Rivers of Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Of the Shanon.*

BESIDES the excessive number of Brooks wherewith Ireland is watered, it hath a good many Rivers, the which being broader and deeper than the Brooks, are consequently navigable; although the major part are not portable of any great ships nor barks, but only of small vessels and boats.

The principallest of all is the Shanon, who taking his originall out of Lough-Allen, and in his course dividing the Province of Connaught from Leinster, and afterwards also from Munster, passeth through two other great Loughs, to wit, Lough-Ree, whereout she cometh just above Athlone (a mean market-town, but adorned with a stately and strong Castle, the ordinary residence of the Presidents of Connaught) and Lough-Dergh, about half way betwixt Athlone and Limerick, and a little below the said Town she dischargeth her self again into another Lough, by far the biggest of all, the which extending it self from Limerick unto the sea and above fifty miles long, it is held by the Irish as well as the English not for a Lough, but for the Shanon it self, and consequently called with that name; whereof hath been spoken in the second Chapter.

This River is wide and deep every where, so as she would be navigable in her whole length, not only with Boats of all sorts, but with reasonable big Ships, to the great commodity of them that inhabit near it, were it not for the impediment of a certain Rock, some six miles above Limerick, the which standing across in the channel, and the River with great violence falling downwards over it, all communication of Navigation betwixt the upper and the lower parts of it is thereby absolutely hindred.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Lord Wentworth, and afterwards Earl of Strafford, he that in the beginning of this present Parliament was beheaded, having been Governour of Ireland

many yeares, first in the quality of Lord Deputy, and afterwards of Lord Lieutenant, had a design to take away that let, in causing of a new channel to be digged for a little way, whereby the River being made to alter her course, should have avoided that Rock; and to that purpose sent certain skilfull men thither to view those parts, and carefully to examine whether it were feasible, who made report that it might be done, and would not cost above seven or eight thousand pounds sterling, a sum not very considerable in comparison of the great profit which afterwards would have been reaped from that work: nevertheless it was never taken in hand, the intents of publick utility having been diverted and smothered by those of private profit, as commonly it falleth out.

Sect. 2. *The Rivers Suck, Shure, Oure, Broad-water, Barrow and Slane.*

There are severall other Rivers in the Province of Connaught, none of them is any ways comparable with the Shanon for length, breadth, or depth, and little to be said of them, but that the Suck, the which falleth into the Shanon a little way below Athlone, is the principallest of all.

The two chief Rivers of Munster are Shure and Broad-water, the City of Waterford being situated upon the first of those two, the which close by it dischargeth herself into that arm of the sea which is known by the name of Waterford-haven. The other passeth by Lismore, and falleth into the sea by Youghall, where it maketh a Tide-haven. Next to those two is the River of Cork, and then that of Kinsale, the which is but of small moment, as also are the rest of the Rivers of this Province.

In Leinster is the Nure or Oure, the Barrow, the Slane, the Liffie, and the Boine, besides some others of less moment.

The Oure and Barrow do mingle their waters at the Town of Ross, from whence having past a little way together, they discharge themselves into the right arm of the Haven of Waterford, and so in a manner do meet the Shure, who falleth into the other arm: For which consideration these three Rivers were wont to be called the three Sisters, as *Giraldus*

witnesseth. Both the Oure and the Barrow are portable many miles into the country; the Oure only with little Boats, and with Cots (they call in Ireland Cots things like Boats, but very unshapely, being nothing but square pieces of timber made hollow) but the Barrow with good big Boats. The Slane falleth into the Haven of Wexford, being like unto the Oure for length and bigness.

Sect. 3. *Of the Liffie and the Boine.*

The Liffie is the Princess of the Irish-Rivers, not for her bigness (for not only the Shanon, but the Boine, Barrow, and severall others, do far surpass her therein) but because Dublin, the chief City of all Ireland, is seated upon her banks: a mile below which City, at a place called Rings-end, she loseth herself in a Bay of the Sea, which is called Dublin-haven. With the help of the Flood, ships of fifty and three-score tuns can make a shift to come up to the Key of Dublin, but when the Tide is out, and at the lowest, the smallest boats find hardly water enough to go between Dublin and Rings-end, because the channel being very broad there, the water spreadeth it self too much, and by reason thereof groweth very shallow. But in the City it self, where she is inclosed betwixt the Keys on both sides, and from the bridge of Dublin untill the bridge of Kilmanan, and a little further, being somewhat more than a mile (in which space she runneth between her own banks) great boats may go upon her at any time. She would be navigable with boats some three or four miles further; but the Weres, made in her a little way above the bridge of Kilmanan do hinder that. This River taketh her beginning in the mountains lying to the South of Dublin, not above ten miles from it; but fetcheth such a compass (bending her coast first to the West, afterwards to the North, and lastly, for seven or eight miles, Eastward) that from her originall to her mouth is the space of no less than forty or fifty miles.

The Boine the river where-on Tredagh is seated, hath her beginning in King's County, close by the originall of the Barrow, although the place where the Barrow falleth into the

haven of Waterford, is above fourscore miles distant from the mouth of the Boine. This River is almost of an equall bigness in far the greatest part of her course, and would be portable of good big boats very many miles into the land, if that were not hindred by the Weres.

Sect. 4. *Of the Band and Blackwater.*

The principall River in Ulster of those that fall directly into the Sea, is the Band, the which as in her mouth, she is incumbred with severall inconvenients, as we have declared above in the third chapter, so she is portable but a few miles from the Sea, because of a certain Rock, the which running across the channel from the one bank to the other, stoppeth all manner of passage, not only of bigger vessels and barks, but of the smallest boats, which dare not come neer the same Rock, because it being somewhat high, and the water from it falling downwards with great violence, it goeth for some space with a mighty current. This Rock or Cataract, called vulgarly the Salmon-leap (for a reason hereafter to be declared) and the Fall, because of the falling down of the water, is not above four miles from the Sea, hindering all manner of communication between the same and Lough Neaugh, from the which this Cataract is distant about three miles: whereas otherwise, if the passage of this River from the Sea to the Lough were open, ships might by that means go a great way into the land, not only the whole length and breadth of Lough Neaugh (which every where is very deep, and navigable even for great ships) but even a good many miles farther (with good big boats) by means of some Rivers that fall into it, especially the Blackwater, which is the principallest of them all. For the Band, although she giveth the name to the river going out of the Lough, is not comparable to the Black-water for breadth nor depth, being rather a brook than a River, the which being very shallow at other times, doth rise so excessively upon the falling of much rain, that it is one of the most dangerous and terrible brooks of all Ireland, in the which therefore from time to time many men and horses have been drowned at the passing of it.

Sect 5. *Of the Lagon and Nurie-water tide-rivers.*

Besides the Band and the Black-water, there is scarce any other River in Ulster, but that which passing by Strabane and London-derry, dischargeth it self into Lough Foile. For the Lagon, heretofore mentioned by us, which by Belfast falleth into the Sea; the Nurie-water, whereof we have spoken in the description of Carlingford-haven; and some others of that nature, are properly brooks, and not portable by reason of their own water, but of that which out of the Sea floweth into them; as appeareth clearly when the tide is out. For then they are as small, and as little portable in those places, where the boats and bigger vessels do pass at high water, as are they at all times in those places unto which the tide doth never reach: which kind of Tide-rivers or brooks, which only by the comming in of the tide are made navigable for a little way, are to be found in all the Provinces of Ireland.

Sect. 6. *Of the Cataracts in the Irish Rivers.*

Besides that the navigable Rivers are but rare in Ireland, and that the most part of them are only portable of very small vessels and boats, not of any bigger ships or barks, as appeareth by the former relation, there be very few rivers, who have not some impediment or other in them, whereby it commeth that they are not portable so far, as otherwise they would be. These impediments are chiefly three in number, Cataracts, Weres, and Foards; whereof the last two do only concern the lesser Rivers. The first, to wit, the Cataracts, are incident to the greatest Rivers as well as to others, as may appear by what we have said concerning them in the description of the Shanon and the Band; whereby also fully may be conceived the manner and nature of the said Cataracts, so as it is needless here again to delineate them.

Such a Cataract or Fall there is found in the Liffie, seven miles from Dublin, and about a quarter of a mile above the village and Castle of Leslip, the description of which as

holding it not improper for this place, we shall here set down as it came to our hands from those who have observed it very exactly. The said River running thereabouts along a narrow and deep valley, being hemmed in at both sides with high hills of a long continuance, hath a very Rocky channel, and besides that the bottom is overspread in severall parts with great massie stones, there is in two or three places, at no great distance, a continuall Rocky bulk reaching from one side to the other, leaving but one or two narrow passages, through which the stream runneth with a very strong current, and a mighty noise, but the third and last bulk, like a Cataract hath the channel close to it, a great deal lower (by far more than the other, at least by seven or eight feet) which is the cause that the stream doth not so much run swift here, or passeth with a current through narrow channels, as in the two first bulks, but as soon as it is got over the Rock it falleth steep down with great violence, the space of three or four paces in breadth; where as the remainder of the main channel is altogether stopped by the said Rock. In winter and other very rainy seasons, when the water doth increase much, it passeth over all the said Rocks smoothly and without noise, where the same is exceeding great, those times, when the Liffie runneth with a small streame.

There is also a Cataract in a small Tide-river in the County of Cork in Munster, the which falleth into the innermost corner of the great bay Bantrie, and one in the Haven of Balle-shanon, which haven being in effect nothing else but the mouth of Lough-Earn, commonly is counted for a River, and called by the name of Trowis.

Sect. 7. Of the Foards in the Rivers of Ireland a second impediment of their navigableness.

Concerning the Foards; it is to be observed, that not every where, where the high-ways meet with great brooks or small Rivers, bridges are found for to pass them, but that in very many places one is constrained to ride through the water it self, the which could not be done, if the Rivers kept themselves every where enclosed between their banks;
 62 wherefore

wherefore they are not only suffered in such places to spread themselves abroad, but men help thereto as much as they can, to make the water so much the shallower and consequently the easier to be passed: whereby it commeth many times to pass, that a river which above and below the foard is deep enough to be portable of great boats, through the shallowness of the foards lying between, will bear none but of the very smallest; or where otherwise the same would carry small boats is not portable at all; this in most places might easily be remedied, in raising of dikes or artificiall banks, where the naturall ones failing do minister opportunitie unto the rivers for to spread themselves; and making bridges to pass over. Some foards, do not greatly impair the channel of the Rivers, but leave the same almost in her full depth, especially in the midst; but the same, as they are more incommodious for the traveller, so they are not very frequent, but in far less number than the others.

Sect. 8. *Of the Weres, a third impediment of the navigableness of the Rivers in Ireland.*

The Weres, a third let of the Navigation of the Irish Rivers, are thus ordered: They set up very big stones in the River, close together from the one side of the River to the other, leaving only one hole, either in the midst, or neer one of the sides, before which hole a Basket being laid, they take therein a great quantity of fish; for comming to the Weres, and finding their way stopt by the stones, they take their course to that place where they find an opening. These rows of stones do not directly cross the River from the one side to the other, but do go very much sloping, that the stream with less force may beat against them: and the same also do stand but very little above the water, to the end that when the flouds come the water may find a ready passage over them, without which they would not be able to subsist against the force thereof, but easily be thrown down and scattered.

Some Weres are set up, not so much for the taking of fish, as for mills, and that the course of the water thereby being in

part stopped in the main channel, may be made to go into some little by-channel, cut expressly for to convey the water to the mill: many Weres serving for both these uses jointly.

Some Rivers have only one of these impediments, as the Shanon and the Band, each a Fall or Cataract: the Boine, Weres; having only Foards many miles from the sea. The greatest number have Weres and Foards, and commonly each of them in severall places. Some have all three, as the Liffie by name, which hath not only Weres and Foards in severall places, but also a Cataract or Salmon-leap, as hath been mentioned above.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Lakes or Loughs in Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Of the little Loughs.*

LOUGHSThere is a very great number in Ireland, especially in the Provinces of Ulster and Connaught, we may distinguish them into three severall sorts, Great, Middle-sort, and the Least. Under this last we comprehend all such whose parts discover it self to the eye all over at one time.

This sort of Loughs are found in severall places of the other Provinces, but nothing neer so many as in Ulster. Every one of these commonly sends forth a Brook, and some more than one, being all of them very deep (the very least not excepted) and well-stored with Fish: So as they are not only delightful, especially such as are situated in some Dale or Valley, or environed round about, or on some sides with pleasant little Hills (as it falleth out in the greatest part of them) but also commodious and profitable, affording good opportunity to build houses and Castles upon their borders, which was done in many places by the English and Scotch, who had made severall fair Plantations, and would have done more, if it had not been hindered by that horrible Rebellion of the bloody Irish; in the beginning of which many of them

which were already built have been destroyed by those Barbarians.

Many of those little Loughs have a little Island in the midst, which is both commodious and pleasant. Some wherein little Islands do float, not keeping long any certain place, but removing to and fro as the force of the wind doth drive them.

Sect. 2. Of the Middle-sort of Loughs.

The Middle-sort of Loughs we understand to be such as far exceeding the fore-mentioned in bigness, nevertheless are not to be compared with the biggest sort, of which we shall speak presently: of this kind are Lough-Fin and Lough-Dirg in the County of Doneghall in Ulster, Lough-Mugkney in the County of Monaghan, and Lough-Sillon in the County of Cavan, both in the same Province; Lough Ranmore in Eastmeath: besides several others in other Counties of Leinster, especially in Queenes-county, Longford, and Westmeath, having little or nothing worthy of observation.

Sect. 3. Of the Great Loughs, and first of those of Salt Water.

The great Loughs are of two sorts, either of Sweet-water, as all the former; and some of Salt-water; these last being such through the mixture of the sea; the which finding an open entrance, and twice a day with the Tide fully flowing into them, maketh the water so salt. And it would be no great error to take all those Loughs wherein that happeneth, (viz. Lough Cone, in the County of Down; Lough Foile, in the County of Colrain; Lough Suille, in Tirconnell; and the Lough of Cork) rather for Inlets of the Sea than for Lakes, although the Inhabitants hold them all to be Loughs, and give them the name of Loughs: And in this number is also to be put that great Lough betwixt Limmerick and the sea, through which the Shanon dischargeth it self into the sea; of the which we have already spoke once or twice heretofore.

Sect. 4. Of Lough-Earn, Lough-Neaugh, and the rest of the Great Loughs.

Amongst the great Loughs of Sweet-water, are far the principallest Lough-Earn and Lough-Neaugh, the first of which is situated in the confines of Ulster and Connaught, being in effect two different Loughs, joyned together only by a short and narrow channel; of which two, that which lieth farthest within the land, doth extend it self in a manner directly North and South; but the second, which is next to the sea, doth lye East and West; so that both together they have the fashion of a bended elbow, being both very broad in the midst, growing by degrees narrower towards both the ends.

Lough-Neaugh lyeth in the North-easterly part of Ulster, bordering upon the Counties of Tirone, Armagh, Down, Antrim, and Colraine, being of a round, or rather somewhat ovall figure.

Next in bigness to these two is Lough-Corbes, the same on whose neather-end the City Galloway is seated: The two Loughs thorough which the Shanon passeth, Lough-Ree, and Lough-Dirg: *item*, Lough-Fingarrow in Connaught, betwixt the Counties of Majo and Roscomen.

In the last place, as the least of this sort, are Lough-Allen, out of which the Shanon taketh his originall, being nine miles long, and three miles broad: Lough-Meske, situated betwixt Lough-Fingarrow and the Lough of Galloway; and Lough-Larne, in the County of Kerry in Munster, not far from the upper-end of those two famous bayes Dingle and Maire. The least of these is some miles long and broad, and many miles in circuit; but the biggest are of so vast a compass, that they are more like a Sea than a Lough.

Sect. 5. Of the Islands in the Loughs.

Most of these great Loughs are very full of little Islands, and above all Lough-Earn, in which the same are numberless. In Lough-Cone also there is so great a number, that those who inhabit about it, affirm them to be two hundred and

threescore. Lough-Ree, and Lough-Dirg are likewise very full of them: And there is also a good many in Lough-Fin-garrow, Lough-Larne and Snille. But Lough-Foile is very free from them, and in the Lough of Cork there is not above one or two, as likewise in Lough-Neaugh, in which they lye neer to the sides, leaving the midst altogether free.

Very few of these Ilands are inhabited or planted; but the most part being plentifully cloathed with very sweet Grass, serve for pastures to sheep and other cattell, the which do thrive wonderfully well in them, and the same befalleth also in the middle sort of Loughs, amongst which likewise there be very few that have not some of these little Ilands in them.

In some few of these Ilands, especially of Lough-Earn and Lough-Ree, are some dwellings, whereunto persons who love solitariness were wont to retire themselves, and might live there with much contentment, as finding there not only privacy and quietness, with opportunity for studies and contemplations, but there besides great delightfulness in the place it self, with variety of very sweet pastimes in fowling, fishing, planting, and gardening. In one of the greatest Ilands of Lough-Earn, Sir *Henry Spotteswood* had a fine seat, with goodly buildings, Gardens, Orchards, and a pretty little Village, with a Church and Steeple belonging to it, which whether it is in being yet, or destroyed by the barbarians and bloody Rebels, I am not informed. In Lough-Sillon in the county of Cavan in an Iland not far from the bank where the River Nannei runneth into it, is a Castle built of form four square, which covereth the whole Ile, much after the manner of the Fort Eneskellin in Lough-Earn, and so many more too long to be rehearsed.

Sect. 6. *Of St. Patricks Purgatory*

One of these little Ilands situated in Lough Dirg (one of the middle-sort of Loughs) hath been very famous, for the space of some ages, over almost all Christendome; because the world was made to beleieve, that there was the suburbs of Purgatory, into which whoso had the courage to go, and remain there the appointed time, did see and suffer very

strange and terrible things: which perswasion having lasted untill our times, the matter hath been discovered within these few yeares, and found to be a meer illusion. This discoverie was made during the government of Richard Boile, Earle of Cork, and Adam Loftus, Vicount of Elie, and Lord Chancellour of Ireland: which two being Lords Justices of that Kingdome in the last yeares of King James, and desirous to know the truth of the business, sent some persons of qualitie to the place, to inquire exactly into the truth of the whole matter. These did find, that that miraculous and fearful cave, descending down to the very Purgatory and Hell, was nothing else but a little cell, digged or hewn out of the rocky ground, without any windowes or holes, so as the doore being shut one could not see a jot within it; being of so little depth, that a tall man could but just stand upright in it, and of no greater capacity, than to contain six or seven persons. Now when that any person desirous to go that Pilgrimage to Purgatory, was come into the Iland, the Friars, some small number whereof made their constant abode there for that purpose, made him watch and fast excessively: whereby, and through the recounting of strange and horrible apparitions and fantasmies, which he would meet withall in that subterranean pilgrimage, being well prepared, they did shut him up in that little dark hole; and being drawn out again from thence after some hours, altogether astonished and in a maze, he would be a good while before he came again to himself, and afterwards the poor man would tell wonderfull stories, as if in very deed he had gone a great way under the ground, and seen and suffered all those things, which his weak imagination, altogether corrupted by the concurrence and sequel of so many causes to weaken the braine, did figure unto him.

To prevent this delusion in future times, the said Lords Justices caused the Friars to depart from thence, their dwelling quite to be demolished, and the hole or cell to be broke open, and altogether exposed to the open air, in which state it hath lyen ever since: whereby that Pilgrimage to Purgatory is quite come to nothing, and never hath been undertaken since by any.

To beget the greater reputation to this fictitious Purgatory, the people was made to beleieve, that St. Patrick, by whom the Irish were converted to the Christian-faith about four hundred yeares after the nativity of Christ, had caused the same, and obtained it of God by his prayers, to convince the unbeleivers of the immortality of the soul, and of the torments which after this life are prepared for the wicked persons; wherefore also they gave it the name of St. Patricks Purgatory. But it is very certain, that nothing of it was known in Ireland during the life of the holy person, nor in a huge while after, it having been devised some Ages after his death, when that the general darkness of the times ministred a great opportunity of such like inventions, to those kind of men that knew how to abuse the blind devotion of ignorant and superstitious people to their own profit and filthy lucre.

*Sect. 8. Of the property of Lough Neaugh of turning
Wood into Stone.*

Before we make an end of this Chapter, we must say something of the wonderfull property which generally is ascribed to Lough Neaugh, of turning Wood into Stone; whereunto some do add, to double the wonder, that the Wood is turned not only into stone, but into Iron; and that a branch or pole being stuck into the ground somewhere by the side where it is not too deep, after a certain space of time one shall find that peece of the stick which stuck in the ground, turned into Iron, and the middle, as far as it was in the water, into Stone; the upper-end, which remained above the water, keeping its former nature. But this part of the History I beleieve to be a Fable: For my Brother, who hath been severall times in places not far distant from that Lough, and who of the English thereabouts inhabiting hath inquired this business with singular diligence, doth assure me, that he never could learn any such thing; but that the turning of Wood into Stone was by every one beleaved for certain, as having been tried divers times by severall persons: saying moreover to have understood of them, that the water hath this vertue only at the sides, and that not everywhere, but only in some few places, especially

about that part where the River Blackwater dischargeth herself into the Lough. He could never come to speak with any persons, who themselves had tried this matter; but with severall, who affirmed, that to their knowledge it had certainly been done by others of their acquaintance. For further confirmation of this particular (which in it self is credible enough, seeing that in many parts of the world there are found waters indued with that vertue) serveth, that here and there upon the borders of that Lough are found little stones of a pretty length, some of them round in their compass, others flat, or flattish, and some angulous, the which being looked on, as well neer as from afar off, seem to be nothing else but Wood, and by every one are taken for such, untill one come to touch and handle them: for then by their coldness, hardness, and weight it appeareth that they are not Wood but Stone: Whereby it may probably be conjectured, that the same formerly having been Wood indeed, and so having kept their old shape and fashion in length of time have been turned into a stony substance by the vertue of that water, whereinto they were fallen through the one accident or other.

Giraldus writeth, to have heard of a Well or Fountain in the North-quarters of Ulster, the which in seven years space turneth into Stone the Wood cast into it: but seeing that no body now a dayes knoweth of any such well, and that with all my enquires I could never come to hear any news of it, I will beleieve, that *Giraldus* hath been mis-informed, and that they have told him that of a Well which was proper unto this Lough.

CHAP. X.

Of the Nature and Condition of the Land, both for the outward shape, and for the internall qualities and fruitfulness.

Sect. 1. *Distinction of Ireland into Champain Lands, Hills, and Mountains.*

THE Lands of this Iland, as of most all other Countries, are of a various kind and fashion: For some parts are goodly plain Champain, others are Hilly, some Mountainous, and others are composed of two of these sorts, or of all three together, and that with great variety, the which also is very great, in those three un-compounded sorts.

Sect. 2. *A necessary observation about the use of the words Hill and Mountain.*

To avoid all ambiguity, and make our selves cleerly understood in what we have said, and are further to say upon this subject, we think it necessary to forewarn our Reader, that we do use the word *Hill* in a narrower signification, than what is given to it in the ordinary use of speech. For whereas all, or most other Languages, both those which are now in vulgar use, and those which are only preserved in books, have two severall words for to signify those observable heights which appear above the ground, calling the bigger sort by one name, and the lesser sort by another: The English language useth one and the same word for both, calling *hills* as well the one as the other, without any other distinction, but that sometimes the word *small* or *great* is added. Now because this word so indifferently used would cause some confusion in the matter we treat of, that hath made us restrain it to one of the sorts, and to call *hills* only the lesser sort, called in Latin *collis*, in French *colline*, in Dutch *heuvel*, and in Irish *knock*. As for the other and bigger sort, whose name in the aforesaid four languages is *mons*, *mountain*, *berg*, *slew*, we call them mountains: which word *mountains*, although it be good English,

yet in common speech it is seldom made use of in that sense whereunto we apply it, but only to signifie a country wholly consisting of those great Hills, especially when the soil thereof is lean and unfruitful.

Sect. 3. *Of the Mountains of Ireland, and first of the lower sort.*

The difference betwixt Hills and mountains consisting in bigness, is of two sorts; for in the number of mountains are counted not only those which lift up themselves very high into the air so as they may be seen many miles off, but also those, the which take up the more in length and breadth, what is wanting to them in height, ascending slopingly by degrees.

The Mountainous parts of Ireland do for the most part consist of this second part of Mountains, most of them in one quarter being muchwhat of the same height; so as sometimes one shall ride some houres together, through the mountainous country, without meeting with any one Mountain that greatly excelleth in height above the rest: the which in particular may be observed in the Mountainous Country of the Fuse, betwixt Dundalk and Armagh; in that of Mourne, betwixt the Nurie and Dondrom (each of those two being above twelve miles long) in all that space which is betwixt Kelles, a walled town in the County of Eastmeath, and Killacolie, *alias* Bailieborough, in the County of Cavan, which being ten miles long, is almost nothing else but a continuance of hills of no great bigness, all very fruitful land both Pasture and Arable. In the County of Westmeath, from Lough-Crew to Lough-Sillon, and beyond it, as far as Ballaneach, where Mr. *William Fleving* had built a fair house and Farm ten yeares before the late detestable Massacre and bloody Rebellion of the Irish. These hills are for the most part low and small, yet some of a good height and bigness, the ground lean, in many places very stony, in some rocky, not of any one continuall rock, but by peece-meals here and there rising and appearing. Yet are these hills in severall places wet and moorish, as well in the rocky as other parts. These hills serve only for pasture of sheep. In the major part of the Mountainous country of Wickloe, the

which beginning five miles to the South of Dublin, doth extend it self above fiftie miles in length; and in severall other parts.

It hath been observed in many parts of Ireland, but chieflie in the county of Meath, and further Northward, that upon the top of the great hills and mountains, not only at the side and foot of them, to this day the ground is uneven as if it had been plowed in former times. The inhabitants do affirm, that their forefathers being much given to tillage, contrarie to what they are now, used to turn all to plow-land. Others say that it was done for want of arable, because the Champain was most everywhere beset and overspread with woods, which by degrees are destroyed by the wars. They say further, that in those times, in places where nothing now is to be seen, but great logs of a vast extent, there were thick woods, which they collect from hence, that now and then trees are digged out there being for the most part some yards long, and some of a very great bigness and length.

Sect. 4. *Of the higher sort of Mountains in Ireland.*

As for those other mountains, the which with an excessive height rise up towards the Skies, they are not very common in Ireland; and yet some there be, which although not comparable with the Pyrenæi, lying between France and Spain, with the Alpes, which divide Italy from France and Germany, or with other mountains of the like vast height, nevertheless may justly be counted among the loftie mountains. Of this number are the Mountains of Carlingford, betwixt Dundalke and Carlingford, the which in a clear day may easily be seen from the Mountains to the South of Dublin, the which are more than fortie miles distant from them; the Mountains about Lough Suillie, in the North parts of Ulster, the which may be seen many miles off in the Sea; the Curlews, that sever the counties of Sleigo and Roscomen in Connaught; the twelve Mountains in the North-quarter of the County of Tipperary in Munster, the which far exceeding the rest of the mountains there, are known by the name of *the twelve hills of Phe-lim ghe Madona*; Knock-Patrick, in the West-part of the county of Limmerick, not far from the bay of Limmerick,

which Mountain can be seen by the ships, which are a huge way from the land yet; the Mountains of Brandon hills, in the County of Kerry, to the East of the haven of Smerwick, the which are discovered by the Sea-faring men, when they are above fifty miles from the land; in the North-west quarter of the county of Waterford, called Slew Boine; that in the mountainous country of Wickloe, which for it's fashions sake is commonly called the Sugar-loaf, and may be seen very many miles off, not only by those that are upon the Sea, but even into the land.

Sect. 5. *Nature of the Ground in Ireland, and of the fruitfull grounds.*

Next to the fore-going division of Ireland taken from the fashion and outward form of the land, commeth to be considered that which consisteth in the nature of the soil or ground; some parts of the countrie being fruitfull, and others barren.

The fertile soil is in some places a blackish earth, in others clay, and in many parts mixt of both together: as likewise there be sundry places, where the ground is mixt of earth and sand, sand and clay, gravell and clay, or earth; but the chalke-ground and red earth, which both are very plentiful and common in many parts of England, are no where to be found in Ireland.

These grounds differ among themselves in goodness and fatness, not only according to the different nature of the soil whereof they consist, but also according to the depth of the mold or uppermost good crust, and the nature of the ground which lyeth next to it underneath: for the best and richest soil, if but half a foot or a foot deep, and if lying upon a stiffe clay or hard stone, is not so fertile, as a leaner soil of greater depth, and lying upon sand or gravell, through which the superfluous moisture may descend, and not standing still, as upon the clay or stone, make cold the roots of the grass, of corn, and so hurt the whole.

There be indeed some countries in Ireland, where the ground underneath being nothing but stone, and the good mold upon it but very thin, it is nevertheless very fruitful

in corn, and bringeth sweet grass in great plenty, so as sheep and other cattell do wonderfull well thrive there; which kind of land is very common in the County of Galloway, and in some other Counties of Connaught, as also in sundry parts of the other Provinces. But the reason thereof is in those parts, because the stone whereon the mould doth lye so thinly, is not Free-stone, or any such cold material, but Lime-stone, which doth so warm the ground, and giveth it so much strength, that what it wants in depth, is thereby largely recompensed.

Sect. 6. Causes hindering the fruitfulness of the ground, where the soil otherwise is not bad.

Except in the case now by us declared, neither Corn nor Grass will grow kindly, where the ground, though otherwise good, is not deep enough, as also where it hath a bad crust underneath: From whence it commeth, that in many places, where the grass doth grow very thick and high, the same nevertheless is so unfit for the food of beasts, that cows and sheep will hardly touch it (especially if they have been kept in better pastures first) except that by extreme famine they be compelled thereto; and that by reason of the coarseness and sourness of the grass, caused by the standing still of the water, the which through the unfitness of the neather crust, finding not a free passage downwards, maketh cold the good mold, and the crop and grass degenerate from its naturall goodness.

For the same reason the land in many parts, where otherwise the soil in it self would be fit enough to produce good Wheat or Barley, will hardly bear any thing else but Oats, or Rye, and that none of the best: As in other parts, the fault is in the soil it self, and by the leanness thereof it commeth, that nothing else but coarse grass, and the worst kinds of grains will grow there. And unto these causes may be joyned another yet, the overshadowing of high and steep Mountains and Hills, whereby the sides thereof, and the lands, lying close under them, being deprived of the free and seasonable access of the Sun-beams, and so wanting convenient warmness, cannot afford to the things growing there-

on such good and well-concocted nourishment, as unto the producing of the best and richest sorts of grains and grass is requisite.

Sect. 7. *Ireland a very fruitfull Country, especially for grass.*

These defects are not peculiar to Ireland, but common to other countries, and nowise generall in it, but only here and there in distant parts; and where they are, they may be amended by the meanes fit and usuall for that purpose, whereof by-and-by we shall speak particularly: therefore they cannot hinder, that Ireland should not justly be counted among the fruitfulest countries of the world. And although *Orosius*, who preferreth it even before England in this particular (*Hibernia soli cœlique temperie magis utilis Britannia*, are his words) goeth too far, yet fullie true is the saying of *Stanyhurst*, in the preface of his Irish chronicle, *Cum Hibernia, cœli salubritate, agrorum fertilitate, ubertate frugum, pastionis magnitudine, armentorum gregibus, conferre paucas, anteferre nullas valeas*: that is, *With Ireland for wholsomness of air, fruitfulness of lands, great store of corn, abundance of pastures, and numerousness of cattell, few countries may be compared, none preferred*: as also that of *Giraldus*, *Gleba præpingui uberique frugum proventu sælix est terra, et sæcunda frugibus arva, pecore montes*: that is, *This country is happy in very rich ground, and plentifull increase of graines, the fields being fertile in corn, and the mountains full of cattell*. But although Ireland almost in every part, where the industry of the Husbandman applieth it self thereto, bringeth good corn plentifully, nevertheless hath it a more naturall aptness for grass, the which in most places it produceth very good and plentifull of it self, or with little help: the which also hath been well observed by *Giraldus*, who of this matter writeth thus: *Pascuis tamen quam frugibus, gramine quam grano sæcundior est insula*, *This Island is fruitfuller in grass, and pastures, than in corn and graines*. And *Buchanan* in his second book of his History of Scotland calleth the pasture ground of Ireland *pascua fere totius Europæ uberrima*, the fruitfulest pasture ground of most all Europe.

Sect. 8. *More of the plenty and goodness of the Irish pastures.*

The abundance and greatness of pastures in Ireland, doth appear by the numberless number of all sorts of cattell, especially of Kine and Sheep, wherewith this country in time of peace doth swarm on all sides, whereof in another place shall be spoken more at large: and the goodness of the same is hereby sufficiently witnessed, that all kind of cattell doth thrive here as well in Ireland, and give as good milk, butter, and cheese (with good handling) as in any other country.

It is true, that the Irish kine, sheep, and horses, are of a very small size: but that that doth not come by reason of the nourishment and grass, but through other more hidden causes, may be easily demonstrated by the goodly beasts of the fore-named kind, that are brought thither out of England, the which not only in themselves, but in all their breed, do fully keep their first largeness and goodness, without any the least diminution in any respect, so that before this last bloody rebellion the whole land, in all parts where the English did dwell, or had any thing to do, was filled with as goodly beasts, both Cows and Sheep, as any in England, Holland, or other the best countries of Europe: the greatest part whereof hath been destroyed by those barbarians, the naturall inhabitants of Ireland, who not content to have murdered or expelled their English neighbours (upon whom with an unheard-of and treacherous cruelty they fell in the midst of a deep peace, without any the least provocation) endeavoured quite to extinguish the memory of them, and of all the civility and good things by them introduced amongst that wild Nation; and consequently in most places they did not only demolish the houses built by the English, the gardens and enclosures made by them, the orchards and hedges by them planted, but destroyed whole droves and flocks at once of English Cows and Sheep, so as they were not able with all their unsatiable gluttony to devour the tenth part thereof, but let the rest lye rotting and stinking in the fields.

The goodness of the pastures in Ireland doth further appear by this, that both Beef and Mutton there, as well that of the

small Irish, as that of the large English breed, in sweetness and savouriness doth surpass the meat of England it self as (all those, who have tried that must confess) although England in this particular doth surpass almost all the countries of the world.

Nevertheless the saying of *Pomponius Mela*, That the grass here is so rank and sweet, that the cattell do burst, if they be suffered to feed too long, wherefore they be fain every day to drive them betimes out of the pastures, *Juvena adeo luxuriosa herbis, non letis modo, sed etiam dulcibus, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant, & nisi pabulo prohibeantur, diutius pasta dissiliant*: the which also hath been repeated by *Solinus*, *Hibernia ita pabulosa, ut pecua ibi, nisi interdum à pascuis arceantur, in periculum agat satias*: That is, Ireland hath such excellent pastures, that cattell there are brought into danger of their lives by over-feeding, except now and then they be driven out of the fields; is a mere fable, no wayes agreeable to the truth: For all kinds of cattell here, as in other countries, are continually left in the pastures day and night: neither do they through their continuall feeding ever burst or come into any danger of bursting.

CHAP. XI.

Of the severall manners of manuring and inriching the ground practised in Ireland.

Sect. 1. *In some part of Ireland the ground never needs dunging.*

TO amend the lean and faulty grounds, to enrich both them and the good ones, and to keep both the one and the other in heart, in preserving them from being exhausted, the dunging of the ground is usuall in Ireland as in other countries. It is true, that as approved Authors assure us, in the Iland of Zealand, part of the Kingdom of Denmark, the naturall richness of the ground is such, and so lasting, as it needeth not the succour of any artificial helps, but is very fruitfull

and aye preserveth its fertility, without putting the Husbandman to the labour and costs of dunging. That likewise there is some part in the Province of Munster in Ireland, where very credible persons have assured me of their own knowledge, that the land never needeth any dunging; so as the inhabitants thereof never trouble themselves to keep the dung of their beasts, but from time to time fling it into a River which runneth by them. But this happiness and richness of soil as it is very rare over all the world, so in Ireland too, being confined to very narrow bounds, all the rest of the Kingdom is necessitated, for the ends aforesaid, to help and improve their Lands by dunging; the which they do severall manner of wayes.

Sect. 2. *Of Sheeps-dung.*

The commonest sort of manuring the Lands in Ireland, is that which is done with the dung of beasts, especially of Cows and Oxen, and also of Horses mixed with a great quantity of straw, and having lyen a long while to rot and incorporate well together: Whereof, as of a matter every where known and usuall, it is needless to speak further.

Only thus much seemeth good to us not to pass over in silence, that if Sheep here, as in other countries, were housed and kept up in stables for any long time together, their excrements would make better dung, than that of any other four-footed creatures. For the land on which sheep have fed for two or three yeares together, or longer, is so greatly enriched thereby, that when it commeth to be plowed, it bringeth a much fairer and plentifulter crop, than if from the beginning it had been made Arable, and dunged after the ordinary manner. Wherefore also great Sheep-masters may set their land, where the sheep have been feeding some yeares together, as dear again by the Acre, than what at the first they could have got for it of any body.

Wherefore also it is an usuall thing in Ireland, as well as in England, to drive the sheep upon the Fallow, and to keep them there untill all the herbs which may minister any food unto the Sheep be by them consumed; which doth the ground

a great deal of good, and giveth it heart to bring afterwards the better increase. And the same also helpeth greatly for to make good grass grow upon the Arable, when the same is turned into Pasture and Meddow; a thing ordinarily used in sundry parts of Ireland, and many times necessary for to keep the lands in heart: For ground being plowed, and the Sheep driven thither as soon as any herbs grow upon it, they do not only consume the Thistles, and other useless herbs, but cause good grass to grow up in lieu thereof, and that speedily. For in all places where their dung lighteth, of the best and sweetest sorts of grass do grow, and that within the first year, which otherwise would not have come in much longer time, and that nothing near so good generally.

Sect. 3. An useful observation about Cows-dung.

There is notable difference betwixt Sheeps-dung and that of other cattell, as in the goodness and richness it self, so in the particular last mentioned by them. For that of Oxen and Cows, is no wayes fit for dunging untill it is grown old, and hath lyen a soaking with straw a great while: dayly experience shewing in Ireland, as in England and other countries, that in those places of the pastures where the fresh Cow-dung falleth and remaineth, the grass the next year doth grow ranker and higher than in the rest of the same fields, but so soure and unpleasing, that the beasts will not offer to touch it; so as ordinarily you shall see these tufts of grass standing whole and undiminished in the mist of pastures, that every where else are eaten bare and to the very ground. The which as in part it may be imputed to the quantity of the dung, the which being greater than the earth can well digest, and conveniently unite with it self, cannot be turned into so good and sweet nourishment; so doth it also without doubt come in part through the very nature of the dung, the which of it self, and without a long preparation and alteration, is not so fit to nourish the ground, as that of sheep.

Sect. 4. Of Pigeons-dung.

Pigeons-dung also is very convenient for the improvement

of the ground; and I know some in Ireland, who having tryed that, have found a wonderfull deal of good in it, incomparably more than in that of any four-footed beasts, and of Sheep themselves. But the Pigeon-houses no where in Ireland being so big as to afford any considerable quantity, and never having heard of any body there who could dung more than an Acre or two with all the Pigeons-dung which had been gathering the space of a whole twelve-moneth, it cannot well be reckoned among the common sorts.

Sect. 5. *Of Ashes and Mud.*

Besides the dung of Beasts there are usuall in Ireland, or were before this Rebellion, five or six other sorts for to Manure and Improve the ground, whereof some are as good as the dung consisting of the excrements of beasts, and others do far surpass it. One of these sorts is Ashes, and Mud another.

As for the first, I have understood of Englishmen, who had lived many years in Ireland, and all that while had exercised Husbandry, that they had used to gather all their Ashes of their hearths, bake-houses, and brew-houses, being wood ashes, and to lay them of a heap somewhere in the open air, from whence at convenient times they would carry them upon their grounds, and there spread them in the same manner as other dung, but nothing near in so great a quantity; wherein they affirmed to have found as much and more good than in any dung of beasts.

And I know severall other English, who living in Ireland, did use to take the scouring of their ditches, together with other Mud digged out of the Bogs, and having let it lye a good while a rotting in great heaps, did afterwards carry it upon their lands in lieu of dung: the which they found very good and usefull for that purpose.

These two sorts were never yet brought into common use, but only practised by some few persons, especially that of the Ashes, although in other Countries they have been known long since; so as *Pliny*, who lived about fifteen hundred yeares ago, writeth in the ninth Chapter of the seventeenth Book of his Natural History, that in his time in that part of Italy which

is situated between the Alpes and the River Po (comprehending those Countries which now are known by the names of Piemont and Lombardy) ashes were more used and commended for the manuring of the grounds, than the dung of beasts.

As concerning the burning of the Heath, and other dry herbs standing upon the ground, for to manure the land with the ashes thereof, that not properly belonging to this place, shall be spoke of more at large in some of the ensuing Chapters.

Sect. 6. *Of Lime.*

The English living in Queenes-county in Leinster, having seen that in sundry parts of England and Wales, especially in Pembrookshire, Lime was used by the inhabitants for the manuring and enriching of their grounds, begun some yeares since to practise the same, and found themselves so well thereby, that in a short time the use thereof grew very common amongst them, so as many of them ever after used no other kind of dung.

The manner of it was thus. Having first plowed their fields, they carryed the Lime on them, and layd it in many small heaps, leaving a convenient distance between, in the same manner as useth to be done with the dung of beasts; and having let them lye for some moneths, they plowed the land again to convey the Lime into the ground.

This made it so rich, that in a great while after nothing else needed to be done to it, but to let the land at a certain revolution of time lye Fallow, no other manuring at all being requisite for some yeares after: and all that while the land was very fruitfull, more than it could have been made with any ordinary dung, and very free of all sorts of bad herbs and weeds (especially for the first yeares) bringing corn with much thinner husks than that growing upon other lands.

They found that the Lime carryed upon the land hot out of the Kiln, did more good in all the fore-mentioned particulars, than when they let it grow cold first. And this they could do very easily, because Lime-stone is very plentiful in that County, especially in the Town of Monrath, where there is a

whole hill of that stone, of that bigness, that if all the adjacent Country did continually fetch it from thence for the forenamed use, it would for ever hold out sufficiently.

The Land thus manured and improved by Lime, shewed its fruitfulness not only in the following yeares, but even in the first, except the Lime had been layd on in undue proportion, and in greater quantity than was requisite; for in that case the Lime burnt the corn, and the first yeares Crop was thereby spoyled.

In some places where the land was not cold and moyst enough to be able to endure meer Lime, they mixed the Lime with earth digged out of pits, and let that stuff lye a mellowing in great heaps for some moneths together, and afterwards carried it on the land, and manured that therewith.

Sect. 7. A remarkable history concerning the Excellencie of Lime for the enricheng of the ground.

How incredibly the land was enriched by this kind of manuring, may be gathered by the ensuing particular, the whole Lordship of Monrath was thirty yeares agoe set by one Mr. Downings (whose it was, and who afterwards sold it to Sir Charles Coot) for fifty pounds sterling by the year, and nevertheless after a while the Farmers surrendred it unto him, complaining that they could not live by it but were quite impoverished: whereas they who farmed it next after them (being people newly come out of England) and gave an hundred and fifty pounds a year sterling for it, did not only live very freely upon it, yea grew rich and wealthie, but withal did so far forth improve the land, partly indeed with building, planting, hedging, and the like, but chiefly by this kind of manuring, that at the time when this last horrible rebellion broke forth, the same Lordship, if it had been to let out then, might have been let for five hundred pounds sterling a year: as it hath been assured me by some, who themselves had been farmers of that land.

Sect. 8. *Another history, showing the efficacy of Lime in this particular.*

Before we give over this discours of Lime, we shall adde to what hath been said already, that in some other parts of Ireland, where this manuring with Lime was not used nor known, the vertue of Lime in this particular hath been found out by meer chance. For some persons known to me, who lived but a few miles from Dublin, having understood that the crows (wherewith they were much plagued, and who did use to make very great spoil of their grains) would not touch the corn wherewith the Lime was mixed, did cause unslaked Lime to be mingled with water, making it as thinne as if it had been for the whitening of walls, and very well besprinkled the corn therewith, before it was carried to the fields to be sown, and that after this manner, the corn lying on a heap, one turned it with both hands, whilst another sprinkled on the fore-said stuff, doing so until the whole heap was thoroughly besprinkled; at other times they mingled dry Lime with the corn, and afterwards besprinkled the whole heap with fair water through and through, for the same purpose, and hereby they did not only obtain the aforesaid end, of preserving the corn from the crows, but had thereby a fairer and better crop, than ever before their land had produced.

Sect. 9. *Of Sea-sand.*

Lime is much used in the province of Munster, as in other parts of Ireland, so for to manure the ground withal, where the sea-sand likewise is greatly used to the same end, not only in places lying on the sea-side, but even ten, twelve, and fifteen miles into the land, whither it was carried in some places by boats, and in others upon carts, the charges being sufficiently recompensed by the profit comming from it. For they used it for the most part only upon very poor land, consisting of cold clay, and that above half a foot deep: which land having been three or four times plowed and harrowed (in the same manner as is usuall to be done with fallow) the

sand is strawed all over very thinly, a little before the sowing time: the which being done, that land bringeth very good corn of all sorts, not only Rye and Oates, but even Barley and Wheat, three yeares one after another; and having lyen fallow the fourth year, for many yeares after it produceth very clean and sweet grass; whereas formerly, and before it was thus manured, it produced nothing but moss, heath, and short low furze: which herbs are fired upon the ground, and the ground stubbed, before it be plowed the first time.

It is not any peculiar sort of sea-sand, nor out of any particular places, which is used for this purpose, but that which every where lyeth on the strands. And this manner of manuring the land with sea-sand is very common in the two most Westerly Shires of England, Cornwall, and Devonshire, from whence those, who first practised it in Ireland, seem to have learned it.

Sect. 10. *Of Brine or Pickle.*

The goodness of the sea-sand consisteth chiefly in its Salt-ness, for which reason pickle itself is very good for this purpose: it being very well known to severall English dwelling about the Band and Colraine, that were Farmers of the Salmon-fishing there, who used every year carefully to keep the foul pickle, comming of the Salmons at their repacking; and having powred it among the ordinary dung of cattle and straw they did let them lye a good while a mellowing together. Hereby it was greatly strengthened and enriched, so that the land being dunged with it, did bear much better and richer crops than that which was manured only with common dung without the mixture of it.

CHAP. XII.

Sect. 1. *Of the Marle in Ireland, and the manner of Marling the land there.*

MARLE is a certain sort of fat and clayish stuff, being as the grease of the earth; it hath from antient times been greatly used for manuring of land both in France and England, as may appear out of *Pliny* in the sixth, seventh, and eighth Chapters of his seventeenth Book. The same also is still very usuall in sundry parts of England, being of an incomparable goodness: The which caused the English, who, out of some of those places where Marle was used, were come to live in Ireland, to make diligent search for it, and that with good success at last; it having been found out by them within these few yeares, in severall places; first in the Kings-county, not far from the Shanon, where being of a gray colour, it is digged out of the Bogs; and in the County of Wexford, where the use of it was grown very common before this Rebellion, especially in the parts lying near the sea; where it stood them in very good steed, the land of it self being nothing fruitfull. For although the ground (for the most part) is a good black earth, yet the same being but one foot deep, and having underneath a crust of stiff yellow clay of half a foot, is thereby greatly impaired in its own goodness. In this depth of a foot and a half next under the clay, lyeth the Marle, the which reacheth so far downwards, that yet no where they are come to the bottom of it. It is of a blew colour, and very fat (which as in other ground, so in this, is chiefly perceived when it is wet) but brittle and dusty when it is dry.

Sect. 2. *The manner, charges, and profit of Marling the ground.*

The Marle is layed upon the land in heaps, by some before it is plowed, by others after, many letting it lye severall moneths ere they plow it again, that the Rain may equally divide and mixe it; the Sun, Moon, and Air mellow and incorporate it

with the earth. One thousand cart-loads of this goeth to one English acre of ground; it being very chargeable, for even to those who dig it out of their own ground, so as they are at no other expences but the hire of the labourers, every acre cometh to stand in three pounds sterling. But these great expences are sufficiently recompenced by the great fruitfulness which it causeth, being such, as may seem incredible; for the Marled-land, even the very first year, fully quitteth all the cost bestowed on it. There besides it is sufficient once to marle, whereas the ordinary dunging must be renewed oftentimes.

Sect. 3. *The usage of the Marled-land, practised by them of the County of Wexford.*

The good usage of the Marled-land, to keep it in heart for ever after, doth consist, in the opinion and practice of some, in letting it lye Fallow at convenient times, but the ordinary manner, commonly practised by the inhabitants of the County of Wexford, and counted the best by them; is, that having sowed it five or six yeares together, with the richest sorts of Corn, to wit, Wheat and Barley (especially that sort which in some parts of England, and generally in Ireland, is peculiarly called Bear, being a much richer Grain than the ordinary Barley) it being afterwards turned to Pasture, whereunto it is very fit, forasmuch as it bringeth very sweet grass in great abundance: For the Marle is also used on Meddows at the first, with very good success, improving the same most wonderfully.

If the Marled-land be thus used, and by turns kept under Corn, and Grass, it keeps its fruitfulness for ever; where to the contrary, if year after year it be sowed till the heart be drawn out, it's quite spoyled, so as afterwards it is not possible to bring it again to any passable condition by any kind of dunging, or marling. This would ordinarily be done in the space of ten yeares; for so long together the Marled-land may be sowed, and bring every year a rich crop of the best Corn.

Nevertheless this is not generall, but taketh place only in the worser kind of ground; for where the land of it self is

better and richer, there after Marling, Wheat and other Corn may be sowed, not only for ten yeares together, but longer: for very credible persons have assured me, that some parts of the County of Wexford having borne very good Corn for thirteen yeares together, and afterwards being turned to pasture, it was as good and fertile as other Marled-grounds that had been under Corn but five or six yeares.

Sect. 4. Of the Marle in Connaught.

The Province of Connaught (by what hath been discovered) is much more plentiful in Marle, than Leinster, as in other Counties, so in those of Roscomen, Sleigo, and Galloway, almost in every part of it. It is there of three severall colours, some being white as chalk, other gray, and some black; but none blew, as that in the County of Wexford. It lyeth nothing deep under the upper-ground, or surface of the earth, commonly not above half a foot; but its own depth is so great, that never any body yet digged to the bottom of it.

The land which they intend to marle in this Province, is commonly plowed in the beginning of May, and lying five or six weeks (until it be sufficiently dryed and mellowed by the Sun and Wind) they harrow it, and then having brought the Marle upon it, five or six weeks after it is plowed again, and a third time about September: After which third plowing they sow it with Wheat or Barley, whereof they have a very rich crop the next year.

Sect. 5. Property and usage of the Marled-lands in Connaught.

Land Marled in that manner as we have said, may be sowed ten or twelve yeares together; the first eight or nine with Wheat, and Bear, or Barley, and the remaining three or four yeares with Oates, afterwards the land is turned to pasture, and having served some yeares in that kind, it may be Marled anew, and made as good for Corn as at the first.

For the observation of those of the County of Wexford, that land may not be Marled more than once, doth not take place in Connaught, where it is an ordinary thing, having

some space of yeares to make it again. I know some Gentlemen who have caused some parcels of land to be Marled thrice in the space of twenty yeares, and have found very good profit by it. But whether this be caused by the difference of the ground and Marle (appearing also hereby, that in Connaught they scarce lay the fourth part of the quantity of Marle on the ground of what they do in the County of Wexford) or by the carelessness or want of experience of those of that County, I am not yet fully informed. But thus much is known as well in Connaught as other parts, that those who sow the Marled-land until it can bear no more, and be quite out of heart, will find it exceeding difficult, if not altogether impossible ever to amend or improve the same again by any means whatsoever.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Heaths and Moores, or Bogs in Ireland.

Sect. 1. Of the Moory, or Boggy Heaths.

HAVING spoke of the fruitfull lands of Ireland, it followeth that we treat of those which are neither fit for the bringing of Corn, or feeding of Cattell; some being such for want of good soil, and others through superfluous moysture.

Of the first sort are those places where the ground consisting of meer rock, sand, or earth, naturally unfruitfull hath no good mould at the top sufficient for Corn or Grass to root, and to draw convenient nourishment out of it, the ground being bare, or over-grown with only Moss, Heath, Furze, Brakes, Thorns, Rushes, and the like.

The places whose ground is bare, are nothing frequent, nor of any great bigness in Ireland, and rather on the sea-side than within the land. But the other are very common throughout the whole Kingdom, not only in the Mountains (many whereof do for the most part consist of nothing else) but also in the Hilly quarters, the Plain-countries, and in many places of great extent, taking up some miles in length

and breadth. Most of these Wastes in the Plain-countries and Valleys, as also some on the Mountains and Hills, are Moory and Boggy, fit for to dig Turf out, to the great commodity of the inhabitants, in places where other fuel is wanting. So that these parts of Land, although barren and producing no kind of thing for the food of man or beasts, may not be reckoned in the number of those which are altogether unprofitable, being of good use in the parts far distant from the Sea, where they can have no Sea-coals, and where woods are wanting, nor well live. Some of these dry, or red Bogs, as commonly they are called (the first, in comparison of those whereof presently shall be spoken, the other, because the earth in them for the most part is reddish, and over-grown with Moss of the same colour) are in some parts of a vast extent; instance that by the Shanon-side, beginning hard by Atlone, and following the course of the River down towards Limerick, which being two or three miles broad in most parts, is said to be upwards of fifty miles in length.

Sect. 2. Of the dry Heaths.

There are some dry Heaths in Ireland, for the most part on the Mountains, and very few in the plain countries; to the contrary of England, where, as well as in Netherland, Germany, and other countries, those Heaths on plain ground are very common in sundrie parts of the land, and many of them of a great extent, having very many miles in compass; and where any such dry Heaths are in Ireland, the land for the most part is not altogether barren, but grassy between and at the bottome of the Heath; so as the Heath being burnt (a thing much used in Ireland both by the English and Irish) the land bringeth reasonable good and sweet grass, fit for sheep to feed on; and with a little extraordinary labour and costs brought to bear corn.

Others of these Heaths are grassy, having the grass growing not all over among the Heath, but in spaces by it self: as upon the Heath between the Town of Kildare and the Liffie; which is famous over all Ireland by the name of the Currough of Kildare, being a hilly ground, at its highest neer the said

town, from thence towards the Liffie descending by degrees, about three miles long, and two or three broad, divided into rowes, of heath and grass; which being of no great breadth, and many in number, do lye by the side one of another throughout the whole earth, each of those rowes extending it self in length from the one end of the Currough to the other, the rowes of Heath are about a stone cast over in some places, in some more, in others less: but those of grass a good deal narrower than the others, being always alike green and dry, in the winter as well as the summer, and clothed with short grass, but very sweet and good, very convenient for sheep to feed on; of the which always in time of peace, a very great number is grazing here, the whole Currough being a Commons.

Sect. 3. *Of the wet Bogs.*

The places barren through superfluous moysture, are Bogs called by the Irish Moores, whereof Ireland is full. There is three or four different sorts of them; grassy, watery, muddy, and hassocky, as appeareth more largely by the following description. But the English Irish have given the name of Bogs, not only to the wet, of which we are now to treat, but as well to the turf moores of all sorts, not excepting the red bog, which in most places is firm enough to bear a man, or unshod nagge going over it, but is not for any great weight. But we shall in the following chapters speak in order of the four sorts of wet bogs, which above we have mentioned, and afterwards in its due place treat of the turf and red moores, as occasion shall require.

Sect. 4. *Of the Grassy Bogs.*

The grassy Bogs are all over covered with grass, looking fair and pleasant, as if they were dry ground and goodly meddows; whereby many, who not knowing the nature of those places, and because of the greenness suspecting no evill, go into them to their great trouble, and many times to the extreme danger of their lives, for the earth being very spongy can bear no weight, but as well men as beasts, as soon

as they set foot on it do sink to the ground, some knee deep, others to the wast, and many over head and ears: for all or most Bogs in Ireland having underneath a hard and firm gravell are not of an equall depth, which in some is only of two or three feet, in others five, six or more, insomuch that those who fall into the deepest places of these bogs, can hardly escape, but for the most part do perish, being pitifully smothered.

Some of these Bogs do so dry up in the summer that they may be passed without danger; the which in particular falleth out in the great Mountains in Munster in the County of Kerry, called Slew-Logher, upon which all kind of cattell do graze the summer long being every where full of good and sweet grass, knee deep in most places; whereof not the tenth part being eaten (for if all the cattell of that Province were driven thither and left all the summer upon the place it would hardly be consumed) the rest is spoyled when the wet weather commeth in, and stayeth the rain-water from descending; through which the ground rotteth in that manner, that all winter long it is unpassable for men and beasts.

But the deepest Bogs are unpassable in the summer as well as in the winter, yet most of them have firm places, in narrow paths, and in some larger parcels; by the meanes whereof those, unto whom they are known, can cross them from one side to another, where others who are not used to them do not know in what part to set one step; in which nimble trick, called commonly treading of the Bogs, most Irish are very expert, as having been trained up in it from their infancy.

The firm places in passing, or but lightly shaking them, tremble for a great way, which hath given them the name of Shaking-Bogs; and where they are but of a small compass, Quagmires.

Sect. 5. Of the Watery-Bogs, and of the Miry-Bogs.

The Watery-bogs are likewise clothed with Grass, but the water doth not sink altogether into them, as into the former, but remaineth in part standing on the top (in the same

manner as in some of the Grassy-bogs, and in all the low Pastures and Meddows of Holland) by reason whereof these Bogs are not dangerous; for every one at the first sight may easily discern them from the firm ground.

These two sorts are in many parts found apart, and in others mixed and interlaced; and likewise parcels both of the one and the other are found up and down in the Moory-heaths and Red-bogs.

Both these sorts, as well the Watery as the Green-bogs, yeeld for the most part very good Turf, much better than the Red-bogs, whereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

The Miry-bogs do consist of meer mud and mire, with very little or no grass upon them. These are commonly of a very small compass, whereas most part of the other two are of a notable extent, and some of severall miles in length and breadth.

Sect. 6. *Of the Hassocky-Bogs.*

Hassocky-bogs we call those, whose ground being miry and muddy is covered over with water a foot or two deep, in some places more, in others less; so as one would sooner take them for Loughs, were it not that they are very thick overspread with little Tufts or Ilets, the which consisting of reeds, rushes, high sower grass, and sometimes with little shrubs, the most part are very small, and have but a few feet in compass; some of them being of the bigness of a reasonable big chamber. These little Islets or Tufts being so many in number, and spread over all the Bog, there remaineth nothing between them but great plashes of water (in regard whereof these Bogs might well be called Plashy-bogs) in some places wider, in others narrower, so as from the one men may well step or leap to the other; that which those who are expert in it know how to do very nimble, and so to run from one part of the Bog to another: For the roots of the Rushes, Reeds, and other things growing on those Tufts, are so interwoven, that they can easily bear a man who lightly treadeth upon them, although they have very little earth, and are wondrous spongy; so as they, when the water being drained,

the bog is dried round about, may easily be plucked from the ground.

The English inhabiting in Ireland have given these Tufts the name of Hassocks, and this sort of Bogs, Hassocky-bogs: Of which Bogs Munster and other Provinces are not altogether free, but most of them are found in Leinster, especially in Kings and Queenes-county, where also the other sorts of Bogs are very common; whereas otherwise Connaught is generally fuller of Bogs than any of the other Provinces.

CHAP. XIV.

Originall of the Bogs in Ireland; and the manner of Draining them practised there by the English Inhabitants.

Sect. 1. *Of the originall of Bogs in this Countrie.*

VERY few of the Wet-bogs in Ireland are such by any naturall property, or primitive constitution, but through the superfluous moisture that in length of time hath been gathered therein, whether it have its originall within the place itself, or be come thither from without. The first of these two cases taketh place in the most part of the Grassy-bogs, which ordinarily are occasioned by Springs; the which arising in great number out of some parcel of ground, and finding no issue, do by degrees soak through, and bring it to that rottenness and spunginess, which nevertheless is not a little increased through the rain-water coming to that of the Springs.

But the two other sorts, *viz.* the watery and Hassocky-bogs, are in some places caused by the rain-water only, as in others through brooks and rivelets running into them, and in some through both together; whereunto many times also commeth the cause of the Grassy-bogs, to wit, the store of Springs within the very ground: and all this in places, where or through the situation of them, and by reason of their even plainness or hollowness, or through some other impediment,

the water hath no free passage away, but remaineth within them, and so by degrees turneth them into Bogs.

Sect. 2. *Retchlesness of the Irish, cause of most of the Bogs. Of trees found in Bogs.*

So that it may easily be comprehended, that whoso could drain the water, and for the future prevent the gathering thereof, might reduce most of the Bogs in Ireland to firm land, and preserve them in that condition. But this hath never been known to the Irish, or if it was, they never went about it, but to the contrarie let daily more and more of their good land grow boggy through their carelessness, whereby also most of the Bogs at first were caused.

This being otherwise evident enough, may further be confirmed by the whole bodies of trees, which ordinarily are found by the turf diggers very deep in the ground, as well of other trees, as of hasels: likewise they meet sometimes with the very nuts themselves in great quantity, the which looking very fair and whole at the outside, as if they came but newly from the tree, have no kernell within the same, through the great length of time being consumed and turned into filth.

And it is worthie of observation, that trees, and trunks of trees, are in this manner found not only in the Wet-bogs, but even in the heathy ones or Red-bogs, as by name in that by the Shanon-side, whereof hath been spoken above: in which bog the turf diggers many times do find whole Firr-trees deep in the ground; whether it be that those trees, being fallen, are by degrees sunk deeper and deeper (the earth of that Bog almost every where being very loose and spungy, as it is in all such Bogs) or that the earth in length of time be grown over them.

Sect. 3. *Draining of the Bogs practised by the English in Ireland.*

But as the Irish have been extreme careless in this, so the English, introducers of all good things, in Ireland (for which that brutish nation from time to time hath rewarded them

with unthankfulness, hatred, and envy, and lately with a horrible and bloody conspiracie, tending to their utter destruction) have set their industrie at work for to remedy it, and having considered the nature of the Bogs, and how possible it was to reduce many of them unto good land, did some yeares since begin to go about it all over the land, and that with very good success; so as I know Gentlemen, who turned into firm land three or four hundred acres of Bog, and in case that this detestable rebellion had not come between, in a few yeares there would scarce have been left one acre of Bog, of what was in the lands and possession of the English; except only those places whose situation is altogether repugnant to draining, because that the water either through the hollowness of the place, as in the inclosed valleys and deep dales between the hills and mountains, or through the too great evenness and plainness of the ground not inclining to any one part more than another, cannot be drawn away at all; and except such parcels as needs must have been kept for turf, and Red bogs who are very unfit for draining, for the trenches being made, the earth on both sides will sink into them again, and choak them up.

Sect. 4. Profit reaped by the draining of Bogs.

This draining of the Bogs as it tended not a little to the generall good of the whole land, by amending the Air (whereof we shall have occasion to say more in some other place) and otherwise, so it brought great profit unto the Authors, for the land or soil of the Bogs, being in most places good of itself, and there besides greatly enriched by the lying still and the soaking in of the water for the space of so many yeares, the same being drayned through the draining of the water, is found to be very fit either to have corn sowed upon, or to be turned into pastures; making also excellent meddows: so as those, who have tried that, do affirm, that the meddows gained out of the Bogs might be compared with the very best of their other meddows, yea many times surpassed the same in goodness: and this took place chiefly in the Grassy bogs or Shaking bogs, whose fruitfulness in this particular,

particular, and in the plentiful production of very sweet and deep grass, after the draining off the water, was very wonderfull; and all this without any other trouble or costs bestowed upon these meddows, than that they dunged them the first year, to warm them the better and the sooner, and more thoroughly to amend the remainders of that coldness and rawness contracted through that long and constant continuance of the water upon them; after which once dunging, afterwards for a good many yeares nothing else needed to be done to them.

Sect. 5. Manner of draining the Bogs.

This draining of the Bogs was performed in the manner following. On that side of the Bog, where the ground was somewhat sloping, they cut a broad deep Trench, beginning it in the firm ground, and advancing it unto the entrance of the Bog, into which Trench the water would sink out of the next parts of the Bog in great abundance, and that many times so suddenly, as if a great sluice had been opened, so as the labourers were constrained to run out of it with all speed, lest the force of the water should overwhelm and carry them away. Some part of the Bog being by this means grown reasonable dry within a short space of time, opportunity thereby was ministred to advance the Trench further into the Bog; and so by little and little they went on with it untill at last they carryed it quite across the Bog, from the one side to the other: and having done this, they made a great many lesser Trenches out of the main one, on both sides of the same; the which bringing the water from all the parts of the Bog unto the main Trench, did in a little while empty the Bog of all its superfluous moysture, and turn it into good and firm ground.

Sect. 6. Observation about the falling and settling of the Bogs at their draining.

The green or Grassy bogs, the which having all their moysture and water inwardly, are thereby wonderfully swelled and puffed up, use by means of this draining to fall very much,

and to grow a great deal lower, and that not only apparently, so that the ground which before the draining was five or six feet high, commeth at last to be not above two or three feet high; but sometimes also suddenly, and within the space of four and twenty, or eight and forty houres; whereas ordinarily that useth to come to pass in greater length of time; and although the ground by falling in this manner, may seem thereby to have been subject to return to its former boggy condition on the least occasion; nevertheless there was no danger of that, as long as the Trenches were kept open, and thereby the passage kept free for the water, which from time to time would from all parts of the drained Bog be sinking into them. This water, as at the first draining, so ever after, was by the main Trench carryed unto some Brook, River or Lough, according as one or other of them was next at hand, and the situation of the land would give opportunity.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Woods in Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Woods in Ireland are reckoned among the barren lands, and the reason thereof.*

AMONGST the barren parts of Ireland the Woods must also be counted, according to the usuall division of the lands of that Kingdom, whereby reckoning for fruitfull only the Meddows, Arable-grounds, and Pastures, they count all the rest for barren, comprehending them under these three generall heads, Bogs, Barren-mountains, and Woods. Which division as it is in the mouth of all them that have any insight into the matters of that Land, and do, or have lived there, so it is further confirmed by a number of Writings and Monuments, both of antienter times, and late ones, in the which it is very common and familiar: as for instance may appear by those severall Acts, which since this last Rebellion of the Irish have been made by the Parliament of England in the behalf of the Adventurers who have layd out their monyes for the reconquering of the revolted parts of that Kingdom.

For although the land which the Woods do take up, is in it self very good in most places, and apt to bear both Corn and Grass plentifully (whereof more shall be said by and by) yet as long as the Woods remain standing, it is unfit not only to be made either Arable or Meddow (as in itself is most evident) but even for Pasture, by reason of the overmuch moysture, the roots of the trees staying the rain-water, so as it hath not the liberty to pass away readily, and their stems and branches hindering the free access of the Wind and Sun, whereunto commeth in many parts the grounds own wateriness, occasioned by Springs there arising, and by its situation apt for the gathering and keeping of water, which maketh them for the most part so muddy and boggy, that cattell cannot conveniently feed in them.

Sect. 2. *Woods much diminished in Ireland since the first comming in of the English.*

In antient times, and as long as the land was in the full possession of the Irish themselves, all Ireland was very full of Woods on every side, as evidently appeareth by the writings of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who came into Ireland upon the first Conquest, in the company of *Henry* the Second, King of England, in the year of our Saviour eleven hundred seventy and one. But the English having settled themselves in the land, did by degrees greatly diminish the Woods in all the places where they were masters, partly to deprive the Theeves and Rogues, who used to lurk in the Woods in great numbers, of their refuge and starting-holes, and partly to gain the greater scope of profitable lands. For the trees being cut down, the roots stubbed up, and the land used and tilled according to exigency, the Woods in most part of Ireland may be reduced not only to very good Pastures, but also to excellent Arable and Meddow.

Through these two causes it is come to pass in the space of many yeares, yea of some ages, that a great part of the Woods, which the English found in Ireland at their first arrival there, are quite destroyed, so as nothing at all remaineth of them at this time.

Sect. 3. *Diminishing of the Woods during the last Peace.*

And even since the subduing of the last great Rebellion of the Irish before this, under the conduct of the Earl of Tirone (overthrown in the last yeares of Queen *Elizabeth* by her Viceroy Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord Mountjoy, and afterwards Earl of Devonshire) and during this last Peace of about forty yeares (the longest that Ireland ever enjoyed, both before and since the comming in of the English) the remaining woods have very much been diminished, and in sundry places quite destroyed, partly for the reason last mentioned, and partly for the wood and timber it self, not for the ordinary uses of building and firing (the which ever having been a-foot, are not very considerable in regard of what now we speak of) but to make merchandise of, and for the making of Charcoal for the Iron-works. As for the first, I have not heard that great timber hath ever been used to be sent out of Ireland in any great quantity, nor in any ordinary way of Traffick; but only Pipe-staves, and the like, of which good store hath been used to be made, and sent out of the land, even in former times, but never in that vast quantity, nor so constantly as of late years, and during the last Peace, wherein it was grown one of the ordinary merchandable commodities of the countrie, so as a mighty Trade was driven in them, and whole ship-loads sent into forreine countries yearly; which as it brought great profit to the proprietaries, so the felling of so many thousands of trees every year as were employed that way, did make a great destruction of the Woods in tract of time. As for the Charcoal, it is incredible what quantity thereof is consumed by one Iron-work in a year; and whereas there was never an Iron-work in Ireland before, there hath been a very great number of them erected since the last Peace in sundrie parts of every Province: the which to furnish constantly with Charcoales, it was necessary from time to time to fell an infinite number of trees, all the lopings and windfals being not sufficient for it in the least manner.

Sect. 4. *Great part of Ireland very bare of Woods at this time.*

Through the aforesayd causes Ireland hath been made so bare of Woods in many parts, that the inhabitants do not only want wood for firing (being therefore constrained to make shift with turf, or sea-coal, where they are not too far from the sea) but even timber for building, so as they are necessitated to fetch it a good way off, to their great charges, especially in places where it must be brought by land: And in some parts you may travell whole dayes long without seeing any woods or trees except a few about Gentlemens houses; as namely from Dublin, and from places that are some miles further to the South of it, to Tredagh, Dundalke, the Nurie, and as far as Dremore; in which whole extent of land, being above threescore miles, one doth not come neer any woods worth the speaking of, and in some parts thereof you shall not see so much as one tree in many miles. For the great Woods which the Maps do represent unto us upon the Mountains between Dundalke and the Nurie, are quite vanished, there being nothing left of them these many yeares since, but one only tree, standing close by the highway, at the very top of one of the Mountains, so as it may be seen a great way off, and therefore serveth travellers for a mark.

Sect. 5. *Many great Woods still left in Ireland.*

Yet notwithstanding the great destruction of the Woods in Ireland, occasioned by the aforesayd causes, there are still sundry great Woods remaining, and that not only in the other Provinces, but even in Leinster it self. For the County of Wickloe, Kings-county, and Queens-county, all three in that Province, are throughout full of Woods, some whereof are many miles long and broad. And part of the Counties of Wexford and Carlo are likewise greatly furnished with them.

In Ulster there be great Forests in the County of Doneghall, and in the North part of Tirone, in the Country called Glankankin. Also in the County of Fermanagh, along

Lough-Earn; in the County of Antrim; and in the North-part of the County of Down; in the two Countries called Killulta and Kilwarlin; besides severall other lesser Woods in sundrie parts of that Province. But the County of Louth, and far the greatest part of the Counties of Down, Armagh, Monaghan, and Cavan (all in the same Province of Ulster) are almost every where bare, not only of Woods, but of all sorts of Trees, even in places which in the beginning of this present Age, in the War with Tirone, were encumbered with great and thick Forests.

In Munster where the English, especially the Earl of Cork, have made great havock of the Woods during the last Peace, there be still sundrie great Forests remaining in the Counties of Kerry, and of Tipperary; and even in the County of Cork, where the greatest destruction thereof hath bin made, some great Woods are yet remaining, there being also store of scattered Woods both in that County, and all the Province over.

Connaught is well stored with trees in most parts, but hath very few Forests or great Woods, except in the Counties of Mayo and Sleigo.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Mines in Ireland, and in particular of the Iron Mines.

Sect. 1. *All the Mines in Ireland discovered by the New-English.*

THE Old-English in Ireland, that is, those who are come in from the time of the first Conquest, untill the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, have been so plagued with Wars from time to time, one while intestine among themselves, and another while with the Irish, that they could scarce ever find the opportunity of seeking for Mines, and searching out the Metalls hidden in the bowels of the Earth. And the Irish themselves, as being one of the most barbarous Nations of the whole earth, have at all times been

so far from seeking out any, that even in these last yeares, and since the English have begun to discover some, none of them all, great nor small, at any time hath applied himself to that business, or in the least manner furthered it.

So that all the Mines which to this day are found out in Ireland, have been discovered (at least as for to make any use of them) by the New-English, that is, such as are come in during, and since the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Severall whereof having begun to give their minds to it during the last Peace, have in a few yeares found out a great many Iron-Mines in sundrie parts of the Kingdom, and also some of Lead and Silver; which greatly confirmeth the opinion of many knowing persons, who hold that the Mountains of Ireland are full of Metals, and that if the same industry and diligence had been used by the inhabitants of that Country in former Ages, as there hath been since the beginning of the present, many more Mines might have been discovered, not only of the same Minerals as have been found out hitherto, but of others also, and perhaps even of Gold it self.

Sect. 2. *Grounds to beleieve that there are Gold mines in Ireland.*

I beleieve many will think it very unlikely, that there should be any Gold-mines in Ireland; but a credible person hath given me to understand, that one of his acquaintance had severall times assured him, that out of a certain rivelet in the County of Nether Tirone, called Miola (the which rising in the Mountains Slew-galen, and passing by the village Maharry, falleth into the North-west corner of Lough Neaugh, close by the place where the river Band commeth out of it) he had gathered about one dram of pure gold; concluding thereby, that in the aforesayd Mountains rich Gold-mines do lye hidden.

For it is an ordinary thing for Rivers, which take their originall in gold-bearing mountains, to carry Gold mixt with their sand; the which may be confirmed by many instances, and to say nothing of severall rivers of that kind, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and other old Geographers and Historians,

nor of Pactolus and Hermus in Lydia, and Tagus in Spain, whereof all the old Poets are full; it is certain, that in our very times severall rivers in Germanie, as the Elbe, Schwartz, Sala, and others, do carry gold, and have it mixed with their sands; out of the which by the industry of man, it is collected.

Sect. 3. Three sorts of Iron-mines in Ireland: and first of the first sort, Bog-mine.

But to let alone uncertain conjectures, and to content ourselves with the Mines that are already discovered, we will in order speak of them, and begin with the Iron-mines. Of them there are three sorts in Ireland, for in some places the Oar of the Iron is drawn out of Moores and Bogs, in others it is hewen out of Rocks, and in others it is digged out of Mountains: of which three sorts the first is called Bog-mine, the other Rock-mine, and the third with severall names White-mine, Pin-mine, and Shel-mine.

The first sort, as we have said, and as the name it self doth shew, is found in low and boggie places, out of the which it is raised with very little charge, as lying not deep at all, commonly on the superficies of the earth, and about a foot in thickness. This Oar is very rich of metall, and that very good and tough, nevertheless in the melting it must be mingled with some of the Mine or Oar of some of the other sorts: for else it is too harsh, and keeping the furnace too hot, it melteth too suddenly, and stoppeth the mouth of the furnace, or, to use workmens own expression choaketh the furnace. Whilest this Oar is new, it is of a yellowish colour, and the substance of it somewhat like unto clay, but if you let it lye any long time in the open air, it groweth not only very dry, as the clay useth to do, but moldereth and dissolveth of it self, and falleth quite to dust or sand, and that of a blackish or black-brown colour.

Sect. 4. Of the second sort of Iron-mine, called Rock-mine.

The second sort, that which is taken out of Rocks, being a hard and meer stony substance, of a dark and rustie colour, doth not lye scattered in severall places, but is a piece of the

very rock, of the which it is hewn: which rock being covered over with earth, is within equallie every where of the same substance; so as the whole Rock, and every parcell thereof, is Oar of Iron. This mine, as well as the former, is raised with little trouble, for the Iron-rock being full of joints, is with pick-axes easily divided and broken into pieces of what bigness one will: which by reason of the same joints, whereof they are full every where, may easily be broke into other lesser pieces; as that is necessary, before they be put into the furnace.

This Mine or Oar is not altogether so rich as the Bog-mine, and yeeldeth very brittle iron, hardly fit for any thing else, but to make plow-shares of it (from whence the name of colt-share Iron is given unto it) and therefore is seldom melted alone, but mixed with the first or the third sort.

Of this kind hitherto there hath but two Mines been discovered in Ireland, the one in Munster, neer the town of Tallo, by the Earl of Cork his Iron works; the other in Leinster, in Kings-county, in a place called Desert land, belonging to one Serjeant Major *Piggot*, which rock is of so great a compass, that before this rebellion it furnished divers great Iron-works, and could have furnished many more, without any notable diminution; seeing the deepest pits that had been yet made in it, were not above two yards deep. The land, under which this rock lyeth, is very good and fruitfull, as much as any other land thereabouts, the mold being generally two feet and two and a half, and in many places three feet deep.

Sect. 5. *Of the third sort of Iron-mine.*

The third sort of Iron-mine is digged out of the mountains, in severall parts of the Kingdome; in Ulster, in the County of Fermanagh, upon Lough Earn; in the County of Cavan, in a place called Douballie, in a drie mountain; and in the County of Nether-Tirone, by the side of the rivelet Lishan, not far from Lough Neaugh; at the foot of the mountains Slew-galen mentioned by us upon another occasion, in the

beginning of this chapter: in Leinster, in Kings-county, hard by Mountmelick; and in Queenes-county, two miles from Monrath: in Connaught; in Tomound or the County of Clare, six miles from Limerick; in the County of Roscomen, by the side of Lough Allen; and in the County of Letrim, on the East-side of the said Lough, where the mountains are so full of this metall, that thereof it hath got in Irish the name of *Slew Neren*, that is, Mountains of Iron: and in the Province of Munster also in sundrie places.

This sort is of a whitish or gray colour, like that of ashes; and one needs not take much pains for to find it out, for the mountains which do contain it within themselves, do commonly shew it of their own accord, so as one may see the veins thereof at the very outside in the sides of the mountains, being not very broad, but of great length, and commonly divers in one place, five or six ridges the one above the other, with ridges of earth between them.

These Veins or Ridges are vulgarly called Pins, from whence the Mine hath the name of Pin-mine; being also called White-mine, because of its whitish colour; and Shell-mine, for the following reason: for this stuff or Oar being neither loose or soft as earth or clay, neither firm and hard as stone, is of a middle substance between both, somewhat like unto Slate, composed of shells or scales, the which do lye one upon another, and may be separated and taken asunder very easily, without any great force or trouble. This stuff is digged out of the ground in lumps of the bigness of a man's head, bigger, or less, according as the Vein affordeth opportunitie. Within every one of these lumps, when the Mine is very rich and of the best sort (for all the Oar of this kind is not of equall goodness, some yeelding more and better Iron than other) lieth a small kernell which hath the name of Hony-comb given to it, because it is full of little holes, in the same manner as that substance whereof it borroweth its appellation.

The Iron comming of this Oar is not brittle, as that of the Rock-mine, but tough, and in many places as good as any Spanish Iron.

Sect. 6. *Iron-works erected by the English.*

The English having discovered these Mines, endeavoured to improve same, and to make profit of them, and consequently severall Iron-works were erected by them in sundrie parts of the land, as namely by the Earl of Cork in divers places in Munster; by Sir *Charles Coot* in the Counties of Roscomen and Letrim, in Connaught, and in Leinster by Monrath, in Queenes-county; by the Earl of London-derry at Ballonakill, in the sayd county; by the Lord Chancelour Sir *Adam Loftus*, Viscount of Ely, at Mountmelik, in Kings-county; by Sir *John Dunbar* in Fermanagh, in Ulster; and another in the same county, by the side of Lough-Earn, by Sir *Leonard Bleverhassett*; in the county of Tomond, in Connaught, by some London-Merchants; besides some other Works in other places, whose first erectors have not come to my knowledge.

In imitation of these have also been erected divers Iron-works in sundrie parts of the sea coast of Ulster and Munster, by persons, who having no Mines upon or near their own Lands, had the Oar brought unto them by sea out of England; the which they found better cheap than if they had caused it to be fetched by land from some of the Mines within the land. And all this by English, whose industrie herein the Irish have been so far from imitating, as since the beginning of this Rebellion they have broke down and quite demolished almost all the fore-mentioned Iron-works, as well those of the one as of the other sort.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Iron-works; their fashion, charges of erecting and maintaining them, and profit comming of them: With an exact description of the Manner of melting the Iron in them.

Sect. 1. *The fashion of the Iron-works.*

THE fashion of Iron-works, of whose erection we have spoke in the end of the foregoing Chapter, is such as followeth. At the end of a great Barn standeth a huge furnace, being of the height of a pike and a half, or more, and four-square in figure, but after the manner of a Mault-kiln, that is narrow below, and by degrees growing wider towards the top, so as the compass of the mouth or the top is of many fathoms. This mouth is not covered, but open all over; so that the flame, when the furnace is kindled, rising through the same without any hindrance, may be seen a great way off in the night, and in the midst of the darkness maketh a terrible shew to travellers, who do not know what it is.

These Ovens are not kindled with wood, nor with sea-coal, but meerly with char-coal, whereof therefore they consume a huge quantity: For the Furnace being once kindled, is never suffered to go out, but is continually kept a burning from the one end of the year to the other: and the proportion of the coals to the Oar is very great: For the mine would not melt without an exceeding hot fire; the which that it may be the more quick and violent, it is continually blowing day and night without ceasing by two vast pair of bellows, the which resting upon main peeces of timber, and with their pipes placed into one of the sides of the Furnace, are perpetually kept in action by the means of a great Wheel, which being driven about by a little brook or water-course, maketh them rise and fall by turns, so that whilst the one pair of bellows doth swell and fill it self with wind, the other doth blow the same forth into the Furnace.

Sect. 2. *Of the lesser Iron-works, called Bloomeries: Of the Hammer-works: And of the Casting-works.*

There is another and lesser sort of Iron-works, much different from the former: for instead of a Furnace they use a Hearth therein, altogether of the fashion of a Smith's Hearth, whereon the Oar being layd in a great heap, it is covered over with abundance of Char-coal, the which being kindled, is continually blown by bellows that are moved by wheeles and water-courses, in the same manner as in the other Works.

These Works, commonly called Bloomeries, are in use, or were so before this Rebellion in sundrie places of the North-parts of Ulster.

Besides these two sorts of Works, where the Iron-mine is melted, there is a third sort, where the Iron after the first melting is hammered out into bars, of which we shall have occasion to speak more in the latter end of this present Chapter.

There are also in some parts of Ireland yet another kind of Iron-works differing from all the former, where the Iron was cast into Ordnance, Pots, small round Furnaces, and other things; of which Works Mr. *Christopher Wandsworth*, Master of the Rolls of Ireland, and in his latter dayes Lord Deputy of the same Kingdom under the Earl of Strafford, then Lord Lieutenant thereof, had one upon his lands by Idough in the County of Carlo; whereof we cannot give the Reader any particulars, because we have not yet been informed thereof.

Sect. 3. *Conveniencies requisite to the erecting of an Iron-work.*

In the erecting of these Works men seek to make them as near to the Mine as may be, to get the more profit by them: for the greater the distance is, the greater are the charges in having the Oar brought from the Mine to the Furnace, especially where all must be carried by land, the which doth fall out so in far the most places.

But many times one is necessitated to make the Works a good way further from the Mine, than otherwise one would,

because of the Water-courses, the which being of very great consequence in the well settling of a Work, and absolutely necessary (the wheels being all moved by water) those places must be made choice of, where one may have the conveniency of Water-courses. And besides all this, regard must be had to the nearness of the Woods, partly by reason of the Timber, a great deal whereof is necessary for the erecting of one of these Workes, and chiefly for the char-coals sake, of which a vast quantity continually is requisite, as before we have shewed.

Sect. 4. The charges of erecting and maintaining an Iron-work.

It is to be observed, that although there be Wood enough upon ones land, and that not very far from the Mine, together with the conveniencies of Water-courses, so as the water needeth not to be brought from very far off, nevertheless the charge is very great, both of erecting and stocking one of the Iron-works, and of maintaining it and keeping it afoot, and that by reason of the great number of Workmen and Labourers of severall sorts, which thereunto is requisite; a list of whose names and offices here followeth: Wood-cutters, who fell the timber; Sawyers, to saw the timber; Carpenters, Smiths, Masons, and Bellow-makers, to erect the Iron-works, with all the appurtenances thereof, and to repair them from time to time; Water-leaders, or Water-course-keepers, to steer the Water-courses, and to look to them constantly; Basket-makers to make Baskets for to carry the Oar and other materials; Boat-men, and Boat-wrights to make the Boats, and to go in them; Diggers, who work in the Mine, and dig the same; Carriers, who carry the Oar from the Mine; Colliers, who make the Char-coal; Corders who bring the Char-coal to the work; Fillers, whose work it is from time to time to put the Mine and the coals into the furnace; keepers of the furnace, who look to the main work, rake out the ashes and cinders, and let out the molten metall at convenient times; finers, who look to the works where the Iron is hammered; hammerers, whose work it is to see the Iron hammered out: besides severall other labourers, who having no particular task, must

help

help to put their hand to every thing: of all which sorts of men Sir *Charles Coot* the elder, that zealous and famous Warriour in this present warre against the Irish Rebels (wherein having done many memorable exploits, he lost his life in the first year thereof) did continually keep at work some five-and-twenty or six-and-twenty hundred, at his Iron-works, being three in number. Whereby may easily be gathered the greatness of the expences in erecting and maintaining of Iron-works: and for all this the owners thereof did greatly gain thereby, ordinarily no less than forty in the hundred *per annum*.

Sect. 5. *Of the profit of the Iron-works instanced in those of Sir Charles Coot by Monrath.*

To speak somewhat more particularlie both of the charges and the profits of these Iron-works, we shall instance the matter in one of the works of the said Sir *Charles Coot*, namely that which he had in the Lordship of Monrath, in Queenes-county. At that work the Tun (that is twenty hundred weight) of Rock-mine at the furnace head came in all to stand in five shillings six pence sterling, and the Tun of White-mine, which he had brought him from a place two miles further off in seven shillings. These two were mixed in that proportion, that to one part of Rock-mine were taken two parts of White-mine: for if more of the Rock-mine had bin taken, the Iron would not have bin so good, and too brittle; and being thus mixed, they yeilded one third part of Iron: that is to say, of two tuns of White-mine, and one of Rock-mine, being mingled and melted together, they had one tun of good Iron, such as is called Merchants-Iron, being not of the first, but second melting, and hammered out into barres, and consequently fit for all kinds of use.

This Iron he sent down the river Oure (by others called the Nure) to Rosse and Waterford in that kind of Irish boates which are called Cots in that countrie, being made of one piece of timber: which kind of ill-favoured boats (mentioned also by us above) are very common throughout all Ireland,

both for to pass rivers in, and to carry goods from one place to another; and not only upon shallow waters, such as the aforementioned River is in the greatest part of its course, but even upon the great Rivers and Loughs.

At Waterford the Iron was put aboard of ships going for London, where it was sold for sixteen, otherwhiles for seventeen pounds sterling, and sometimes for seventeen and a half; whereas it did not stand Sir *Charles Coot* in more than betwixt tenne and eleven pounds sterling, all charges reckoned, as well of digging, melting, fining, as of carrying, boat-hire, and freight, even the Custome also comprehended in it.

Sect. 6. Some other particulars about the same subject, of the profit of the Iron-works.

In most of the other places did a Tun of the Iron-mine or Oar come to stand in five, five and a half, and six shillings sterling at the furnace head; and it was an ordinary thing, as well where they used White-mine, as where they mixed Rock-mine with it, to have a Tun of good Iron out of three tuns of Oar: in some places, where the Mine was richer, they would have a Tun of Iron out of only two Tuns and a half of Oar. Nevertheless few of them gained more or as much as Sir *Charles Coot*, because they had not the same conveniencie of transportation: And he himselfe did not gain so much by his Iron-works in Connaught, as by that neer Monrath, although the Mines there afforded a richer Oar, and that the Tun thereof did cost him but three shillings at the furnace because that Lough Allen, whereunto the same Mines and Works are contiguous, gave him the opportunitie of carrying the Oar by Water from the Mine unto the Work, and that in boates of forty tuns.

The Earl of Cork whose Iron-works being seated in Munster, afforded unto him very good opportunitie of sending his Iron out of the land by shipping, did in this particular surpass all others, so as he hath gained great treasures thereby: and knowing persons, who have had a particular insight into his affaires, do assure me, that he hath profited above one hundred thousand pounds clear gain by his said Iron-works.

Sect. 7. *The manner of melting the Iron-oar.*

The manner of melting the Iron, usuall in Ireland, is thus. The furnace is not filled to the top, but some space is left emptie, and to put new stuff into it they do not stay untill the former be quite consumed, but only untill it be somewhat descended, and then they cast into it some charges or basket-fuls of Coales, and at the top of them the same quantity of Mine: and thus they do from time to time, so as the furnace is in a manner alwaies in one and the same estate; where is to be observed, that in most furnaces they adde unto the Oar and Coales some quantity of Iron-cinders, and in others of Limestone, whereby the melting of the Iron is greatly furthered, and the furnace made to work more mildly.

Within the barn, at the bottome of the furnace, stand constantly two men, one of each side, the which with long iron hooks, through holes left for the purpose, do every quarter of an hour draw out the unburnt coales, ashes, and cinders; which cinders are great lumps of a firm substance, but brittle, of a blackish colour, shining but not transparent; being nothing else but the remainder of the Iron-oar, after that the Iron which was contained in it, is melted out on't.

The Iron it self descendeth to the lowest part of the furnace, called the Hearth; the which being filled, (so that, if one stayed longer, the Iron would begin to swim over through the aforesaid holes) they unstop the Hearth, and open the mouth thereof (or the Timpas the Arts-men call it) taking away a little door, of fashion like unto that of a baker's oven, wherewith the same was shut up very close. The floor of the barn hath a mold of sand upon it, where-in, before they open the furnace, a furrow is made, of sufficient breadth and depth, through the whole length of the barn, from the bottome of the furnace untill the barns door; into which furrow, as soon as the furnace is opened, the molten Iron runneth very suddenly and forcibly, being to look on like unto a stream or current of fire. It remaineth a long time hot, but doth presently loose its liquidness and redness, turning into a hard and stiff mass, which masses are called Sowes by the workmen.

Sect. 8. Of the different Bigness of the Iron Sowes.

These masses or Sowes of Iron are not alwaies of one and the same weight and bigness, but there is them of all sizes, from one hundred weight untill thirtie hundred: which difference doth chiefly depend on the different bigness of the furnace and hearth, and partly on the will and discretion of the workmaster or founder, and according as he either stayeth untill the hearth be full, or letteth out the Iron sooner; but ordinarily they do not use to cast, or to open the hearth, under less than twelve houres, nor to stay much longer than four-and-twenty.

And here is to be observed, that even in furnaces of the same bigness, yea in the self-same furnaces, the same quantity of Iron is not alwaies cast in the same space of time: but that varieth both according to the nature of the oar, and according to the different seasons of the year. For within the same compasse of time you shall cast a greater quantitie of Iron out of a rich Mine or Oar, than out of a lean one; and in the summer time, when the coales come in dry and fresh, than in the winter.

Sect. 9. Of the refining of the Sow-Iron, and the hammering it into Barres.

The Sowes are with teams of Oxen drawn to the Hammer-works, where being put into the fire again, they melt them into the finerie, the finer turning the melted stuff to and fro, till it come to be a solid body, then he carrieth it under the hammer, where it is hammered out into such flat narrow and thin bars, as are to be seen every where: the hammers being huge big ones, and never ceasing from knocking day nor night, as being kept at work by the means of certain Wheels, turned about by Water-courses in the same manner as the wheels of the Bellows.

By means of this second melting, and of that mighty hammering, the Iron is freed from a mighty deal of dross and dregs which it kept sticking to it, thorough its whole substance, in the first melting; and so of impure called Sow-Iron,

becometh to be usefull, such as is accustomed to be delivered unto Merchants, being therefore called Merchants-Iron; one Tun whereof is usually had out of a Tun and a half of Sow-Iron; but if that be of the best sort, and cast of the best Oar, two hundred pounds less of it will yeeld the aforesayd quantity of a Tun of Merchants-Iron.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Mines of Silver and Lead in Ireland: and occasionally of the pestiferous Damps and Vapours within the Earth.

Sect. 1. *Of the severall Mines of Silver and Lead, and in particular that of Tipperary.*

MINES of Lead and Silver in Ireland have to this day been found out, three in number; one in Ulster, in the County of Antrim, very rich, forasmuch as with every thirty pounds of Lead it yeeldeth a pound of pure Silver; another in Connaught, upon the very Harbour-mouth of Sligo, in a little Demy-Iland commonly called Conny-Iland; and a third in Munster. The first two having been discovered but a few years before this present Rebellion, were through severall impediments never taken in hand yet; wherefore we shall speak only of the third.

This Mine standeth in the County of Tipperary, in the Barony of Upper Ormond, in the Parish of Kilmore, upon the Lands of one *John Mac-Dermot O-kennedy*, not far from the Castle of Downallie, twelve miles from Limerick, and three-score from Dublin. The land where the Mine is, is mountainous and barren; but the bottoms, and the lands adjoyning, are very good for Pasture and partly Arable; of each whereof the Miners had part, to the value of twenty pounds sterling *per annum*, every one. It was found out not above forty years ago, but understood at the first only as a Lead-mine, and accordingly given notice of to *Donogh* Earl of Thomond, then Lord President of Munster, who made use of some of the

Lead for to cover the house which he then was building at Bunrattie: But afterwards it hath been found, that with the Lead of this Mine there was mixed some Silver.

Sect. 2. The manner of digging this Mine the nature of the Oar, and what proportions of Silver and Lead it yeelds.

The Veins of this mine did commonly rise within three or four spits of the superficies, and they digged deeper as those Veins went, digging open pits very far into the ground, many fathoms deep, yea Castle-deep; the pits not being steep, but of that fashion as people might go in and out with wheelbarrows, being the only way used by them for to carry out the Mine or Oar. The water did seldom much offend them; for when either by the falling of much rain, or by the discovering of some Spring or Water-source, they found themselves annoyed by it, they did by Conduits carry it away to a brook adjoining, the Mountain being so situate, as that might be done easily.

This Mine yeelds two different sorts of Oar; of which the one, and that the most in quantitie, is of a reddish colour, hard, and glistering; the other is like a Marle, something blewish, and more soft than the red; and this was counted the best, producing most Silver, whereas the other, or glistering sort, was very barren, and went most away into litteridge or dross.

The Oar yeelded one with another three pound weight of Silver out of each Tun, but a great quantitie of Lead so as that was counted the best profit to the farmer.

Besides the Lead and Silver the Mine produced also some Quicksilver, but not any Alome, Vitriol, or Antimony, that I could hear of.

Sect. 3. Profits of this Mine. It hath been destroyed by the Irish Rebels.

The Silver of this Mine was very fine, so as the Farmers sold it at Dublin for five shillings two pence sterling the ounce; as for the Lead, that they sold on the place for eleven pounds sterling the Tun, and for twelve pounds at the City of Limerick. The King had the sixth part of the silver for his

share, and the tenth part of the Lead, the rest remaining to the farmers, whose clear profit was estimated to be worth two thousand pounds sterling yearly.

All the Mills, Melting-houses, Refining-houses, and other necessary Work-houses, stood within one quarter of a mile at the furthest from the place where the Mine was digged, every one of them having been very conveniently and sufficiently built and accommodated by the Officers and substitutes of Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Basil Brook*, and Sir *George Hamilton*, which three persons successively had this Mine in farm from the King, but in the beginning of this present Rebellion all this hath been destroyed by the Irish under the conduct of *Hugh O-kennedy*, brother of *Iohn Mac-Dermott O-kennedy*, on whose lands the Mine was situated: which Rebels not content to lay waste the mine, and to demolish all the works thereunto belonging, did accompany this their barbarousness with bloody cruelty against the poor workmen, such as were employed about the melting and refining of the Oar, and in all offices thereunto belonging: the which some of them being English, and the rest Dutch (because the Irish having no skill at all in any of those things, had never been employed in this mine otherwise than to digg it, and to do other labours) were all put to the sword by them, except a very few, who by flight escaped their hands.

Sect. 4. *This Mine free from deadly vapours, the which otherwise in Ireland are bred within the Earth, as well as in other Countries, as is instanced in a very remarkable History.*

I have not heard that any of the Miners hath been stifled in this Mine, a thing ordinary enough in other countries: the reason whereof I conceive to be, because the work was done in wide and open pits, wherein the like noxious vapours can neither be so easily engendred, and when they arise find a free passage into the open air, to the contrary of those close and narrow vaults usuall in the most part of other mines.

For else that the Earth of Ireland is subject, as well as that of other countries, to breed dangerous damp within her self,

is undoubted, as evidently it appeared in the year sixteen hundred thirty-seven, by this following accident.

A Maulter living in the suburbs of Dublin in St. Francis-street caused a Well to be digged three yards deep, which yeelding but little water, and that not very sweet nor clear, resolved to have it made deeper; and enjoined a servant of his, to work at it at spare times, which he doing, and having digged a yard and a half lower, the water of it begun the 24 of August to bubble up in a strange manner, making a great noise; which having continued two dayes, without any notable increase, hardly comming half-way the knees; he went down again into the Well, to digge there according to his custome. But having wrought but a little while, and being taken with a sudden giddiness in his head, and faintness at his heart, made hast to get out, and being revived, returned to fetch away his spade and other instruments; but comming to the bottom he fell into a deadly sown, which being seen by those that were present, one of them went down to help him up; unto whom the same accident happened. All the spectators being greatly astonished, and their tumult having drawn-on a great concourse of people, the place where the Well was being an open yard, looking into the main street; a certaine man, newly come to town, and casually passing by that way, not affrighted by the example of those two, had the courage to go down to fetch the former out, but with as ill success as they themselves. The wonder and amazement being hereby increased among the people, there was nevertheless a Butcher (a bold robustuous man) who having drunk somewhat liberally, would notwithstanding these sad accidents go in, which at the first not being suffered, and he continuing in his resolution, was at last permitted on condition that he let a strong cord be tyed about his wayst to pull him out, if he found himself ill; the which to signifie he was to hold up his right hand. But being come to the bottome; and suddenly taken with a deadly faintness, that he had neither time nor power to give the appointed sign, falling from the ladder; and being haled out with all possible speed, found to be in a deep trance, but with perfect signs of life: wherefore being carried to his own house,

put into his bed, and care taken of him, it was nevertheless 24 houres before he came to himself.

The dead bodies being drawn out of the Well it was filled with earth by order of the Magistrate of the said City.

Sect. 5. Relation of an accident like the former happened at London.

The like accidents have at severall times been seen in other Countries, whereof we could alledge many instances, but passing by all other we shall make mention of one lately befalln here at London. Without Aldesgate, there is a little court called Carpenters-yard, in the midst of which there stood a Pump; the water whereof not being good for to dress meat, was used by the neighbours only for the washing and cleaning of their houses, and the like. But in length of time being grown so thick and muddy that no use could be made on't, it was resolved that the Well, whereout the Pump drew its water, should be made clean, to which purpose the Pump being taken down, in the latter end of Iuly *anno* sixteen hundred fourtie-four, a laborer was let down, with a cord into the Well, being little and narrow, to take out the mud by pailles full, which as soon as he came to the bottome presently fell stark dead. Those that had let him down, seeing this, and suspecting nothing else, but that a sudden faintness had overcome him, let down another to see what he ayled, and to bring him out. But he sped no better than the first, which when the people perceived, no more went into the Well, untill three or four houres after, in which middle space of time a great Iron pan or plate, heaped up with burning charcoal, had been let down into the Well, and severall times as the fire did slacken, renewed, that through the heat thereof that mortiferous vapour might be overcome and dispersed, the which accordingly fell out; so that the person afterwards went down to fetch away the dead bodies, got no hurt at all. A great covered or vaulted gutter, whereby the ordures of the streets are under ground conveyed into the City ditch, passeth under the yard where-in the said Well, (dammed up since this sad accident) did stand; so as it may be probably

beleaved that that deadly infection of the air within the same Well had partly been caused through the neerness of the same sewer.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Free-stone, Marble, Flints, Slate, and Sea-coales which are found in Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Of the Free-stone.*

HAVING in the precedent Chapters treated of the Metals and Minerals, which are found in Ireland, we shall now go on to speak of severall other substances, raised out of the ground there, of a less noble nature, but nevertheless profitable and serving for severall good uses.

To begin with Free-stone, there is two sorts of it, the one being gray or ash-coloured, and the other blew; which both for the most part lying in the uppermost parts of the ground, covered over with very little earth, are raised with small labour and charge, whereas in most other countries it is as much labour to digge Free-stone as the Metalls themselves. The blew Free-stone is not very abundant, and as little in request, as unfit for great buildings; it lying for the most part in small unshapely peeces; and when they are bigger commonly broke in the raising and hewing, partly through the unskillfulness of the workmen there, and chiefly because they are exceeding hard, and cannot well endure the Iron. The gray Free-stone which is found very abundantly in most parts of the land is of a contrary nature; and may easily be cut out into stones of all bigness or fashion, wherefore also this sort hath been used by the English, to all the Churches, Castles, and Edifices, which since the Conquest have been builded by them; for the Irish themselves, never had the skill nor industry to erect any considerable buildings of Free-stone, Brick, or other the like materials, their dwellings being very poor and contemptible cottages. True it is, that the English at their first comming found severall Maritime-townes in Ireland with

stone walls and houses, the Churches also, not only in those, but in many other Townes being of the same; but built by strangers, who being come out of the Northern-parts of Germany, and other neighbouring Countries, have settled themselves there, inhabiting severall parts of the Sea-coasts, some ages before the English Conquest; which people called themselves Oastmans, or Easterlings; all those Countries of the which they were come being situated to the East of Ireland.

Sect. 2. Certain evill properties of the Irish Free-stone.

This sort of gray Free-stone in Ireland hath a bad qualitie, that it draweth the moisture of the air continually to it, and so becommeth dank and wet both in and out-side, especially in times of much rain. To mend this inconvenience the English did wainscot those walls with oak or other boards, or line them with a thin crust of brick.

Sect. 3. Of the Marble.

Besides the Free-stone, which is almost in every part of the land, there is Marble found in many places of severall sorts; one is red, streaked with white and other colours, such as with a peculiar name is called Porphyre; other black, very curiously streaked with white, and some all of one colour.

The first two sorts are found but in small quantity, especially the second; but the last is very abundant in some places, but most about Kilkenny, where not only many houses are built of the same, but whole streets are paved with it.

Sect. 4. Description of the Marble-quarrie at Kilkenny.

The quarrie out of which they have their Marble at Kilkenny, is not above a quarter of a mile distant from the Town, and belongeth to no body in particular, lying in common for all the Townsmen, who at any time may fetch as much out of it, as seemeth good unto them, without paying any thing for it: It is in fashion like unto Quarries of Free-stone, to wit, a wide open pit, whereout stones and pillars of great thickness and height may be digged. This Marble, whilst it is rude, and as it commeth out of the ground, looketh grayish, but

being polished it getteth a fine blewish colour, drawing somewhat towards the black.

Sect. 5. *Of the Flint.*

Although flints are not digged from under the ground, yet shall we give them a place next to the Free-stone and Marble, because of the affinity which they have with them. They are found in every part of Ireland in great abundance near the sea-side, within the land, upon the hills and mountains, and in the rivers, many of which have not only their banks covered with them, but also the bottom of their chanel, and that for great spaces together, which as they are of all sizes and fashions, so of very different colours.

Sect. 6. *Of the Slate.*

In sundry parts of Ireland Slate is found in great abundance, and that nothing deep within the ground, just in the same manner as the Free-stone, so as it may be raised with little charge and labour; wherefore at all times it hath been much used by the English inhabitants for the covering of their houses and other buildings. Nevertheless some years since in places near the sea, especially at Dublin, that kind of Holland Tiles, which by them are called *Pannen* begun to be used generally, the Merchants causing them to be brought in from thence in great abundance, because in Ireland they had neither convenient stuff to make them of, nor work-men skilfull in that business: although the common tiles usual in many parts of England and other Countries, were made and used in several places within the land.

Besides these there was another kind of covering in use, both for Churches and Houses, to wit, a certain sort of wooden tiles, vulgarly called Shingles; the which are thight enough at the first, but do not many yeares continue so, it being necessary to change them often: which thing properly not appertaining to this chapter, we nevertheless for affinities sake have thought not amiss here to mention.

Some yeares ago another kind of Slate hath been discovered in Ireland, which for the colours-sake is called Black-slate,

being of a blackish colour, which is come into great esteem, not so much for the ordinary use of covering houses, for which they are no better than common Slate, but because it hath been found by experience, very good and medicinall against severall diseases, especially to stay all kind of bleeding, and to hinder that after falls and bruises the blood do not congeal within the body.

Sect. 7. *Of the Sea-coal.*

The Trees and Woods having been so much destroyed in Ireland, as heretofore we have shewed, and consequently wood for firing being very dear in great part of the land, the inhabitants are necessitated to make use of other fuel, *viz.* of Turf, and of Sea-coales. Of the Turf we shall speak in the next Chapter. As for Sea-coales, they are the ordinary firing in Dublin, and in other places lying near the sea, where the same in time of peace are brought in out of England, Wales, and Scotland, in great abundance, and therefore reasonable cheap: which is the reason, that the less care hath been taken to find out Coal-mines in Ireland it self, whereas otherwise it is the opinion of persons knowing in these matters, that if diligent search were made for them, in sundry parts of the land good Coal-mines would be discovered. This opinion is the more probable, because that already one Coal-mine hath bin found out in Ireland, a few yeares since, by meer hazard, and without having been sought for. The Mine is in the Province of Leinster, in the County of Carlo, seven miles from Idof, in the same hill where the Iron-mine was of Mr. *Christopher Wandsworth*, of whom hath been spoken above. In that Iron-mine, after that for a great while they had drawn Iron-oar out of it, and that by degrees they were gone deeper, at last in lieu of Oar they met with Sea-coal, so as ever since all the people dwelling in those parts have used it for their firing, finding it very cheap; for the load of an Irish-car, drawn by one garron, did stand them, besides the charges of bringing it, in nine pence only, three pence to the digger, and six pence to the owner.

There be coales enough in this Mine for to furnish a whole
country;

country; nevertheless there is no use made of them further than among the neighbouring inhabitants; because the Mine being situated far from Rivers, the transportation is too chargeable by land.

These Coals are very heavy, and burn with little flame, but lye like Char-coal, and continue so the space of seven or eight houres, casting a very great and violent heat.

In the place where this Mine standeth, do lie little Smith-coals above the ground, dispersed every where in great quantity, from whence the Smiths dwelling in the parts round about did use to come and fetch them even before the mine was discovered.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Turf, Lime, and Brick, and the Manner of making those things in Ireland; item, Of the Glass made in Ireland.

Sect. 1. *Of the two sorts of Irish-turf.*

TURF being very much used throughout all the land (as we have said before) is of two sorts, according to the difference of the Bogs out of the which it is taken. That which is taken out of the Dry-bogs, or Red-bogs, is light, spongy, of a reddish colour, kindleth easily, and burneth very clear, but doth not last.

The other to the contrary, which is raised out of the green or wet Bogs, is heavy, firm, black, doth not burn so soon, nor with so great a flame, but lasteth a great while, and maketh a very hot fire, and leaveth foul yellowish ashes.

It is the observation of women, that the linen which is dried by a fire made of this last sort of Turf, getteth a foul colour, be it never so white washed and bleached, and groweth yellowish in that manner as that it can hardly be got out again.

Sect. 2. *The manner of making the Turf.*

The first sort of turf costeth but little paines in the making;

for being digged, and having lyen some dayes a drying (first spread out thin and single upon the ground, and afterwards piled up in little heaps) it is brought into the barn.

But black Turf cannot be made without more trouble. First they mark out convenient places; for onely those are fit for it to which some paths do lead, and which in themselves are not too mirie, and too deep, but have a firm and sandy ground underneath, within the space of four or five feet, or thereabouts. Having found out such a place, if it be too watery, they make some trenches, into which the water descending out of that part of the Bog wherein they intend to work, may by them be carried to some place fit to receive it; to the end that the Bog being thereby grown somewhat dryer and firmer, may the better bear the labourers without sinking too deep into it. Then they fall to the business, dividing it so among the labourers, that one part of them do dig out the earth, or rather the mud (for all the earth whereof this Turf is made, is thin and muddy) and by spades-full cast it on a heap, either by the side of the pit, or somewhere within the same, where others stand, who very well work it, turning it to and fro, and then with their shovels fill it into certain wooden trayes, amongst the English in Ireland peculiarly called *Lossels*; the which being full, another part of the labourers draw the same, with great cords fastened to them, to some dry place within the bog, or by the side thereof, where having poured out the mud, they go back to fetch more, and so go to and fro all day long. On that dry place where the mud is poured forth, sit certain women upon their knees, who mold the mud, using nothing else to it but their hands; between the which taking a part of it, they press them together in that manner, that their hands meeting above, the Turf is fashioned flat and broad beneath, growing narrower towards the top; which being done, the Turf is let lye upon the ground the space of a week or more, according as the weather is, and being reasonably well dried, it is piled up in little heaps, leaving every where empty spaces between, that the air and the wind passing through them, they may dry the sooner.

Sect. 3. The charges of making Turf.

Ireland is so full of Bogs, that every man almost hath Bog enough upon his own land to make Turf for his family and for all his Tenants; so that the Turf doth cost most men no more than the hire of the Labourers who are employed about it. Those that begun early in the year, whilst the Labourers had but little employment, gave ordinarily, besides meat and drink, three pence sterling a day to every man, and two pence to every woman; four pence a day being the ordinary price, and when it was at the dearest, five pence. Twenty men made in two or three dayes as much Turf as was sufficient for the whole years firing of a great family; of which number five men did dig and cast up the mud, five wrought it and filled it into the trays, and ten were busied in drawing the trays to the place where the Turf was moulded by the women; who went so nimble to work with it, that onely two of them were sufficient to keep twenty men at work.

Sect. 4. Of the Lime, and the manner of making it of Lime-stone.

All the lime in Ireland is made not of the shells of all sorts of shell-fish, as in Holland, and some other countries, but onely of stone; and the gray free-stone, whereof we have spoken in the precedent Chapter, is very fit for it, especially when it is not newly come out of the quarrie, but taken off old buildings. But a peculiar sort of stone properly called Lime-stone, is best for it. This stone is of a gray colour, tending to a dark blew, which being broke, a white dust out of it doth fly abroad; and it is very common throughout all Ireland, but especially in the Provinces of Munster and Connaught, lying not deep within the ground, but very near to the surface of it, and in many places above ground.

The manner of burning it into Lime, usual over all Ireland, is this; In the side of some little height they make a great pit, round or square according as conveniencie is offered; of that bignes as may hold forty or fifty barrells, and of that fashion that being many feet wide at the top, it doth by

degrees grow narrower towards the bottom, in the same manner as the Furnaces of the Ironworks. The inside of this pit they line round about with a wall built of Lime and Stone, at whose outside near the bottom a hole or door is left, by which to take out the ashes; and above that an iron-grate is laid, which commeth close to the wall round about: upon this they lay a lay of Lime-stone (being first knockt asunder with a great Iron hammer, and broke into peeces of the bignes of a fist, or thereabouts) and upon that a lay of wood or turf, or a certain sort of sea-coal, the which being wonderfull small, and peculiarly called comb, is hardly used for any other purpose. Upon that they lay another of Lime-stone, and so by turns, until the whole Kiln be filled, ever observing that the outmost lay be of wood, turf, or comb, and not of Lime-stone: which being done, the kiln is set afire until all be burnt.

Sect. 5. Another manner of burning Lime used in Ireland.

There is another manner of burning Lime used in Ireland, in Kilns built altogether above ground, and incomparably bigger than the others, insomuch as to the quantity of three hundred Barrels of Lime at once is made in them. In these Kilns they burn whole stones without breaking them into peeces as the others, and that only with wood (turf or comb not being fit for it) whereof they consume a huge deal, it being necessary from time to time to put new wood into them, to which end three or four men day and night do stand by the Kiln to keep the fire from decaying or slackning.

These (called French-kilns, because the use of them was first received from thence) have ever their walls made of Lime-stone, the which in the same manner are turned into Lime, so as there remaineth nothing standing of these Kilns after that the work is accomplished, and the Lime taken away.

Now albeit that in these Kilns a very great quantity of Lime is made at a time, nevertheless it hath been found by experience, that they are much more unprofitable than the others, because they consume much more firing in proportion, through the continuall renewing of the fire, and require the

constant labour of severall men all the while they are burning, which commonly is the space of three dayes and nights. For these reasons was the use of these Kilns, which never had been very generall in Ireland, more and more left off in these last yeares, and the others almost only made use of; in the which the lime came to stand them, who burnt it, in no more than four pence the barrell at the most, all manner of expences being reckoned; and but three to them who had the best conveniences.

Sect. 6. Of the Brick.

In every part of Ireland there is found a kind of clay very fit for to make bricks, and all sorts of Potters-ware, although the Irish never had the wit or industrie to make use of it for either of these two ends; yea they have ever been so farre from making any earthen vessels, that even the use thereof hath been very rare amongst them, and to the most part unknown, not only before the comming in of the English, but also since, yea even untill these very last times; although a great number of English Potters in severall parts of the land had set up their trade, so as all kind of earthen ware was very common, and to be had at very easy rates.

And as for the brick, they have been little used in Ireland even among the English themselves for a great while; but of late years they begun to be very common, as well in the countrie, as in the cities, especially Dublin, where all the new buildings (the which not only in handsomeness, but also in number, do surpass the old) are all made of brick. But that which is made in Ireland, for the most part is not so good, as that of other Countries, not so much for any unfitness in the clay it self, as for want of handling and preparing it aright; as may easily be conceived by the following description of the manner they use to make it.

Sect. 7. The manner how they make their Brick in Ireland.

They dig a great square pit, taking away all the uppermost earth, untill they come to a good clay (which commonly lyeth one or two spits deep) this they dig up throughout the

whole pit, and having broke it very small with the spade, they do by degrees poure a great deal of water amongst it, working and labouring it together with the spade and their feet, till the whole mass become uniform, firm and tough like stiff dough; the which then in wheel-barrowes is carried out of the pit to a place where certain long tables are set up, to each of which tables is allotted one man, one woman, and one boy. The woman taketh up the clay by handfulls, from the heap lying upon the ground, and reacheth it unto the man, who thrusteth it into a little wodden form without bottom, strawing now and then some sand upon the table, that the clay may not stick to it: and so having given them their due fashion, the boy doth carry them from thence to a place, where he layeth them all upon the ground, not under any covert, but in the open air. After they have lyen some dayes, and are somewhat dried, they are piled up in small heaps, twenty or thirty in a heap, making the heapes transparent in the same manner, as we have shewed above of the Turf, some dayes after those little piles are made into greater, which are many feet long, and five or six feet high, but not above two feet, or two and a half broad (making the layes transparent, with some empty space between brick and brick, even so as in the small piles) the which at the top are covered over with straw, laying upon the straw broad green sods, to keep off the rain. Having lyen so untill they be quite dry, they make great ovens or Kilns of them, filling them within with the same, strawing betwixt them of that small sort of Sea-coal, whereof we have spoke heretofore, called Comb or Coome, and having covered over the Kiln with the same clay, whereof the bricks are made, the thickness of two hand-broads or thereabouts, they set it afire with wood underneath, and continue the fire untill not only all the bricks piled within the Kiln, but all the walls quite through, and at the out-side as well as at the in-side, be perfectly burnt, and turned into good brick: wherein oftentimes, through the unskilfulness or neglect of those who make and fill these Kilns, and of those that govern the fire, there is great loss, and that two manner of ways. For sometimes great part of the Bricks is found not to be sufficiently

ciently nor uniformly burnt; and on the other side it falleth out oftentimes, that great quantities are reduced into one, being burnt, or half-burnt into great unshapely masses or lumps, which are good for nothing.

They do commonly burn in those Kilns two or three hundred thousand bricks at a time; the which for the most part, all charges being reckoned, come to stand betwixt six and eight shillings sterling the thousand.

Sect. 8. *Of the Glass made in Ireland.*

We shall conclude this chapter with the Glass, there having been severall Glass-houses set up by the English in Ireland, none in Dublin or other cities, but all of them in the countrie; amongst which the principall was that of Birre, a Market-town, otherwise called Parsons-town, after one Sir *Laurence Parsons*, who having purchased that Lordship, built a goodly house upon it; his son *William Parsons* having succeeded him in the possession of it: which Town is situate in Queens-county, about fifty miles to the South-west of Dublin, upon the borders of the two Provinces of Leinster and Munster: from this place Dublin was furnished with all sorts of window and drinking glasses, and such other as commonly are in use. One part of the materials, *viz.* the sand, they had out of England; the other, to wit the ashes, they made in the place of Ash-tree, and used no other. The chieftest difficulty was, to get the clay for the pots to melt the materials in; this they had out of the North.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Temperature and Qualities of the Air, and Seasons in Ireland, as for Heat, Cold, and Moisture.

Sect. 1. *Of the Cold weather, and the Frosts.*

ALTHOUGH the climate of Ireland is somewhat Northerly, the Land extending it self from the beginning of the one and fiftieth degree of latitude, until the

end of the five and fiftieth, nevertheless is the Air there very temperate, and nothing subject to violent Colds (not only in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, but even in the most Northern-part, to wit the Province of Ulster) much less than any other Land lying in the same height or latitude, yea than many countries of a much more Southerly-climate.

True it is, that the Cold-weather doth commonly begin here somewhat soon, namely in the beginning of October, and sometimes in the middle or latter end of September, continuing ordinarily the space of five or six moneths, until the midst or latter end of March, and sometimes also good part of April; during which whole space of time all such persons as are chilly and cold of nature, and do sit still much, can hardly be any long while without a fire.

But again on the other side, it is very seldom violently cold there, and freezeth but little: there are commonly three or four Frosts in one Winter; but they are very short, seldom lasting longer than three or four days together, and withall at their very worst nothing near so violent as in most other Countries; so that some all Winter long hardly come near a fire once in a day; and that not only in the ordinary cold weather, but even whilst it is a freezing.

Yea many times the cold is so slack even in the midst of the Winter-moneths, that by walking only, or doing some other moderate exercise, you shall find your self as warm, and the Air as sweet and pleasant, as if it were in the moneth of May.

There hath been some Winters, wherein it hath frozen ten or twelve dayes together, so as the Liffie, and other the like Rivers were quite frozen, and might be gone upon by men and beasts: But those are altogether extraordinary, and do come very seldom, hardly once in the space of ten or twelve yeares.

But how mild they ordinarily be, and how little subject to excessive cold, may appear hereby, that all kind of beasts and cattle, as cows, horses, and sheep, do there all Winter long remain abroad, and do feed in the fields, where they are left in the night-time as well as in the day, and that many herbs,

which in England and Netherland do dye every winter, here continue all the year long.

Sect. 2. Of the warm Weather.

And as the cold in Winter is very moderate and tolerable, so is also the heat in summer; the which is seldom so great, even in the hottest times of the year, as to be greatly troublesome. And it falleth out oft enough in the very summer-moneths, that the weather is more inclinable to cold than to heat, so as one may very well endure to come near a good fire. And this commeth to pass only during the Wet-weather, for else, and whilst it is fair, it is very warm all summer long, albeit seldom over hot: and so it is many times also even on the rainie dayes, whereas for the most part it is very cool in them, and the heat much less than the season doth require.

Sect. 3. Of the Rain and wet Weather.

The Rain is very ordinary in Ireland, and it raineth there very much all the year long, in the Summer as well as in the Winter. Commonly in the Spring of the year it is very fair weather, with clear sun-shine from morning till night, for the space of five or six weeks together, with very little or no interruption; which fair weather beginneth commonly in the moneth of March, some yeares in the beginning, other yeares in the midst, and sometimes in the latter end of it. But the same being once past, it raineth afterwards very much all the Summer long, so as it is a rare thing to see a whole week pass without it; and many Summers it is never dry weather two or three dayes together. Which inconstancy and wetness of the weather is not only troublesome to men, but also hurtfull to all things growing out of the ground for mans behoof. For the heat never being very great, and there besides often interrupted by the intervention of the foul weather, hath neither time nor strength enough to ripen them so well and so soon, as otherwise it would; whereby it commeth to pass, that as well the fruits of trees, as the corn and grass, here commonly much later do come to perfection, than in the most part of other neighbouring countries. And as the ripeness of

the fruits and other increase of the earth is greatly retarded by the abundance of unseasonable rain; so it doth also fall out oftentimes, that the same being come to ripeness, it is difficult to get them in, by reason of the exceeding store of rain which doth come down during the hay-time and the harvest. Wherefore it behoveth one here to be wonderfull diligent, and not to lose any part of the fair weather: For else one would run great hazard to sustain great losses, and to have all spoyled. But those that are vigilant and carefull, and that lose no occasion at all, do commonly in the end get in their increase well enough, notwithstanding all those great hinderances; so that there be as few yeares of dearth in Ireland, as in any other Country in Christendom; and most yeares there is not only Corn enough got for the sustenance of the inhabitants, but a great deal over and above, for the sending out of great quantities of Grain into other countries.

Sect. 4. Of the fair weather in the latter end of Autumn. In the foul weather the nights are often fair.

In the latter end of Autumn weather is commonly fair again for some weekes together, in the same manner as in the Spring, but not so long; which as it doth serve for to dry up, and to get in the Corn and Hay, which till then hath remained in the fields, the too much wet having hindered it from being brought away sooner; so it giveth the opportunity of plowing the ground, and sowing the Winter-corn; the which otherwise would very hardly be done.

For that season being once past, you have very little dry weather the rest of the autumn, and during all winter. And although it doth seldom rain continually for many dayes together, yet is the wetness very great, and few weekes do pass, wherein are not two or three rainy dayes. And it is to be observed, that ordinarily it raineth in Ireland much more by day than by night; and that many times when it doth rain two or three dayes together, the nights between are very clear and fair; the which also many times falleth out in other foul weather, and when all day long the Skie is overcast with clouds and mists.

*Sect. 5. Some dry Summers in Ireland, but hardly ever
any too dry.*

But although it is ordinarily thus in Ireland; yet the same inconstancy and variableness of yeares and seasons, which is observed in most other Countries, doth also here occur, and that more in regard of the Summers and dry weather, than of the Winters and cold. For it is marvellous seldom to have there a hard winter and long frost; but Summers have been which were full of very dry, and fair, and pleasant weather. But as Winters cruelly cold, so likewise over-dry summers do in this Iland hardly come once in an age; And it is a common saying in Ireland, that the very dryest Summers there never hurt the land: For although the corn and grass upon the high and dry grounds may get harm, nevertheless the country in generall gets more good than hurt by it: and when any dearths fall out to be in Ireland, they are not caused through immoderate heat and drought, as in most other countries, but through too much wet, and excessive rain.

*Sect. 6. Amendment of the wet Air in Ireland how to be
expected.*

So that the Irish-air is greatly defectuous in this part, and too much subject to wet and rainy weather; wherein if it were of somewhat a better temperature, and as free from too much wet, as it is from excessive cold, it would be one of the sweetest and pleasantest in the whole world, and very few countries could be named, that might be compared with Ireland for agreeable temperateness. And although it is unlikely, that any revolution of times will produce any considerable alteration in this (the which indeed in some other countries hath caused wonderfull changes) because that those who many Ages ago have written of this Iland, do witness the self same things of it in this particular, as we do find in our time: There is nevertheless great probability that this defect may in part be amended by the industry of men, if the country being once inhabited throughout by a civill Nation,

care were taken every where to diminish and take away the superfluous and excessive wetness of the ground, in all the watery and boggy places, whereby this too great moystness of the Air is greatly increased, and partly also occasioned.

This opinion is not grounded upon some uncertain speculation, but upon assured experience; for severall knowing and credible persons have affirmed to me, that already some yeares since good beginnings have been seen of it; and that in some parts of the land well inhabited with English, and where great extents of Bogs have been drained and reduced to dry land, it hath been found by the observation of some yeares one after another, that they have had a dryer air, and much less troubled with rain than in former times.

Herewith agreeth that we read in that famous Writer *Pliny*, in the fourth Chapter of the seventeenth Book of his *Naturall History*, concerning that part of *Macedonia*, wherein the city *Philippi* was seated; where the Air formerly having been very rainie, was greatly amended by the altering the wetness of the ground: His words are these, *Circa Philippus cultura siccata regio, mutavit cæli habitum*: that is, word for word, *The Country about Philippi being dried up through tillage, hath altered the quality of the Air.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Dew, Mist, Snow, Hail, Hoar-frost, Thunder and Lightning, Earthquake and Winds.

Sect. 1. *Of the Dew.*

THE Naturalists and Geographers do assure us, that it deweth exceedingly in the hot and dry countries, and that the less it useth to rain in a country, the dew doth fall there the more abundantly; whereby it should seem to follow, that in the wet climate it deweth very little, and consequently that in Ireland, where it raineth so very much, the Dew must be very scanty. But there is as much Dew there, as in other Countries that are a great deal hotter and dryer. Only thus

much experience doth shew in Ireland (and it may be as well in other Countries, whereof I have not yet informed my self) that when it is towards any great rain, little or no Dew doth fall; so as in those times going forth early in the morning into the green fields, you will find them altogether dry, and that even in that season, wherein the Dew in Ireland, as in other neighbouring Countries, useth to fall more abundantly, than in any other time of the year, to wit in the moneths of May and June: this is a certain sign to the inhabitants, that great rain is to fall suddenly; and commonly after such a dry and dewless night it useth to rain two or three days together. But the preceding rain doth not hinder the Dew in that manner, as that which is imminent; and it is found ordinarily, that in a clear night following a rainy day (the which is very ordinary, as we have sayd in the preceding Chapter) the Dew commeth down as liberally as if it had not rained the day before.

Sect. 2. Of May-dew, and the manner of gathering, and preserving it.

The English women, and Gentlewomen in Ireland, as in England, did use in the beginning of the Summer to gather good store of Dew, to keep it by them all the year after for severall good uses both of physick and otherwise, wherein by experience they have learnt it to be very available. Their manner of collecting and keeping it was this. In the moneth of May especially, and also in part of the moneth of June, they would go forth betimes in the morning, and before Sun-rising, into a green field, and there either with their hands strike off the Dew from the tops of the herbs into a dish, or else throwing clean linnen clothes upon the ground, take off the Dew from the herbs into them, and afterwards wring it out into dishes; and thus they continue their work untill they have got a sufficient quantity of Dew according to their intentions. That which is gotten from the grass will serve, but they chuse rather to have it from the green corn, especially wheat, if they can have the conveniency to do so, as being perswaded that this Dew hath more vertues, and is better for all purposes, than that which hath been collected from the grass or other herbs.

The Dew thus gathered they put into a glass bottle, and so set it in a place where it may have the warm Sun-shine all day long, keeping it there all the summer; after some dayes rest some dregs and dirt will settle to the bottom; the which when they perceive, they pour off all the clear Dew into another vessel, and fling away those settlings. This they do often, because the Dew doth not purge it self perfectly in a few dayes, but by degrees, so as new dregs (severed from the purer parts by the working of the Dew, helped on by the Sun-beams) do settle again; of the which as often as those good women see any notable quantity, they still powre off the clear Dew from them: doing this all summer long, untill it be clear to the bottom.

The Dew thus thoroughly purified looketh whitish, and keepeth good for a year or two after.

Sect. 3. *Of the Mists and Fogs.*

We have shewed how much Ireland is subject to rain, and so it is likewise to dark weather, and overcasting of the air even when it raineth not, which continueth sometimes many dayes together, especially in Winter-time.

But as for the Fogs and Mists, Ireland is no more troubled with them than other regions, especially in the plain countrie, for in the mountains they are much more frequent, so that oftentimes they are covered with them for a great way, the space of some houres together, when at the same time there is none in the neighbouring plain countrie; and in the high mountains it commeth many times to pass that in a fair day the top thereof for a long time together is covered over with a thick Mist, when not only the adjacent countrie, but even the lower part of those mountains do enjoy a clear Sun-shine. And sometimes it befalleth the tops as well as the lower parts being free from them, the middle parts are quite covered there-with: as my brother in his travels hath many times observed in severall parts, especially upon those high mountains between Dundalke and Carlingford, as well in the midst of the Summer, as at other times of the year.

And in many places it is found by experience, that the like

Fogs upon the tops of the mountains is a fore-runner of rain in the next country: whereof all those who have lived any time at Dublin, may have good knowledge. For seldom a mist appeareth upon the top of the Wickloe-mountains, situated some five or six miles to the South of Dublin, or of the Head of Houth, without being followed with rain at Dublin and the adjacent parts within 24 houres: wherein is observable, that a Fog quite covering those mountains all over is not so sure a signe of Rain, as when it is only upon the top: and that those generall Mists upon the mountains are often seen without any following Rain, the which very seldom or never happeneth in the others.

There be two sorts of Mists or Fogs in Ireland: the one is uniform and constant, quite filling the air of all sides, whereby all manner of prospect is taken away, and continuing after the same fashion, untill it vanish by degrees, either ascending up into the Air, or falling to the ground; whereof here, as in other countries, the first is commonly followed with rain, and the second with fair weather.

In the other sort are great parcells or flakes of foggie vapours scattered up and down the Air, with clear spaces betwixt: the which flakes do not keep one place, but fly to and fro, according as they are driven by the wind, and that sometimes very swiftly; this kind of Fog doth arise not only upon the seaside, but also within the land, and upon the mountains: oftentimes turning into a generall mist.

Sect 4. *Of the Snow, Hail, and Hoar-frost.*

For the most part there falleth no great store of Snow in Ireland, and some yeares none at all, especially in the plain countries. In the mountains there is commonly greater plenty of snow, than in other parts, so that all kinds of cattle, do all winter long remain there abroad, being seldom troubled with very great frost or snow, and do feed in the fields night and day, as we have related more amply above; yet it hath happened that in a winter, one of many, abundance of Snow hath fallen, instance that of the year 1635, where about the latter end of January and the beginning of February great

store of snow did fall to the great damage of the cattle, chiefly in the Northern parts (where it did snow most exceedingly) so as the People were put to hard shifts to bring their cattle in safety to their folds and other covered places. One history among the rest by reason of the strangeness of it, I thinke will not be improper to relate as it hath been asserted to me by very credible persons. A Gentleman living about Ballaneah in the county of Cavan, took great pains to save his sheep, yet missed eleven of them; some dayes after being come forth to course, his man saw from afarre off upon a hill, in a hollow place of a rock, part of it being covered with the top hanging over it, something alive and stirring, they thought it had been a Hare or a Fox, but comming neer they found it was the lost sheep, the which had sheer eaten away all the wool from one anothers back (being destitute of all other food, all round about being covered with deep snow) and which is more wonderfull one of them being dead, the rest did eat her flesh, leaving nothing but the bar bones.

It doth also longer continue there: so as it is an ordinary thing in those by Dublin, and all other high mountains throughout the Land, to see the Snow lying upon the tops of them many dayes, yea weekes, after that in the nether parts and plain countrie, it is thawed and quite vanished.

It Haileth there but seldom, and in thinne short shoures, the hail-stones also being very little.

As for the Hoar-frost, that is as common here, as in other countries, and that not only in the coldest moneths, and during the frost, but even in the Spring: so as commonly during all the fair weather of that season, of some weekes together, whereof we have spoke heretofore, every morning all the green herbs of the gardens and fields are quite covered over with it.

Sect. 5. *Of the Thunder, Lightning, and Earthquakes.*

Ireland is as little subject to Thunder and Lightning, as any other countrie in the world, for it is a common thing, to see whole yeares pass without them, and in those yeares, where-in any are, one shall seldom have them above once or

twice in Summer, and that with so weak noise of the Thunder, and so feeble a shining of the Lightning, that even the most fearfull persons are hardly frightned at all there-by, much less any harm done to men or beasts.

From Earthquakes this Iland is not altogether exempt; but withall they are so seldom, that they hardly come once in an age: and it is so long agoe since the last of all was, that it is as much as the most aged persons now alive can even remember.

Sect. 6. *Of the Winds.*

With Winds it is in this countrie almost as with Rain, Ireland not only having its share in them, as other countries, but being very much subject to them, more than most other parts of the world. For the Winds blow very much at all times of the year, especially in the Winter moneths, when also there are many stormes, which sometimes do continue severall dayes together.

And it is worth the observation, that not only storm-winds, but others also, do in Ireland much seldomer blow out of the East, than out of the West, especially in the Winter; so that commonly there is no need of a Wind to be wafted over into England: where to the contrary, those, who out of England will come over into Ireland, very ordinarily are constrained to wait two or three weekes, and sometimes five or six weekes, yea it hath faln out so more than once, that in two whole moneths, and longer, there hath not been so much East-wind, as to carry ships out of England into Ireland: notable instances whereof the history of the first conquest of Ireland, and that of the Lord Mountjoy, subduer of Tirone's rebellion, doth afford.

But in the Summer-time, and chiefly in the Spring, and in the moneths of March, Aprill, and May, one is not so much subject to that incommodity, as in the other times of the year.

And as the West-winds are much more common in Ireland, especially upon this coast lying over against Great-Britain, than the East; so likewise the South winds are much more ordinary there, than the North: which two winds there do

seldom blow alone, but for the most part do accompany one of the two other, especially the North-wind, the which also doth oftner join it self with the East than with the West-wind.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Healthfullness of Ireland, and what sicknesses it is free from, and subject unto.

Sect. 1. Many Old and Healthful people in Ireland.

ALTHOUGH Ireland is obnoxious to excessive wetness, nevertheless it is very wholesome for the habitation of Men, as clearly doth appear by that there are as few sickly persons, and as many people live to a great age, as in any of the neighbouring countries: for both men and women, setting those aside who through idleness and intemperance do shorten their dayes, attain here for the most part to a fair age, very many living to be very old, and to pass not only the age of fourscore, but of fourscore and ten; and severall there are found at all times, who do very neer reach an hundred yeares, some out-living and passing them. And the most part of those aged persons are in very good disposition, injoying not only their health, but also the use of their limbs, senses, and understanding, even to their utmost yeares. Among the women there are severall found, who do retain not only their customary purgations, but even their fruitfulness, above the age of fifty yeares, and some untill that of sixty: my Brother hath known some, who being above three-score years old, have not only conceived, and brought forth children, but nursed them, and brought them up with their own milk, being wonderfull rare and almost unheard-of in other countries.

Sect. 2. Ireland free from severall Diseases.

Ireland's healthfullness doth further appear by this particular, that severall diseases very common in other countries, are here very rare, and partly altogether unknown. For the Scurvy, an evill so generall in all other Northerly countries

confining upon the Sea, is untill this day utterly unknown in Ireland.

So is the Quartan Ague, the which is ordinary in England, and in severall parts of it doth very much reign at all times.

As for the Tertian Ague, it was heretofore as little known in Ireland as the Quartan: but some yeares since, I know not through what secret change, it hath found access into this Iland, so that at this time some are taken with it, but nothing neer so ordinarily as in other countries.

The plague, which so often and so cruelly infected England, to say nothing of remoter countries, is wonderfull rare in Ireland, and hardly seen once in an age.

Sect. 3. The immunity from certain Diseases consisteth in the Air, not in the bodies of the people.

It is observable concerning the fore-mentioned particular, that this privilege, of being free from severall Diseases, doth not consist in any peculiar quality of the bodies of men, but proceedeth from some hidden property of the Land and the Air it self. This is made manifest two manner of wayes, first, in that strangers comming into Ireland do partake of this same exemption; and as long as they continue there, are as free of those evils, from which that climate is exempt, as the Irish themselves. Secondly, in that the natives, born and brought up in Ireland, comming into other countries, are found to be subject unto those diseases as well as other people, and I have known severall of them, who being come hither into England, have fallen into the Quartan Ague, and have as long and as badly been troubled with it, as ordinarily any Englishman useth to be.

And credible persons have affirmed unto me the same of Scotland, namely that the Quartan Ague never having been seen there, the Scotchmen nevertheless in other countries are as obnoxious to it, as people of any other Nation.

Sect. 4. The most part of all kind of Diseases are found in Ireland as in other Countries.

True it is, notwithstanding that privilege of being exempt
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from certain evils, that the most part of diseases and infirmities, whereunto man's body is subject in other countries, are also found in Ireland, as well outward as inward; and in the number of the inward not only the suddain ones, and those that in a few dayes or weekes come to an end, being called *Morbi acuti* by the Physicians, as namely Feavers, Casting of blood, Apoplexies, and others of that nature; but also those of long continuance, as the Falling-sickness, the Palsy, all sorts of Gout, Coughs, the Consumption of the Lungs, the Stone of the Kidneys and of the Bladder, the Colick, the Jaundis, the Dropsy, the grief of the Spleen, and severall sorts of Loosenesses, with all which Evills it is here as in other countries, some of them being very common here, and others happening but seldom, and in few persons: the more particular relation whereof we will leave for the books of Physick, and for those Observations which perhaps my Brother some time or other will publish, of what he hath found concerning these matters, in an ample and flourishing practice of eight yeares, which he hath lived in Dublin.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Diseases reigning in Ireland, and whereunto that country is peculiarly subject.

Sect. 1. *Of the Irish Agues.*

AS Ireland is subject to most diseases in common with other countries, so there are some, whereunto it is peculiarly obnoxious, being at all times so rife there, that they may justly be reputed for Ireland's *Endemii Morbi* or reigning Diseases, as indeed they are generally reputed for such.

Of this number is a certain sort of Malignant Feavers, vulgarly in Ireland called Irish Agues, because that at all times they are so common in Ireland, as well among the Inhabitants and the natives, as among those who are newly come thither from other countries. This feaver commonly accompanied with a great pain in the head and in all the bones, great

weakness, drought, losse of all manner of appetite, and want of sleep, and for the most part idleness or raving, and restlessness or tossings, but no very great nor constant heat, is hard to be cured, for those that understand the disease, and seek to overcome it, do it not by purging, which cannot be used at any time without great and present danger; for the fermentation of the humors which causeth the disease, is hereby mightily increased, and the patient weakened; and hardly with bleeding, which seldom is used with success otherwise than in the very beginning; but with strengthening medicines and good cordials: in which case, and if all necessary prescriptions be well observed, very few persons do lose their lives; except when some extraordinary and pestilent malignity commeth to it, as it befalleth in some yeares, with so great violence, that notwithstanding all good helps, some are thereby carried to their graves; the same doth ordinarily come to pass, that it proveth deadly, if the sick do fall into unskilfull hands, or neglect all help, or do not observe good directions; in which cases many do perish: and others, who come off with their lives through robustiousness of nature, or hidden causes, are forced to keep their beds a long time in extreme weakness, being a great while before they can recover their perfect health and strength.

Sect. 2. *Of the Looseness.*

The Looseness doth also greatly reign in Ireland, as well among those of the countrie as among the strangers, wherefore the English inhabitants have given it the name of The country disease. Many are a great while troubled with it, and yet get no other harm: and those that betimes do make use of good medicines, are without any great difficulty cured of it. But they that let the looseness take its course, do commonly after some dayes get the bleeding with it, whereby the disease doth not only grow much more troublesome and painful, but a great deal harder to be cured; and at last it useth to turn to the Bloody flux, the which in some persons, having lasted a great while, leaveth them of it self; but in far the greatest number is very dangerous, and killeth the most part

of the sick, except they be carefully assisted with good remedies.

That this disease, as also the other, *viz.*, the Malignant Feavers, are so rife in Ireland, doth partly come through the peculiar disposition and excessive wetness of the air; but partly also through the errours which people do commit in eating and drinking, and other particulars: as manifestly doth appear by that a very great number, not only of the Natives, but also of the Strangers comming thither, who take carefull heed to themselves in abstaining from hurtfull things, never are troubled with either of these infirmities.

Sect. 3. *Of the Rickets.*

Among the reigning diseases of Ireland the Rickets also may with good reason be reckoned, a disease peculiar to young children, and so well known to every body in England, as it is needless to give any description of it; and yet to this day never any Physician, either English or of any other nation, made any the least mention of it, no not in those works which are expressly written of all manner of diseases and accidents of little children.

In Ireland this disease is wonderfull rife now, but it hath nothing neer been so long known there as in England, either through the unskilfullness or neglect of the Physicians (the most part whereof in both kingdomes to this day are ignorant not only of the manner how to cure it, but even of the nature and property thereof) or that really it is new there, and never before having been in Ireland, hath got footing in it only within these few yeares, through some strange revolution or constellation, or Gods immediate sending: which kind of changes severall times have befalln in divers Countries, and in Ireland it self we have alreadie shewed some such matter in another sickness, namely the Tertian Ague.

This evill being altogether incurable, when it is gone too far, is hard enough to be cured even in the beginning, except it be very carefully looked unto, and use made of the best remedies; nevertheless this grief, as well as most others, hath its peculiar medicines, the which being applied betimes, and

with convenient care, do with Gods blessing for the most part produce the effect desired.

Sect. 4. *Of the Leprosie.*

The Rickets are of late very rife in Ireland, where few yeares agoe unknown; so on the contrary it hath been almost quite freed from another disease, one of the very worst and miserabest in the world, namely the Leprosie, which in former times used to be very common there, especially in the Province of Munster; the which therefore was filled with Hospitals, expressly built for to receive and keep the Leprous persons. But many yeares since Ireland hath been almost quite freed from this horrible and loathsome disease, and as few Leprous persons are now found there, as in any other countrie in the world; so that the hospitals erected for their use, having stood empty a long time, at length are quite decayed and come to nothing. The cause of this change is not so obscure nor unknown, as it is in most other changes of that nature. For that this sickness was so generall in Ireland, did not come by any peculiar defect in the Land or in the Air, but merely through the fault and foul gluttony of the inhabitants, in the excessive devouring of unwholesome Salmons. The common report in Ireland is, that boiled Salmons eaten hot out of the Kettle in great quantity, bring this disease, and used to be the cause why it was so common: and some famous Authors have not stuck to relate as much for a truth. But that is a fable, and Salmons have not that evill quality, which way soever they be eaten and prepared, but when they are out of season, which is in the latter end of the year, after they have cast their spawn: upon which they do not only grow very weak and flaggie, but so unwholesome, that over their whole body they break out in very filthy spots, just like a scalled mans head, so as it would loath any man to see them; nevertheless the Irish, a nation extremely barbarous in all the parts of their life, did use to take them in that very season, as well as at any other time of the year, and to eat them in very great abundance, as easily they might, every river and rivulet in most parts being very full of them, and by that meanes that

horrible disease came to be so common amongst them. But the English having once gotten the command of the whole Countrie into their hands, made very severe laws against the taking of Salmons in that unwholesome season, and saw them carefully observed; whereby hindering those barbarians against their will to feed on that poysonous meat, they were the cause that that woefull sickness, which used so mightily to reign amongst them, hath in time been almost quite abolished; which great benefit, with so many others, that hateful people hath rewarded with seeking utterly to exterminate their benefactors.

Sect. 5. *Of the Leaguer-Sicknesses.*

In the English Armies, which since this bloody Rebellion went over into Ireland to fight against that murdering Nation, where not only the Looseness and the Malignant Feaver, whereof we have spoken above as of Ireland's reigning diseases, very common, but there-besides severall other infirmities, *viz.* violent Coughs and of long continuance, Stopping of the Breath, called in Latin *Dispnoea*, Lameness of the Thighs or *Sciatica*, Painful Stranguries, all which griefes seized on so many persons, that they might well have been taken for sicknesses reigning in that land; as I have many times understood of my Brother, who at that time not only dwelling and practising at Dublin, but being Physician generall of the English Forces, had but too much occasion to know that perfectly.

But withall he hath assured me, that those diseases had their originall not from any defect of the climate, but of the cold, and other hardship, which the soldiers suffered in their marches; for they many times going to the fields in cold and foul weather, and sometimes marching whole dayes along, yea severall dayes together, in very dirty and wet wayes, where their feet and legs were continually cold and wet, besides that they were sometimes constrained to pass through the water up as high as the knees and waste, and after all that hardship endured in the day-time, to lye in the night upon the wet ground in the open air, this caused the aforementioned diseases, and severall others amongst them, in so great number, it

being to be wondered at, that many more did not fall into them. And without doubt in any other countrie of the world, where all the same causes did concur, and where an Armie indured the like hard-ship, the same effects, if not worse, would follow: so that in this behalf the Land it self is not at all to be blamed.

DE
H I B E R N I A ,
ET
Antiquitatibus ejus,
DISQUISITIONES.

JACOBI WARÆI
Equitis Aurati
DE
HIBERNIA
Et Antiquitatibus ejus,
DISQUISITIONES.

EDITIO SECUNDA,

Emendatior

Et quarta parte auctior.

LONDINI,

Typis E. TYLER, Impensis JO. CROOK,
sub Signo Navis, in cœmeterio S. Pauli.

MDCLVIII.

Editionis Primæ

P R Æ F A T I O.



HABES, Lector, disquisitiones hasce, eo fine editas, ut vel bono rei literariæ serviant, vel saltem alios, melioribus auspiciis, certiora ex antiquitatis tenebris eruere incitent. Perexiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hibernia gestarum, ante exortam ibi Euangelii auroram, liquidò constat. Neq.; me latet, à viris nonnullis doctis, pleraque quæ de antiquioribus illis temporibus, ante adventum S. Patricii in Hiberniam, à scriptoribus traduntur, tanquàm fragmenta esse explosa. Notandum quidem descriptiones fermè omnium quæ de illis temporibus (vetustioribus dico) extant, opera esse posteriorum seculorum: idcirco in hac indagine, de iis, admodum parcè loquutus sum, nec usquàm nisi ubi rem æquâ (ut potui) lance, pensitavi. In aliis etiam, ad recentiora tempora spectantibus, interdum coactus sum, (fateor) veritatis studio, vel à viro aliquo erudito, vel à recepta opinione, dissentire; sed in utroque casu, reddidâ plerumque ratione. Veruntamen, si in hoc tam dissitæ veritatis scrutinio sæpiùs erraverim, haud mirum. Ardua res est (ait Plinius) vetustis novitatem dare, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, dubiis fidem. Et à Senatu doctorum quis idem non fatebitur? Porro, ut non negandum multa hîc aptiùs disponi potuisse, si id tanti mihi visum fuisset, ita fatendum non pauca etiam addi potuisse, ex parte eâ schedarum mearum, quæ ad manum non fuit, dum hæc molirer, licèt hunc defectum partim supplerint amicorum meorum Bibliothecæ, Londini et Westmonasterii. Utcunq; in his quæ nunc offero, præter ea quæ à viris

in hoc eruditionis genere versatissimis, ante me sunt observata, multa etiam hactenùs latentia, et scitu fortassè non indigna, invenies patefacta, commentis quibus scatent scripta nonnullorum, tum veterum, tum recentiorum, de Hibernia agentium, vel consultò prætermisissis, vel, quantum potui (è densis vetustatis tenebris) detectis; at sine aliquâ morositate, ut ex iis quæ postea dicturus sum, (spero) liquebit. Veruntamen tum ob rerum ipsarum obscuritatem, tum opinionum varietatem, sæpè non ausus sum, fateor, quicquam certò statuere, sed coactus multa, vel conjecturis venari et explicare, vel pleniori aliorum indagini relinquere: quanquàm non negem conjecturas, ad magnam politioris literaturæ partem esse necessarias. Nec dubito quin multa veterum ex conjecturis adhuc feliciter illustrari possint, præter ea quæ à viris doctis antehac sunt explicata, magno rei literariæ, atque aded humanæ cognitionis commodo.

Sed ne longè progrediar; ex hoc quocunq; labore, si utilitatem aliquam percipias, me operæ non pœnitebit, imò horas succisivas ità impensas, me benè collocasse existimabo. Vale. Londini, IV Nonas Maias, MDCLIV.

*Editionis Secundæ***Ansa et Institutum.**

Prioris Editionis (quam ante annos jam IV in lucem emisi) Consilium indicat præfatio prior. Cæterum tempus nuper nactus opportunum, dum in Hibernia essem, è schedis et codicibus meis MSS. non pauca selegi, quæ in jam dicta editione deesse videbantur. Atque hinc sanè cùm in Anglia postea Bibliopolam, divenditis prioris editionis exemplaribus, novam moliri accepissem, ansam arripui non solum editionem primam recognoscendi, sed multa etiam prætermissa interserendi, ac cæteris postremo quatuor integra capitula adjiciendi. In primo, de Basilicis agitur, sive ecclesiis cathedralibus, Hiberniæ, ubi id nunc Basilicis, quod antea cænobiis præstiti. In secundo, de priscorum Hibernorum servis, sive mancipiis, deque illorum Villanis, sive Nativis, vel Betagiis, fundo quem colebant adscriptis. In tertio, de priscis, apud Hibernos, probationum sive purgationum generibus, post conversionem gentis ad fidem Christianam. Ac in quarto denique, de veterum Hibernorum et Ostmannorum in Hibernia funeribus sepulturis et cryptis subterraneis.

Atque, de secunda hac editione, ista sunt quæ dicenda habui. Londini, IX Kalendas Julias, Anno Dom MDCLVIII.

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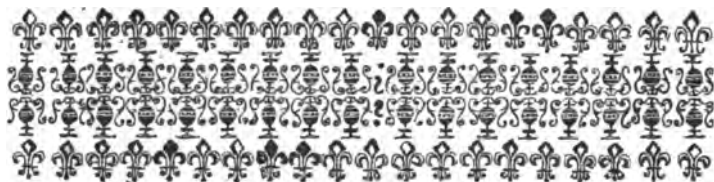
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DE
H I B E R N I A,
ET
Antiquitatibus ejus,
DISQUISITIONES.

CAP. I.

*De variis nominibus quibus Hibernia, veteribus innotuit:
Deque Hiberniæ Etymo.*

HÆC Insula, variis coloniis, è Britannia, Scythia, Iberia, Germania et Gallia deductis, olim habitata, duobus potissimum nominibus Veteribus innotuit, Hiberniæ scil. sive Ibernæ, et Scotiæ. Hibernia (ita vocant Cæsar, Plinius, Solinus, Tacitus, Orosius, alii) Regio totius Europæ ad Occasum remotissima, derivatur vel à voce *Hiar*, quæ apud Hibernos, Occasum, sive plagam Occidentalem significat, uti conjicit Camdenus, vel ab Iberis, qui hic olim habitabant: unde fortasse et ipsa Insula, in Antonini Itinerario, *Hiberione* appellatur, et in Epistola S. Patricii ad Coroticum, bis, *Hiberione*, semel, *Hiberia*. Ex alterutro fonte emanare videntur *Iërne*, *Hierna*, *Juverna*, *Iris*, *Bernia*, *Overnia*, et vox *Hibernica*, *Eri*: his enim nominibus Hibernia olim etiam vocabatur. Ab *Eri*, Hibernus *Erigena* dicitur, et ita olim Johannes Scotus, scriptor antiquus seculi noni, *Erigena* vulgò appellabatur. Sunt qui ab *Ebero* Hispano, uno è Milesii filiis, alii, qui ab *Herimone* Eberi fratre ducant. Sed viri

L 13 sanioris

sanioris iudicii has sententias rejecerunt, non minùs quam istas aliorum, vel ab Irnalpho duce Hispanico, vel ab aquis, hyberno tempore, ibi congelacientibus, vel ab Ibero Hispaniæ fluvio, vel ab Iëra Regina, vel à *Jurin*, (i.) *Judæorum terra*, deducendum. Neque hic prætermittenda est Samuelis Borcharti Cadomensis conjectura, qui Geographiæ sacræ, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 39, Hiberniam Phœnicibus, navigationibus, in oras remotissimas, olim clarissimis, non fuisse ignotam, ex nomine conjiçit, *quod planè, ait, videtur fuisse Phœnicium, Hibernia enim nonnullis Iërna, &c. Nihil aliud est quàm Ibernae, Ultima habitatio, quia ultra Hiberniam, versus Occasum, veteres nihil noverant, præter vastum mare.* Ita ille ibi. Sed (ut quod sentio dicam) inter has omnes, quæ de Hiberniæ nomine invaluerunt, divinationes, mihi arridet opinio Isidori et aliorum ab Iberia deducendum, tum ob fixas ibi quasdam Iberorum sedes et colonias, de quibus postea suis locis, tum ob nominis affinitatem. Quò etiam spectasse videtur Johannes Lelandus, in cygnea cantione, cum Hibernos *Iberos* vocarit,

*Fractos undique pœnitudo Iberos
Sylvestres domuit, suave Legis
Ferre et perdociuit jugum Britannæ :
Quæ victoria comparanda magnis.*

Sed de etymo, hæc est conjectura tantùm: veram nominis rationem reddere quàm difficilimum existimo, nihil igitur pro certo affirmo, quin potiùs rem totam in medio relinquo.

Ab aliis hæc insula Scotia (uti diximus) antiquitus appellabatur; atq; ita nominata videtur à coloniis quibusdam è Scythia deductis. Ita Radulphus de Diceto, in Imaginibus Historiarum, ad annum *mclxxxv*, *E Regione* ait *quadam quæ dicitur Scythia, dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia.* Ex eo, idem ferè habet Thomas Walsinghamius, in Hypodigmate Neustriæ. Et rectè Reinerus Reinectius, in Historiæ Juliæ prolegomenis, hodiè Scytharum nomen in Scotis asserit esse reliquum. Scytharum nomen, apud antiquissimos scriptores, valdè generale fuisse docti nôrunt, ac Scythas Europæos, sive Celto-Scythas colonias variis temporibus in Hiberniam misisse, recepta est opinio solertissimorum

Antiquitatum Hibernicarum indagatorum. De tempore adventus Scytharum in Hiberniam, sic Nennius sive Ninius Britannus, qui floruit anno Domini dcccL, *Novissimè* (inquit) *venerunt Scoti à partibus Hispaniæ ad Hiberniam, &c. Novissimè venit Clan-Hector, et ibi habitavit cum omni gente sua usque hodiè. Nulla tamen certa Historia originis Scotorum reperitur. Si quis scire voluerit, quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi Scotorum nunciaverunt, Scythæ in quarta ætate Mundi obtinuerunt Hiberniam.* Is verò sub initium libri, *quartam ætatem Mundi computat à Davide usque ad Danielelem, sive ad Persicum Imperium.* Item Henricus Huntindoniensis Histor. lib. 1, *Britones, ait ille, in tertia Mundi ætate, in Britanniam, Scoti in quarta, venerunt in Hiberniam.* Propertius Getas Scythiæ populos, (quos non alios fuisse quàm qui postea Gothi dicti fuerunt, plerique tenent,) hinc sedes fixisse innuit, lib. 4, eleg. 3.

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru.

Et quamvis Hibernia à Plinio lib. 4. cap. 16. et ab Apuleio, lib. de Mundo, inter Britannias numeretur, ac etiam à Ptolemæo, Britannia parva appelletur et à Diodoro Siculo. lib. 6, cap. 9. pars Britanniae, quasi à Britannis olim occupata, liquidò tamen constare videtur Scythas etiam (ut de aliis hic taceam) ibi habitasse, unde inquam, verisimile est Insulam eam, ab iis Scythiam primò nominatam, licèt postea corruptè Scotia diceretur. Sed, in hac re, nihil definitio. Fingunt nonnulli Scotiam eam nominatam à voce *σκότος*, quasi obscuritate fuerit involuta, alii à Scota Gaotheli uxore, filia Pharaonis Regis nescio cujus, item linguam Hibernicam, à dicto Gaothelo (aliàs, Gaodelo) compositam fuisse, et *Gaelic*, vulgò *Gelic* dictam, quasi ex cæteris linguis desumptam. Sed à viris doctis explosa sunt ista figmenta. Hibernos ipsos cum Scotis, à Britannis, *Guydhill* appellatos, docet Humfredus Lhuidus Cambro-Britannus, in Fragmento Britannicæ descriptionis. Isidorus Hispalensis Originum lib. 9. cap. 2. *Scotos asserit propria lingua nomen habere à picto corpore, eo quòd aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stigmata annotentur.* Atqui inde Pictos non Scotos

nomen traduxisse certum; et Isidorus ipse lib. 19. cap. 23, Pictos inde denominatos fatetur. Sunt denique qui *Gaolic* à Gothis emanasse volunt. Quære si non à Gallæcis Hispaniæ, vel à Gallis Veteribus. Venio jam ad Scriptorum testimonia Nennio vetustiorum, quibus vel Hibernia Scotiæ nomine innotuit, vel ejus incolæ nomine Scotorum. Nam recentiorum testimonia libens hic prætermitto. Sic igitur Claudianus, qui sub Honorio et Arcadio Imp. vixit, in Pannegyrice de quarto Honorii Consulatu.

——— *Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Iërne.*

Et lib. 2, de laudibus Stilichonis,

——— *Totam cùm Scotus Iernen
Morit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.*

Post eum, ita Paulus Orosius, lib. 1, cap. 2, de Hibernia loquens, *Hæc propior, ait, Britannia, spatio terrarum angustior, sed cæli solisque temperie, magis utilis, à Scotorum Gentibus colitur.* Ei astipulantur Gildas, Cogitosus, Beda, aliique à Veteribus. Sed Insulam ipsam Scotiam olim dictam disertè asserit supradictus Isidorus, qui floruit anno Christi DCXXX, lib. 14 Originum, cap. 6, *Scotia inquit, eadem et Hibernia, proxima Britannia Insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fecundior. Hæc ab Africo in Boream porrigitur, cujus partes priores Iberiam et Cantabricum Oceanum intendunt, unde et Ibernica dicta. Scotia autem, quod à Scotorum gentibus colitur, appellata.* A Scotis his Hiberniæ, genuinos Albanæ Scotos originem traxisse, ex Beda, Gir. Cambrensi, Johanne Majore (Scoto) et aliis, liquidò constat, ipsarumque linguarum communitas evincit.

Ad alia jam venimus nomina, antiquitè etiam Hiberniæ adscripta. Homerus et Hesiodus in partibus his occiduis, Insulas Fortunatas sive Beatorum collocant. Sunt qui Hiberniam eandem esse asserunt cum Plutarchi Ogygia, quam ille ad Britannia occasum statuit, in libro de facie in Orbe Lunæ: atqui hoc non patitur distantia Ogygiæ à Britannia, in Plutarcho memorata. Festus Avienus *Insulam sacram* appellat, in libello cui titulus est, *Oræ Maritimæ.*

Ibi enim postquàm de Ostrimidibus Insulis egisset, quæ hodiè Silly dicuntur, de Hibernia ita canit,

*Ast hinc duobus in SACRAM, sic insulam
Dixere Prisci, solibus cursus rati est
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacet.
Eánque latè gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursùs insula Albionum patet.*

Neque desunt qui Hiberniam, ab Historicis patriis, olim vocatam etiam volunt Insulam Nemorosam, Inisalgam sive Insulam nobilem, Banuam, sive Beatam, quamvis alii Banuam, et Fodlam (quo nomine etiam vocabatur) à Reginis nescio quibus *Thuathededanorum* ita dictis, derivent: Item Inis-faliam, à fatali saxo, *Liafail* dicto, ibi olim magna cura asser-vato, Ethnicismi temporibus. Alii denique *Culamuam* vocant, à qua voce (ut videtur) fluxit *Cualemalæc*; nam linguam Hibernicam sic olim dictam asserit Thaddæus Doulingus, in Collectaneis suis Historicis. Sed ad alia transeamus.

CAP. II.

De Hibernorum Origine; deque Lingua Hibernorum Vete-rum; an eadem fuerit cum Britannica.

DE Cæsaræ Noachi neptis adventu in Hiberniam, cum *Sect. 1.* colonia, paulò ante Diluvium, apud Giraldum Barrium (Cambrensem vulgò dictum) et alios Scriptores fit mentio. Anno itidem à Diluvio ccc, Bartholanum Seræ filium, de stirpe Japheti, devictis Gigantibus nescio quibus, insulam subjugâsse scribunt; sed peste postea cum suis, Ruano excepto, sublatum: inde Nemethum Scytham, cum quatuor filiis, ad tempus incoluisse ac posteros ejus, à Gigantibus Fomoriis dictis, tandem ejectos, partim in Scythiam, partim in Græciam trajecisse, atque post 200 annos, quinque Delæ filios, Gandium, Genandium, Sangandium, Rutheraigum, et Slanium, è Nemethi progenie, colonias novas in Hiberniam traduxisse volunt, eamque postquàm expugnâssent, inter se in quinque partes divisisse. Slanium verò tandem Monarchiam obti-nuisse.

nuisse. Hanc Coloniam Scythicam Hiberni *Firbolg* vocant, unde corruptè, apud Camdenum, Hibernia *Tirvolac* vocatur. Addunt in posteris ejus, et postea Nuadæ *Thuathededanorum* Regis, Monarchiam durasse, donec quatuor filii Milesii Hispani, seculo xrv, ante Christum natum, cum nova colonia et sexaginta navium classe, in Hiberniam appulerunt, eamque, post prælia aliquot, cum incolis, subjugârunt. Duo eorum, *Iberus* scil. (seu *Hiberus*) et *Heremon* Regnum inter se divisisse dicuntur, ac *Heremoni* cessisse partem Australem, *Hebero* sive Ebero Aquilonalem. Sed,

Nulla fides Regni sociis.

Ortâ demùm inter fratres discordiâ, post varios conflictus, Eberum in Prælio ad *Gessill*, aliis, ad *Argetros*, ab Heremone occisum tradunt, tumque Heremonem, tanquàm alterum Romulum, factum Monarcham. Ita plerùmque Giraldus Cambrensis et qui eum sequuntur, ex historiis Hibernicis. Neque hac occasione omittendus, licèt in quibusdam dissentiat, Oengusus *Celide*, author antiquus, qui in libro dicto *Psalternarran*, de Milesii posteris sequentia tradit: *Hibernia Insula*, inquit, *inter duos filios principales Militis* (vulgò dicti Milesii,) *Heremon et Eber in duas partes divisa est: Eber autem australem partem Hiberniæ accepit, Heremon quidem Septentrionalem, cum Monarchia accepit. Heremon autem primus de Scotis omnem Hiberniam regnavit, per 13 annos, et quinque filios electos genuit, quatuor ex iis regnaverunt Hiberniam, per 8 annos, et Jarel Propheta, 10 annos. De semine ipsius, Hiberniam 58 Reges dominaverunt, antequàm Patricius Hiberniensibus Passionem et Catholicam fidem regulamque Christi narraret: et post Patricium, de prole ejus, 50 Reges dominaverunt Hiberniam.* Ab Ebero, originem duxisse dicuntur (sed quàm verè nescio) O-Brieni, Mac-Cartæi, O'Carolli, O-Sullevani, Mac-Cohlani, O-Kennedæi, O-Hogani, O-Haræi, O-Garæi, alii. Ab Heremone, O-Neali, O-Connori, O-Donelli, O-Birni, O-Kellei, O-Flahertæi, O-Rourki, O-Relei, O-Melachlini, &c. Et ab Jëro alio fratre, O-Connori Kerriæ, O-Feralli, Mac-Ranelli, Magenisi, et alii pauci. Pergo. Imi-

Militis Hispani cum cxx Ciulis (navibus ita dictus,) meminit Nennius, sed *Partholanum* et suos peste asserit extinctos, *Nemethum* in Hispaniam rediisse et Militis filios *mansisse ibi per spatium unius anni*. Ex Nennio, rectè colligit doctissimus Camdenus horum immigrationes, ex profunda illa antiquitate quam fabulantur, in recentiora tempora retrahendas. Neque est cur miremur; res etenim priscorum seculorum, *velut quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur* (ut rectè Livius) *vetustate nimia esse obscuras*; etiam sæpè prorsus ignotas, è doctis quis nescit? Et ne longè digrediamur, constare videtur penè omnia, quæ de vicinis rebus Britannicis, ante Cæsaris tempora, à Galfrido Monumethensi traduntur, ne dicam fictitia esse, certè spissis tenebris obducta. In his porrò quæ desumpta sunt ex Historiis Hibernicis, de Gentis Origine, falsa veris mixta, æquo lectori satis liquet. Ad primos verò Incolas quod attinet, mihi placet eorum sententia, qui è Britannia ducunt, ut pote ad veritatem propensior, tùm ob Britanniae vicinitatem, unde facilius est transitus in Hiberniam, tùm ob linguam, mores et ritus Hibernorum veterum, Britannicis persimiles. In hac re, Taciti vestigia sequor, qui in vita Julii Agricolæ, post similem disquisitionem, unde primùm deductæ coloniæ in Britanniam, an scil. ex Germania, vel ex Hispania, probabilius tandem statuit, *Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, idque ex eorum sacris et superstitionum persuasione deprehendi*. Quàm vicina sit Hibernia Britanniae satis notum, et Hiberniam ipsam inter Britannias olim fuisse numeratam, testes sunt (ut suprà diximus,) Plinius, Apuleius, Ptolemæus et Diodorus Siculus. Verisimile etiam videtur Brigantes Hibernicos, quos Ptolemæus locat prope Brigum flu. è Brigantibus Britanniae ortos. De moribus et ritibus Hibernorum veterum, ita jam dictus Tacitus; *Solum cælumque, inquit, cultus et ingenia hominum haud multùm à Britannia differunt*, et speciatim ut Britanni, juxta Cæsarem (lib. 5. cap. 5.) barbam alebant in superiori tantùm labro, et capillum habebant promissum, ita Hiberni veteres barbam alebant, et comas (à recentioribus *Glibis* vocatas,) ad terga usque demittebant. Druidæ porrò et Bardi (de quibus postea suo loco) ab utraque natione, eximio honore habiti. Cæterùm ut veteres Hiberni non paucos pro-

cul dubiò mores accipiebant et ritus à Britannis, ita alios, à Scythis, ut colligere est ex eorum moribus et ritibus antiquis, in Juramentis, Nuptiis, Conviviis, Saltationibus et Funeribus, collatis cum iis Scytharum, apud Herodotum, Solinum, Diodorum, Lucianum, et alios è Veteribus. Porro scuta eorum viminea, atque arcus et sagittæ breves arma erant merè Scythica. Cæterùm an Scytharum more Anthropophagi fuerint, ut habet Strabo, lib. 4 Geograph. multùm dubito, siquidem Strabo ipse fatetur, de ea re, se non habuisse dignos fide testes. Neque prætermittere hîc possum nonnullos magni nominis viros in Senatu literario suspicari utramque gentem à Sagittandi peritiâ, hoc nomen obtinuisse. Hîc accedit, quòd Belgæ Scythas et Scotos uno nomine *Scutten* appellant. More denique Scythico, ante prælium, tum ad robur incitandum, tum ad hostes perterrendos, clamore Martio utebantur, *Farah*, *Farah*, acerrimè sæpè iterantes. Sic Græci olim ad prælium euntes *Eleleu* (ut notant Plutarchus et Suidas) acclamare solebant, vel, ut alii volunt, *Alala*. Atque vocem *undique Martiam*, ante pugnam Romanis non fuisse inusitatam, testatur Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 31. ubi talem clamorem *Barritum* appellat; fortè quod imitabantur Elephantorum vocem, qui (teste Pompeio Festo,) *barrire* dicuntur. Designare tempus exactum, quo Hibernia primùm habitari cœperit, non est cur quis à me expectet. Rerum antiquarum initia, nisi quæ ex sacris Scripturis hausimus, plerùmque admodùm incerta esse non ignotum. Cæterùm ut verisimile est et valdè probabile, primos ejus incolas è Britannia appulisse, proximâ nempe insulâ, et à tenuibus, ut fit, initiis, pedetentim novas inde colonias, putà Brigantes, &c. Hiberniæ partes quasdam Orientales (Britanniæ proximas) occupâsse; ita etiam non negandum alias nationes colonias postea in Hiberniam misisse, licèt de exacto tempore nihil supersit. Speciatim (ut de Scythis jam tandem sileamus,) Cauci Hibernici à Caucis Germaniæ orti videntur, Gangani et Luceni, à Concanis et Lucensiis Iberiæ sive Hispaniæ, (que et demùm universam Insulam, secundùm Isidorum, nomini suo fermè integrè adoptavit) et Menapii, de Galliæ Belgicæ Menapiis, &c. Hactenùs de Hibernorum Origine; secunda pars restat de eorum Lingua.

Priscam Hibernorum linguam fuisse Britannicam, viri *Sect. 2.* aliqui eruditi censent, et ex magna vi verborum Britannicorum, quibus etiamnum, aut integris aut paulò mutatis, utuntur Hiberni, demonstrare nituntur. His ego quidem assentior: sed ut existimo antiquissimam eorum linguam fuisse Britannicam, cum primis scil. Coloniis Britannicis introductam, ita non possum non asserere, linguam eorum propriam, partim temporum revolutionibus fuisse mutatam (juxta Horatium, in *Arte Poetica*)

*Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.*

partim aliarum coloniarum deductione interpolatam. Nobis sunt exemplis Græci et Itali. Et quod hic prætermittendum non est, nonne constat linguam Britannicam in ipsa Britannia, aliquot annis post Saxonum adventum, in Walliam et Cornubiam fuisse detrusam, et quasi in exilium pulsam, adeò ut in cæteris Insulæ partibus, vix vola hodiè remaneat aut vestigium prisci sermonis. Porrò ut Hiberni olim utebantur linguâ antiquâ Britannicâ, ita etiam à priscis Britannis accipiebant Alphabetum sive literas, uti fortè Saxones postea ab Hibernis, dum ad scholas Hibernicas, discendi gratiâ, confluerent. Porrò præter characteres vulgares, utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis scribendi formulis, seu artificiis, *Ogum* dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant. His refertum habeo libellum membraneum antiquum. Sed hoc obiter. Denique ut, inter alia argumenta, ex linguæ cognatione, primi Hiberniæ incolæ existimantur coloniæ Britannorum, ita Scoti Albanæ, præsertim boreales, Hibernorum, *Multipli argumento certum est*, (ait Johannes Major) *nos ab Hibernicis originem traxisse. Hoc ex Beda Anglo didicimus, qui sui Regni progeniem attenuare nolebat. Hoc idem loquela manifestat. Adhuc Scotiæ fermè medietas Hibernicè loquitur, et à paucis retroactis diebus, plures Hibernicè loquuti sunt.* Hæc ille, *lib. 1. Gestis Scotorum, cap. 9.* Sed consule etiam Bed. *Eccles. histor. l. 1. cap. 1.*

CAP. III.

*De Hiberniæ Divisione et Dimensione : ubi nonnulla
etiam de Situ ejus.*

Sect. 1.

ANTIQUISSIMA Hiberniæ Divisio fuit in *Legh-Cuinam*, seu *Leghcon*, et *Legh-moam*, *Legh-cuina*, quæ pars fuit Septentrionalis, limites habuit ab Ostio Lifii fluvii, qui Dublinium Hiberniæ Metropolim (Ptolemæo Eblanam) perfluit, usque ad ostium fluvii, è Lacu Curb emissi, qui Galviam præterfluit: residuum Insulæ, partem nempe australem, *Legh-moa* complexa est. Hûc accedit quod Beda, lib. 3, cap. 4, Hiberniam dividit inter Scotos Septentrionales et Australes. Alia est antiqua Hiberniæ divisio in quinque Provincias, Momoniam, Lageniam, Conatiam, Ultoniam et Midiam. De hâc divisione, sic codex MS. (ut putatur) Minoritarum Montis Fernandi; *Momoniam continet Cantredas, 70. Lageniam, 31. Conatiam, 30. Ultoniam, 35. Midiam, 18. Cantreda continet, 30 villatas terræ, quælibet villata potest sustinere 300 vaccas in pascuis, et vaccæ, si dividantur in quatuor armenta, nullum eorum approximabit reliquis. Quælibet villata continet octo carucas terræ.* Liber, unde hanc divisionem desumpsimus, descriptus est sub initium regni Edwardi primi, et extat etiamnùm in Bibliothecâ instructissimâ Usserianâ. Similis divisio Hiberniæ habetur in Regesto Cœnobii Duisburgensis, nisi quòd Conatia ibi dicitur continere Cantredas tantum 26. Author hujus divisionis appellatur Fyntinus. Quando Fyntinus ille vixerit, non constat, neque possum affirmare eundem fuisse cum S. Fintano qui decessit an. Domini DCIII. Ex priorè divisione (secundùm Librum Montis Fernandi, emergit numeris 184 Cantredarum, id est 5520 Villarum, sive 44160 carucarum terræ. Giraldus Cambrensis Topograph. Hiberniæ, distinctione I. c. 6. habet divisionem Hiberniæ ab ea Fyntini diversam. *In quinque inquit portiones ferè æquales antiqui-*

tus hæc regio divisa fuit, has scil. Momoniam duplicem, borealem et australem: Lageniam, Ultoniam, et Conatiam. Et paulò postea, Hic autem notandum videtur duas Momonias, australes Hiberniæ partes obtinere, Ultoniam, boreales, Lageniam, orientales, Conatiam, occidentales. Differt etiam in quantitate cantredæ: sic enim ille Itiner. Camb. lib. 2, cap. 7. *Cantredus tanta est terræ portio, quanta centum villas continere solet.* Ita quantitas Cantredæ sive Centuriæ, quæ eadem est cum Saxonico *Hundredo*, nusquam certa. Quemadmodum autem Cantredæ quantitas est incerta et varia, ita etiam Carucatæ, quæ major aut minor pro soli natura et qualitate, licet vulgò accipiatur pro terræ portione, quæ uno aratro coli potest per annum. Recentioribus temporibus quatuor tantum Provinciæ numerantur, Lagenia scil. Momonia, Conatia et Ultonia. Nam Midia (quæ olim continebat non modò Midiam, agrum inquam qui nunc ita dicitur, sed West-Midiam etiam, sive Midiam Occidentalem, Longfordiam, Fercalliam et aliqua alia territoria) nunc pars censetur Provinciæ Lageniæ. Sed de tempore quo ita cœperit censi, non constat. Nunc igitur hæ quatuor Provinciæ in Comitatus sive Regiones ita dividuntur. In Lagenia sunt Comitatus 12; Dublinium, Louth, Midia, West-Midia, Longfordia, Kildaria, Comitatus Regis, Comitatus Reginæ, Catherlagh, Kilkennia, Wexfordia, et Wicklo: In Momonia, VI, Waterfordia, Corcagia, Kerria, Limericum, Tipperaria, (cui nuper Crocea Tipperariæ annexa) et Clare, antiquitus Tuomonia: In Conatia, 5, Galvia, Mayo, Sligo, Roscoman, et Letrim: In Ultonia, IX, Armagh, Dunum, Monaghan, Antrim, Donegall, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tir-oen et London-derry. De urbibus illis hîc taceo, quæ comitatum etiam privilegiis gaudent, et suos habent distinctos vicecomites.

Ad Insulæ magnitudinem quod attinet, continet in longi- Sect. 2.
tudine, à Meridie ad Aquilonem, plusquam 200 Milliaria
Hibernica, et in latitudine, ab Oriente ad Occidentem, centum et viginti. Ab Ortu Angliam versus, mari, quod vocatur Hibernicum et nautis vulgò Canalis S. Georgii, alluitur, ab Occasu, immenso Oceano, à Septentrione, Deucalidonio, et ab Austro, Vergivio, quod mare à Britannis *Morweridh*
dictum

dictum est, quasi Mare Hibernicum. Atque inde antiquum vocabulum Vergivium derivatum putat Humfredus Lhuidus. Camdenus autem, in Hiberniâ suâ, denominatum vult vel à dicto *Morweridh*, vel à *Farigi*, quod Hibernis Mare significat. Quàm malè conveniebant veteres de Hiberniæ dimensione, ex Cæsare, Strabone, Plinio, Solino et Ptolemæo, inter se collatis, liquet.

CAP. IV.

De Formâ Imperii apud Veteres Hibernos : deque successione et serie Regum Hiberniæ, ab Anno Christi 428, ad annum usque 1171, quo Insula Anglici Juris facta est.

Sect. 1. **D**URANTE Pentarchiâ, qui Regum potentissimus, dominium totius Insulæ sibi arripiebat; vulgò Rex Hiberniæ dicebatur, et à nonnullis Rex Regum: non eo tamen sensu quo Agamemnon olim vocabatur Rex Regum, cùm reverà esset duntaxat Dux ducum, sive Dux Belli, sed ut cui Imperii summam, cæteri Reges vel potius Reguli permiserant, et Belli tempore et Pacis. *Prædicti verò Reges* (verba sunt Giraldis Cambrensis, Topographiæ Hiberniæ, distinct. 3. cap. 45.) *non alicujus coronationis solennitate, nec inunctionis sacramento, nec etiam jure hæreditario, vel aliqua successionis proprietate, sed vi tantùm et armis, totius Insulæ Monarchiam obtinuerunt, et suo more Regni gubernacula susceperunt.* Hæc paucis mutatis, habet etiam liber niger Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis Dublinii. Aliquando tamen duo erant simul Reges ejusdem Regni, more Spartæ, ut suo patebit loco. Quando cœperit Pentarchia non liquet. Fuisse autem seculo quinto à Nativitate Christi, certum. Neque hîc prætermittendum, paucos fuisse illorum regum, ante Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam, sub Henrico secundo, qui morte aliquâ violentâ non perierunt. Atque, ut apud Romanos, Galbam sustulit Otho, Othonem, Vitellius, et Vitellium Vespasianus, ita vicissim multos è Regibus illis Hibernicis, qui prædecessorum cæde manus polluerant, pœna talionis secuta est. Sed pergamus. Antiquioribus

quioribus seculis, Temoria, sive Temra, quam hodie *Turah* dicimus, in Midia, Regia eorum erat præcipua: ibi festa solennia et comitia, statis temporibus, olim tenebantur; de his, frequenter fit mentio, in rerum Hibernicarum Annalibus, speciatim (ut de cæteris hic taceam) ad annum Domini CCCCLV, sub Lægario Rege, et ad annum CCCCLXVIII, sub Aililo Molt. Mirum videatur et vix credibile, quod de barbaro ritu, quo Tirconallenses olim sibi Regem creare solebant, tradit Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 25, *Est igitur in boreali (ait ille) et ulteriori Ultoniæ parte, scilicet apud Kenilcunil, gens quædam quæ barbaro nimis et abominabili ritu, sibi Regem creare solet. Collecto in unum universo terræ illius populo, in medio producit jumentum candidum, ad quod sublimandus ille, non in Principem, sed in Belluam, non in Regem sed in Exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, non minùs impudenter quàm imprudenter, se quoque Bestiam profitetur, et statim jumento intersecto, et frustratim in aquâ decocto, in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur, cui insidens, de carnibus illis sibi allatis, circumstante populo suo et convescente comedit ipse: de jure quoque quo lavatur, non vase aliquo, non manu, sed ore tantum circum quaque haurit et bibit. Quibus ita ritè non rectè completis, regnum illius et dominium est confirmatum.* Sic ibi ille. Neque prætermittenda hîc incondita ea ceremonia antehac usitata, in electione O-Neali, per calcei jactum, trans electi caput. Sed, de barbaris et inconditis ritibus satis superque. Sunt tamen qui asserunt aliquos è familia O-Brienorum admodum solenniter Reges Hiberniæ fuisse creatos, ac coronâ aureâ redimitos: speciatim in Historicis Hibernicis legimus Donatum O-Brien anno Domini MLXV, peregrinationem Romam usque suscepisse, et majorum suorum coronam Regiam secum detulisse. Hactenùs diximus de Regibus Hibernicis, qui vixerunt ante Anglorum ingressum sub Henrico secundo: nonnullos verò quamvis subditos etiam post Anglorum adventum Regio nomine gavisos et Reges fuisse appellatos, ab ipsis Angliæ Regibus, liquidò constat: sic enim Hovedenus ad annum Domini MCLXXV, *Hic est finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windeshores, in Octavis Sancti Michaelis*

anno Gratiae MCLXXV, inter Dominum Regem Angliæ Henricum filium Matildis Imperatricis, et Rodericum Regem Conactæ, per Catholicum Archiepiscopum Tuamensem, et Abbatem Cantordem S. Brandani, et Magistrum Laurentium Cancellarium Regis Conactæ, sci. quod Rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico, Ligeo suo, Regi Conactæ, quamdiù ei fideliter serviet, ut sit Rex sub eo, paratus ad servitium suum, ut homo suus, &c. Quo ordine, hi licet Reges dicti, iis temporibus ponebantur, innuere videtur Diploma Henrici secundi, quo negotia sua Hibernica commisit Gulielmo filio Aldelmi Dapifero suo, cujus hoc fuit initium, Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Regibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Hibernicis, Salutem. Roderici successorem, dictum similiter Regem Conactæ liquet, ex rotulo clauso anni sexti Johannis, membr. 3, in arce Londinensi. Item in Rotulo clauso ann. 5 Hen. 3, Diplomata quædam Regis directa sunt, inter alios, K. Regi Conactiæ, et O. Regi de Kinel-ean, annoque sequente idem Rex concessit Regi Tosmond, terram Tosmond: sic enim rotulus chartarum An. 6 Hen. III. memb. 2. Rex Regi Tosmond, Salutem, Concessimus vobis terram Tosmond (i. Tuomond) quam prius tenuistis, per firmam centum et triginta Marcarum, tenendam de nobis, usque ad ætatem nostram. De querela Fedlimidi O-Conner, Londini exhibita, coram Henrico III, et Curia, vide Matthæum Parisium, ad annum mccxl, ubi illius partis Hiberniæ Regulum eum appellat, quæ Cunnoch (i. Conatia) nuncupatur. Et Fedlimidum ipsum Regis Conactiæ nomen assumpsisse, ex Sigillo ejus liquet, cujus ectypon expressum hic exhibeo,



Eundem morem apud Romanos olim viguisse in regionibus eorum Imperio subditis, docet Josephus, Antiquit. Judaic. lib. 18, cap. 11, et Tacitus in vita Agricolæ, *veterem dicit ac jam pridem receptam Populi Romani consuetudinem, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis, et Reges*. Sed de Regulis hisce nomine, reverà subditis, hîc satis. Nam ut rectè Martialis,

Qui Rex est Regem, Maxime, non habeat.

Plurimum cupidus consulat Johannem Seldenum, in eximio suo opere, de Titulis Europæ Honorariis.

Sequitur jam Catalogus Regum Hiberniæ, à Lægario filio Nelli usque ad Henrici Secundi adventum, sub quo, ea Insula Anglici Juris facta est, ex Historiis et Annalibus rerum Hibernicarum desumptus. Ad Prædecessores Lægarii quod attinet, eos certè consultò omisi, quia pleraque, quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod sentio dicam) vel fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis et anachronismis mirè admixta. Cæterùm in serie quam hic exhibemus, ne quis deesse putet Reges aliquos Hiberniæ, de quibus fit mentio apud Scriptores, notandum Regulos, sive Reges Provinciæ alicujus, vel particularis regionis in Hibernia, apud eos, aliquando Reges Hiberniæ falsò dictos. Sic in Chronico Caradoci Lhancarvanensis, circa annum Domini 905, Cormacus Culinani filius Rex et Episcopus Casseliensis appellatur Rex et Episcopus totius Hiberniæ: item, circa annum 958, Abloicus Rex Ostmannorum Dublinii dicitur ibi Rex Hiberniæ, atque ita etiam vocatur Elermaen dicti Abloici filius, qui occisus dicitur circa ann. 987. Sic porrò apud Giraldum Cambrensem; fit mentio Fedlimidi tanquam Regis Hiberniæ, *De gente igitur ista, ab adventu Putricii, usque ad Fedlimidi Regis tempora, xxxiii Reges per cccc annos in Hibernia regnaverunt*. Vid. Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 3, cap. 36. Atqui Fedlimidus ille, cujus tempore idem Giraldus, (capite sequenti) asserit Norwegienses Hiberniam expugnâsse, sub ductu Turgesii, fuit Rex Momoniæ (ut vulgò creditur) non totius Hiberniæ. Denique, ut alios hîc mittam, Jocelinus Furnessensis, quâ autoritate nescio, Forchernum quendam Regem appellat Hiberniæ, tempore mortis

S. Patricii, anno sc. ccccxcii. Cæterùm refragantur Historici Hibernici, quibus, in hâc successione Regum, fides potius adhibenda. His præmissis, ad ea quæ dicenda viam habemus planiorem.

Lægarius filius Nelli *Nigialac* regnavit ann. 35. et à Lageniensibus in prælio *Campi Liffii*, interfectus est, anno cccclxiii. Sunt qui eodem anno occisum tradunt in prælio ad *Tool-caisse*, dùm tributum pecorum, quod jurejurando Lageniensibus remiserat, armis extorquere conaretur.

Aililus *Molt* Nathii filius (è Rege Conatiæ Monarcha factus) regnavit annos 20, tumque à Successore, in prælio dicto *Cath-Ocha*, occisus est, anno Dom. cccclxxxiii.

Lugdathus aliàs Lugaidus Lægarii filius regnavit annos 25. Periisse ferunt fulmine ictum anno dviii, justo Dei judicio, ob pertinaciam in Gentilium superstitionibus colendis.

Interregnum annorum 5.

Moriertacus filius Ercae, (nomine à matre tracto) dùm vino se ingurgitaret, miserè ebrius periit. Non desunt qui immersum asserunt in dolio vini, anno dxxxiv, cum regnâset annos 21.

Tuathalus *Mælgarb* regnare cœpit anno Dom. dxxxiv. Regnavit annos 10, à Mælmorda filio Airgetæ occisus, anno dxliv, apud *Grellachelte*, in Conatia. Homicida autem à famulis dicti Regis captus, statim confossus est.

Dermitus Primus Cerbaili filius (qui successit) occisus est ab Ædo sive Hugone *Nigro* filio Suibnei Rege Dalnaraidæ, anno Dom. 565, in loco dicto *Rath-beg*. Stemma suum is duxit à Conallo, de cujus posteris, vide prophetiam S. Patricii, apud Jocelin. cap. 53.

Fergusius et Donaldus Primus filii Moriertachi nepotes Ercae successerunt anno 565. Sed Donaldus in prælio occiso anno sequenti, imperium suscepit Amirachus.

Amirachus filius Setnai occisus est à Fergusio filio Nelli, anno Domini 569. ob quod facinus, ipse Fergusius, ab Edano Amirachi filio, anno sequenti confossus est.

Beotanus et Eochanus, hic *filius*, ille *frater* Moriertachi occisi sunt, à Cronano filio Tigernaci, in prælio ad *Glengevin*, cùm triennium regnâssent.

Edanus sive *Æd* Primus aliàs Hugo filius Amirachi successit anno 572. et à Brandubo Etaci filio Rege Lageniæ, in prælio de Belachduin, aliis *Duinbolg*, occisus est, 4 Idus Januarii anno 598, ætatis suæ 66.

Edanus II aliàs *Æd Slane*, et Colmannus Rex Temoriæ regnaverunt simul annos 6, tùmque Edanus interfectus est à Conallo filio Suibnei, et Colmannus, à Locano *Delman*.

Edanus III cognomento *Varidnac*, filius Donaldi regnavit annos 7. Obiit Temoriæ, anno 612.

Mælcobus filius Edani III regnavit annos 3. Occubuit in prælio dicto *Cath-toad*, ubi Suibneus successor victor fuit.

Suibneus *Mend* filius Fiacri interfectus est à Congalo filio Scanlani, anno 628, cùm regnâsset annos 13.

Donaldus II filius Edani sive Hugonis I Amirachi nepos obiit sub exitum Januarii anno 642, regni sui 14, in loco dicto *Ardfothaig*. De placida ejus morte, in senectute, Sanctum Columbam prophetâsse asserit Adamnanus. Frater ejus Mælcobus Episcopus fuit Clochorensis.

Cellacus et Conallus filii Mælcobi Regis regnârunt simul annos 12. Conallus interfectus est anno 654, à Dermutio filio Edani Slani. Cellacus supervixit et postea regnavit 4 annos. Obiit 658.

Dermutius II et Blathmacus filii Edani Slani regnârunt annis 7. Obierunt ex peste, quâ universa Hibernia miserè fuit afflicta, anno 665.

Secnesacus filius Blathmaci regnavit annis 6, interfectus sub initium hyemis anno 671, à Duibdino rege Coirpriæ.

Cænfeladus filius itidem Blathmaci regnare cœpit anno 671, et in prælio victus est et occisus à Finsa successore anno 675.

Finsa aliàs Finacta, filius Donati, Edani Slani nepos, regnavit annos 20, in prælio ad *Grelachdollas* occisus, unà cum Bressailo filio, ab Hugone filio Luthaigi et Congelacho filio Connaingi, an. Dom. 695. Is annum tributum pecorum *Boruma* dictum, Lageniensibus remisisse fertur, quod prædecessores sui Hiberniæ Reges ab iis recipere solebant.

Eodem anno successit Loingsecus Finsæ ex fratre Engusa nepos. Regnavit is annos 8, et à Cellaco filio Ragalli rege

Conatiæ, in prælio victus, cecidit, unà cum tribus filiis, Ardgallo, Consaco et Flano, anno Dom. 703.

Congallus cognomento *Cenmaccair* filius Fergusii Rex Temoriæ successit, anno sequenti, et morte obiit repentinâ, anno 710.

Fergallus filius Mæladuini (qui successit) in Prælio dicto *Cath-Almain* occisus est, unà cum 160 è suis, à Murchardo filio Brieni rege Lageniæ, 3 Idus Decembris, anno 722.

Fogertachus O-Cernaig regnavit unicum duntaxat annum, in prælio *de Cindelgin* occisus, à Cinædo successore, anno 724.

Cinædus filius Irgalli (qui successit) interfectus est in prælio *de Dromcorcain*, à Flachertaco filio Loingseci anno 728.

Flachertacus ille regnavit annos 6. Mortem obiit Armachæ, ubi monasticam amplexus est vitam.

Edanus IV cognomento *Allain* Fergalli filius, rex Temoriæ cœpit regnare anno 734, et post novennium, in prælio occisus est Kenanusæ, à Donaldo successore.

Donaldus III filius Moriertachi cœpit regnare anno 743, et regnavit annos 20. Obiit 12 Calend. Decembris anno 763, in Jona Insula, quò peregrinationem susceperat.

Nellus *Frassach* sive Nimbosus, filius Fergalli, obiit anno 778. cum regnâset annos 15, et sepultus est in Jona Insula, aliàs dicta Hu et Y-Columb-Kill, fortè sub tumula, in cœmeterio Ecclesiæ ibidem, cui incisus est (secundùm Buchananum) hic titulus,

TUMULUS REGUM HIBERNIÆ.

Donatus Primus, filius Donaldi, rex Temoriæ, regnavit annos 19, tumque occisus est ab Edano *Ornaid* successore, in prælio dicto *Cath-Dromairg*. Sunt verò qui febre sublatum tradunt; ut fuerit, certum est duos Donati filios, paulò postea, ab Edano in prælio superatos fuisse et interfectos, dum de summa Imperii cum eo depugnarent. Atque ita demùm Edanus regnum obtinuit, quod postea tenuit, per annos plùs minùs 22.

Edanus V. aliàs Hugo cognomento *Ornaid*, filius Nelli *Frassach*, obiit anno 819, vel ut alii habent 820, ætatis suæ 60, *ad vada de Athdaferta* in Tirconallia. Sunt qui in prælio *Cathdroma* dicto, occisum tradunt.

Concobarus aliàs Cornelius, filius Donati, obiit anno 832,

cùm regnâset annos 12. De Fedlimido (Crimthani filio) rege Momoniæ, quem Giralduſ regem appellat Hiberniæ, et ſub hoc tempore regnâſſe aſſerit, vide quæ ſuprà diximus. Fedlimiduſ ille fato functuſ eſt anno 847.

Nelluſ *Cail*, aliâſ Graciliſ filiuſ Edani quinto ſucceſſit Concobaro anno 832, et ſubmerſuſ eſt Callinæ, anno 846, ætatiſ ſuæ anno 55.

Melſechlinuſ Primuſ, unde gratoriſ ſono Malachiaſ efformatur, filiuſ Mælruiſ regnavit annos 16. Obiit pridie Calend. Decembris, anno 862, et Clonmacnoiſæ ſepultuſ eſt.

Edanuſ VI, filiuſ Nelli, dictuſ *Finliat*, rex Temoriæ ſucceſſit, et regnavit annos ferme 17. Obiit 12. Calend. Decembris anno 879, ad *Druim-Iniſclain* in Tirconallia.

Flanuſ Melſechlini filiuſ Rex Temoriæ regnavit annos 36, meneſ 6 ac dieſ 5. Obiit *Taltenæ*, (ubi olim nundinæ fuerunt totiuſ Hiberniæ celeberrimæ) 8 Calend. Junii anno 916, ætatiſ 68.

Nelluſ *Glundub*, à Genu nigro ita cognominatuſ, filiuſ Edani 6 regnavit vix annos 3, tùmque à Danis ſive Oſtmaniſ, in prælio prope Dublinium, occiſuſ eſt.

Donatuſ II Flani filiuſ regnavit annos 25, morte repentinâ ſublatuſ, interiit anno 944.

Congelacuſ filiuſ Melmithi, qui ſucceſſit, occiſuſ eſt ab Oſtmaniſ Dublinienſibuſ, in prælio ad *Tiguiran*, anno Dom. 956, Caradoco Lhancarvanenſi perperam, 953.

Donalduſ O-Neal ſucceſſor ejuſ mortem obiit Armachæ anno 980. Ejuſ tempore Edgaruſ, regem Angliæ, maximam Hiberniæ partem ſubjugâſſe docet Charta dicti Edgari, de *Oſwalduſ-law*, hoc eſt, de ejiciendiſ clericis uxoratiſ, et introducendiſ monachiſ, data Gloceſtriæ, anno Chriſti dccccxlv, Indictione VIII, Regni ſui VI. Præfationem Chartæ viſum eſt integrè hic tranſcribere. *Altitonantiſ Dei largiſtuſ clementiâ, qui eſt Rex Regum et Dominuſ Dominantiuſ; Ego Edgaruſ Anglorum Buſileuſ, omniuſque regum Inſularum Oceani, quæ Britanniam circumjacent, cunctaruſque nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur Imperator et Dominuſ; gratiaſ ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium ſic ampliavit, et exaltavit ſuper regnum patrum meorum, qui*

licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sint, à tempore Æthelstani, qui primus regum Anglorum omnes nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi armis subegit, nullus tamen eorum, ultra ejus fines, Imperium suum dilatare aggressus est; mihi autem concessit propitia Divinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, usque Norwegiam, maximamque partem Hiberniæ, cum sua nobilissima Civitate Dublinio, Anglorum regno subjugare, quos etiam omnes meis Imperiis colla subdere, Dei favente gratiâ cœgi. Ita Præfatio Chartæ Edgari Regis.

Melsechlinus al. Malachias II filius Donaldi, patri defuncto successit anno 980, is Danos præliis aliquot superavit. Sed cùm regnasset annos circiter 23, regnum cessit Brieno regi Momoniæ, principi bellicosissimo. Occiso verò post 12 annos in prælio, Brieno, regnum quasi postliminio repetiit. Obiit 4 nonas Septembris anno 1023, septuagenarius, ad *Inislogh-hainin*.

Brienus filius Cenedi Lorcani nepos cognomento *Boruma* sive *Boro* rex Momoniæ, Princeps ob animi virtutes celeberrimus, postquàm Danos multis præliis vicisset, totius Hiberniæ rex declaratus est anno 1002. Deindè exactis 12 annis ipse (post cruentam pugnam) in prælio occisus est ad *Clontarf*, propè Dublinium, die Parasceves, 23 die Aprilis 1014, ætatis suæ 74, (*manibus et mente*, inquit Marianus Scotus, *ad Deum intentus*) unà cum filio suo Murchardo et multis aliis, à Sitrico rege Dublinii. Cæsi etiam, ex parte Sitrici, Mailmorda rex Lageniæ et alii quamplurimi. Sunt qui asserunt corpus Brieni ad Ecclesiam Sancti Maignani deportatum (Kil-mainam eam nunc vulgò vocamus, quæ unico milliari à Dublinio distat) ibidem sepulturæ fuisse traditum, non procul à cruce lapidea circulo inclusa in summitate, quæ etiamnum visitur, intra muros Prioratus (olim celeberrimi) militum Hospitalariorum. Alii verò Brienum Armachæ sepultum volunt. Utcunque fuerit, eo interfecto, Malachias (uti diximus) regnum recuperavit, et tenuit usque ad 2 Septemb. 1023, quo naturæ cessit.

Interregnum annorum (ut aliqui volunt) 20, Cuano O-Lachnan et Corcrano, clerico illustri, clavum interim gubernantibus. Corcranum autem obiisse anno 1040. (qui nobis est 1041) produnt Annales Ultonienses.

Dermitius III, filius Mælnamboi, regnum adeptus est, illudque tenuit annos plusquam 30, occisus tandem in prælio (licèt copiis Ostmannicis adjutus) à Conochoro O-Melaghlin rege Midia, 4 Idus Februarii anno 1073. Is idem videtur cum eo quem Caradocus Lhancarvanensis appellat *Dermitium Maken-Anel, dignissimum et optimum Principem, qui unquam in Hibernia regnavit, et trucidatum* asserit, circa annum 1068. Aliud Chronicon Walliæ annum habet 1070.

Tirdelvacus O-Brien, Brieni Borumæ è Thaddæo filio nepos, rex Momonia successit, obiitque Kincoræ pridie Idus Julii anno 1086. al. 1087. ætatis an. 77. Kincora, urbs erat iis temporibus (obiter adnoto) frequens et (ut annales Ultionienses habent ad annum 1061) *Regalis*, nunc villula ad *Brassinogh* fluvium, in Regione Mac-Coghlani, quæ pars est agri Regii.

Paulò postea regnum adeptus est Moriortachus O-Brien, Tirdelvaci filius, qui, cùm multos regnâset annos, decessit 6 Idus Martii anno 1120, et sepultus est in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Flannani Laonensi. Hunc Caradocus Lhancarvanensis et (qui tum vixit) Gulielmus Malmesburiensis Murchardum appellant. *Eum et successores ejus (sic Malmesburiensis) quorum fama non extulit, ita devotos habuit noster Henricus (Primus) ut nihil nisi quod eum palparet, scriberent, nihil nisi quod juberet, agerent, quamvis feratur Murchardum, nescio quâ de causâ, paucis diebus inflatiùs in Anglos egisse, sed mox, pro interdicto navigio et mercimonio navigantium, tumorem pectoris sedâsse.* Sunt qui interregnum 15 annorum subsequutum asserunt. Sed quàm verè, quærant alii.

Tirdelvacus, O-Conner rex Conatiæ Monarchiam adeptus, eam tenuit usque ad annum 1157, quo mortem obiit, ætatis suæ 68, sepultus Clonmacnoisæ, in ecclesia cathedrali, prope summum altare S. Ciarani.

Mauritius aliàs Moriortachus, Nelli filius, Loghlini Nepos, sed vulgò dictus Mauritius Mac-Loghlin, cognomento ab avo ducto, regnavit annos plùs minùs 9, occisus à Donato O-Caroll rege Ergallia, sive Urielis, an. 1166. Meminit, ad annum **MCXI**, Henricus Marleburgensis, *Concilii magni Episcoporum et Magnatum Hibernia, à Mauricio Mac-Loghlin, rege Hiber-*

niæ convocati. Atqui is regnum non iniiit ante annum 1157, Unde sub Moriertacho O-Brien rege, de quo suprâ, dictum Concilium habitum fuisse constare videtur.

Rodericus (filius Tirdelvaci) O-Conner, rex Conatiæ successit anno 1166, obiitque 1198, sepultus in Cœnobio de *Cong.* Ejus tempore Hibernia Anglici Juris facta est. Et quanquàm Angliæ Reges olim *Domini Hiberniæ* dicti fuerint, donec Henricus VIII in Parlamento Dublinii habito, anno Domini MDXLI, *Hiberniæ Rex* declaratus est. *Sub priore tamen nomine, dicti Reges* (uti verba sunt Statuti tunc editi) *habuerunt omnimodam Regiam Jurisdictionem, potestatem, præminentiam et auctoritatem regalem, spectantem et pertinentem ad regalem statum et Majestatem Regis. Quandoquidem Regia Majestas et nobilissimi sui Progenitores justè et rectè fuerunt et de jure debuerunt esse Reges Hiberniæ, et ita reputandi, accipiendi, nominandi, et vocandi.* Ita Statutum,

CAP. V.

De Druidibus eorumque Superstitionibus; ubi obiter nonnulla de Diis, quos olim Hiberni, dum Ethnici, maxime colebant: deque Bardis antiquis.

Sect. 1.

DRUIDAS et Bardos, apud Gallos, Britannos et Hibernos eximio fuisse olim in honore certissimum. Ad Druidas quòd attinet, ii Flamines fuerunt, sive Sacerdotes, Philosophi, Legislatores et Judices, uti testatur Cæsar, lib. 6 Commentariorum; ubi de eorum, Ordine, Officio, Jurisdictione et Doctrina, longam habemus narrationem. Porrò Magicarum artium callentes fuerunt, ut è Plinio constat, locis sequentibus inter se collatis, viz. lib. 26, cap. ultimo, ubi Druidas Gallorum Magos appellat, lib. 24, cap. 11, ubi narratio est, quâ superstitione legere soliti, manu dextrâ, herbam quæ ab iis *Selago* nominata est, et sinistrâ, aliam quam *Samolin* dixerunt, *contra morbos suum boumque*, &c. et lib. 29, cap. 3, in narratione de ovo anguino. Hinc *Dri*, apud Hibernos, pro Mago accipitur. Sed Druidis ipsis nomen dedit *Δρυς*, id est, quercus, arbor Jovi sacra, si non (quod alii asserunt) *Deru*,

vox Celtica, quæ idem sonat, sive quòd in Nemoribus et Quercetis, superstitiones suas exercerent, unde Lucanus, lib. 1,

—————*Nemora alta remotis*
Incolitis lucis,—————

sive quòd quercum, vel saltem viscum ejus, sacris suis adhiberent, unde Ovidius,

Ad viscum Druidæ, Druidæ clamare solebant.

De hac re, vide plura apud Apuleium, in Apologia priore. Neque desunt qui Hiberniam ipsam, ob copiam roborum et aliarum arborum, olim dictam asserunt *Insulam nemorosam*. Sed instar omnium erit Plinius, qui lib. 16, cap. 44, ita loquitur. *Nihil habent Druidæ (ita Galli suos adpellant Magos) visco et arbore in qua gignatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea facere consueverunt, ut inde adpellati quoque interpretatione Græca possint Druidæ videri. Quicquid adnascitur illis arboribus, à cælo missum putant, signumque esse à Deo electæ arboris. Sacerdos candidâ veste cultus arborem scandit, viscum aureâ falce demetit, candido id excipitur sago, omnia sanare credunt.* Horum doctrinâ Hiberni, dùm Ethnici, Jovem, Martem, Mercurium, Apollinem, sive Solem, Dianam, sive Lunam, et Ventum maximè colebant. Neque defuerunt Dii Montani et Fluviales, quibus, Britannorum more, venerationem exhibebant. Mulieres etiam Baccho sacra fecisse in Insulis Britannicis, Dionysius Afer testatur. De duobus ex his, Sole sc. et Vento, in Juramento Lægarii filii Nelli Regis Hiberniæ, mentionem faciunt Annales Ultonienses, ad Annum Dom. cccclviii. Et Scythas olim per Ventum et Acinacem jurasse tradit Lucianus, in Toxari. Neque mirum videatur Ethnicos Hibernos Ventum coluisse, cùm certum sit Augustum Cæsarem, *Circio* vento templum condidisse in Gallia. Jocelinus monachus Cistertiensis cœnobii Furnessensis apud Lancastrienses, in vita S. Patricii, cap. 56, jam dictum Lægarium adorasse tradit Idolum quoddam dictum *Ceancroithi*, id est, *caput omnium Deorum, eo quod (inquit) responsa dare putabatur, à populo stulto.* An eo nomine Apollinem Hiberni intelligerint,

dubium. De alio Idolo quod sub eodem tempore *Clochore*, è lapide aureo (unde urbi nomen) responsa dare solebat, fit mentio in Regesto Clochorensi. Neque hic prætermittendum Saxum illud fatale *Liafail* olim dictum, à *Thuathededanis* in Hiberniam portatum, atque inde regnante Moriartacho Ercæ filio, ad Fergusium fratrem in Argatheliam missum, sed à Kenetho rege ligneâ cathedrâ postea inclusum, Regibus Scotorum consecrandis, in Monasterio Sconensi collocatum, ac tandem à Rege Edwardo Primo Angliæ, Westmonasterium translatum. De hoc Saxo mira feruntur; sed quàm verè judicent alii: speciatim fama tenet, Ethnicismi temporibus, ante Christum natum, eum duntaxat Hiberniæ Monarcham approbatum, sub quo saxum illud collocatum, ingemiscebat, vel (ut liber Houthensis nuper penes Thomam Staffordium equitem habet,) loquebatur. De Orbis universi falsis Oraculis, nato Christo, plerumque obmutescantibus, vide quæ habent Eusebius, Præparationis Euangelicæ lib. 5, Suidas, in Augusto, et Nicephorus Callistus Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ lib. 1, cap. 17. Sed ad rem. Hujus erant sectæ Magi illi quos adventum sancti Patricii in Hiberniam, tribus annis antequàm veniret, prædixisse, narrat jam dictus Jocelinus, in vita ejusdem Patricii, quam descripsit, circa annum *mcxc*. Superstitio Druidum in Hibernia permansit, usque ad admissam ibi religionem Christianam. Sacerdotes Ægyptii scientiam suam Hieroglyphicis, vice literarum, obscurabant; unde Lucanus,

—————*Volucrèsque feræque*

Sculptæque servabant magicas animalia formas.

Atqui Druides non fas esse duxerunt mysteria sua scriptis, aliquo modo, communicare: sed ut per traditionem, à majoribus, per manum receperunt, ita posteris reliquerunt. Talem traditionem Judæi Cabalam appellârunt, etiamsi reverà vana eorum ars Cabalistica, nihil minus fuerit quàm Cabala, utpote descripta (quasi ænigmatis) literarum numeris et transpositionibus, vocum inversionibus, allusionibus, amphibologiis, homonymiis. Druidibus opinionem de Pythagorica migratione animæ post mortem, assignant Cæsar et Diodorus Siculus. Apud Lucanum fit mentio doctrinæ eorum, de aliâ longâ vitâ, et

alio Orbe; at de Pythagorico eo dogmate, de animæ migratione, vel metempsychosi, altum est silentium; sic enim ille, lib. 1,

————— *Vobis auctoribus umbræ,
Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio, longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ,
Mors media est.*

Cui consentiunt Pomponius Mela, lib. 3, cap. 2. et Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 15. Denique Druidæ tempora numerârunt, non à Solis, sed Lunæ cursu, ut è Plinio liquet, lib. 17, cap. ultimo. Sed de Druidis, satis.

Ad Bardos jam ventum est; illi Poëtæ erant, ut è Strabone *Sect. 2.* liquet, lib. 4 Geographiæ. Bardus juxta Pompeium Festum, *Gallicè Cantorem significat, qui virorum fortium laudes canit.* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5, Factorem cantionum appellat, et Lucanus lib. 1, Poëtam sive vatem,

*Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremptos
Laudibus, in longum, Vates, dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.*

Hujus generis fuit Dubtachus Vulgairi filius, Poëta egregius Hibernicus, qui ab Ethnicismo ad fidem Christianam conversus, *Carmina quæ quondam studio florente peregit, in laudem falsorum Deorum, jam in usum meliorem mentem mutans et linguam, Poëmata clariora composuit, in laudem Omnipotentis Dei et sanctorum ejus Preconium.* Ita Jocelinus, in vit. Sancti Patricii, cap. 45. Cæterùm recentioribus temporibus, inferioris notæ Poëtæ, vulgò dicti Rythmici (Anglicè *Rimers*,) Bardi ibi appellabantur, hique Rythmos plerùmque componebant, vel ad Juventutis corruptelam, vel ad Seditionis incitamentum: qui abusus ansam præbebant sancienti Statuta quædam Parlamentaria contra eos eorùmque receptores. In Wallia, Bardi juxta D. Povellum, custodiebant etiam nobilium Insignia et Genealogias. De antiquioribus, vide plura, in legibus Hoëlis *Dha*, i. boni. Denique non hic prætermittendum scriptores aliquos Latinos Bardum, pro stolido et impolito accepisse, quia hujusmodi Poëtæ, barbari

iis videbantur. Ad carminum *relatum* quod attinet, *Barditum vocatum*, Richardus Vitus, è Pseudo-Beroso, ita dictum vult à *Bardo Britannorum Rege 5. carminum et illius musicæ inventore, et inde vocatos Bardos, Poëtas melodes*, Sed à viris doctis explosa est ea fabula, unà cum cæteris commentis Annii Viterbiensis, qui primus supposititium illum Berosum mundo obtrusit.

CAP. VI.

De variis nominibus quibus veteres Hiberni Externos appellârunt, præsertim Vicinos.

HIBERNI veteres, Externos, præsertim vicinos Europæos cujuscunque fuerint nationis, non rarò Gallos promiscuè appellabant. Hinc Regiuncula prope Dublinium, versus Septentrionem, à Norwegis olim occupata, vocabatur *Fingall*; item Dermotus Murchardi filius rex Lageniæ dicebatur *Ni-gall*, quasi Anglorum amicus, quòd ejus gratiâ, Angli, regnante Henrico II, Hiberniam invaserant. Ita Judæi aliquandò omnes extraneos, *Græcos* appellabant, ut colligere est ex Epist. S. Pauli ad Romanos, cap 1, ver. 16. Atque, ut ad nostra tempora veniamus, ita in Regionibus quibusdam orientalibus, Europæi fermè omnes etiamnùm Franci appellantur. Non negandum tamen Anglos ab Hibernis vulgò dictos Saxones, item Danos et Norwegos, qui magnam Hiberniæ partem subjugârunt seculo IX, ac Dublinium, Waterfordiam, Limericum, aliasque maritimas urbes usque ad ipsum Anglorum adventum, sub jam dicto Henrico possesserunt, quandòque appellatos *Normannos*, quasi viros Aquilonaes, quandoque *Ostmannos* sive viros Orientales. Hisque nomen suum debet Aquilonale Dublinii suburbium, quod adhuc *Ostman-toton* dicitur, et corruptè *Orman-toton*. Sunt qui Normannos hosce, sive Ostmannos, in *Dub-gallos* et *Fin-gallos* dividunt, et per *Dub-gallos*, sive *nigros externos*, Danos intelligunt, per *Fin-gallos*, sive *albos externos*, Norwegos. Neque hâc occasione omittendi sunt Scoto-Britanni quos Hiberni vulgò Albanos vocârunt, neque Cambri sive Walli quos

Brannas et Britannos appellârunt. Cæterùm ex his quæ dicta sunt, (ut ad Gallos redeamus) superesse liquet vestigia quædam Gallorum veterum, quos Edmundus Spenserus, in Dialogo inter Eudoxum et Irenæum, de Statu Hiberniæ, australes Hiberniæ partes olim occupâsse censet, ac conjecturam firmat, à Menapiis Galliæ veteris populis, quos Ptolemæus inter incolas Euro-australium Insulæ partium posuit. Huic conjecturæ vigorem etiam adjiciunt arma quædam Hibernica, Gallicis antiquis similia, Jacula nimirùm peditum levis armaturæ quos *Kernos* vocant, necnon Secures et Loricæ ferreæ peditum illorum gravioris armaturæ, quos *Gallo-glassios* appellant. Item, quia Hiberni veteres sylvestres comas suas intortas, ~~et~~ vulgò dictas, alebant, more Gallorum et Britannorum veterum. Scio Saxonem Grammaticum, lib. 5 Historiæ Danicæ, asseruisse *Hibernorum gentem novaculis olim comam extenuâsse, et totum occipitii crinem obrasisse, ne fugiens capillitio teneatur*. Atqui satis nota sunt ejus figmenta. De Britannorum veterum capillitio, vide quæ suprâ diximus, Cap. 2. De Gallorum autem, consule Diodorum Siculum, Lib. 5, Plinium, Lib. 3, cap. 20, et Dionem, Lib. 46, sub finem, ubi Galliæ Transalpinæ partem alteram dictam asserit *Comatam*, quòd incolæ comam gerebant promississimam, eoque à reliquis dignoscebantur. Neque in comâ tantùm imitabantur Britannos et Gallos veteres, sed etiam in barba, quàm alebant tantùm (ut suprâ diximus) in superiori labro. Ita Britannos olim barbam aluisse testatur Cæsar, ita Gallos, jam dictus Diodorus. Eundem morem apud Anglos in Hibernia, præsertim qui *Marchias* habitârunt: postea viguisse docet Statutum editum in Parlamento Trimmæ habito, anno mccccxlvj, coram Johanne Talboto comite Salopiæ, Hiberniæ *Locum-tenente*, et ut Angli ab Hibernis faciliùs distinguerentur, sub gravi pœna tunc prohibitum. Sed pergamus. Unde derivetur Donegallia in Ultonia, an ut à Gallæcis Hispaniæ, vel à Gallis olim occupata, quærant alii: mihi certè prorsus ignotum. Externos fermè omnes Europæos, ab Hibernis, sæpè Gallos olim appellatos, firmat (præter ea quæ suprâ diximus,) Hibernici cujusdam dictum, à S. Bernardo; in vita Malachiæ Archiepiscopi Armachani, memoratum, *Scoti sumus non Galli*.

CAP. VII.

De Hiberniæ Ornamentis, Commodis et Privilegiis quibusdam specialibus.

REGIONUM Ornamenta et Dotes quibus homines ad eas possidendas ut plurimum alliciuntur, sunt soli fertilitas, aëris salubritas, sylvæ, planities, metallorum fodinæ, laotomiæ nobiles, fluvii navigabiles et piscosi, portus tuti et ampli, maris vicinitas ad mercaturam exercendam, et necessaria ad victum humanum. In his omnibus (ut de urbibus et quæ hominum arte et industriâ fiunt, hic taceam,) admodum felix est Hibernia. Sed quod rarissimum est, et nulli ferè regioni habitabili prætereà, per totum orbem, à Deo concessum, hæc insula (Hibernia dico) nullum alit animal venenosum, nè quidem aliundè invectum: habet quidem araneas et lacertas, sed eas non venenatas. Terræ-motus ibi rarò aut nunquam, vel quando contingit, inter prodigia habetur, tonitru rarissimè, non ibi rigor est nimius hyemis, neque ardor æstatis. Inter quadrupedes, notandi inprimis Equi, quos Hobinos, sive ~~Hobbes~~ vocant ob mollem gressum, magno in pretio habiti. Asturcones olim dictos notat Johannes Major, utpote ab Asturibus Hispaniæ in Hiberniam primò deductos. Ab hoc equi genere (ut id obiter adnotemus) equites quidam levis armaturæ dicti sunt Hobellarii. De 2000 Hobellariis, ex Hibernia contra Scotos, per mandatum regis, mittendis, fit mentio in rotulo Patent. an. 15 Edwardi 2, par. 2, membr. 19, penes custodem Archivorum arcis Londinensis; sed quot fuerint missi, non comperii. In exercitu Edwardi 3 Caletum obsidentis, anno Dom. mcccxlvi, numerati sunt (inter alios milites) sub Mauritio comite Kildariæ, Hobellarii 27, et sub Domino Fulcone de la Freign Hiberno, Hobellarii 14. Ex hoc genere, 12 *candoris eximii, purpurâ et argenteis habenis exornatos, in Pompa Summorum Pontificum, sessore vacuos, se duci vidisse* testatur Paulus Jovius. Neque hic prætermittendi sunt Canes illi venatici, quos vulgò, à persequendis lupis, Canes luporum vocant, robore, magnitudine, et elegantia eximiâ præditi. Inter volucres, Aquilæ, Accipitres qui anseres capiunt, Anglicè,

Goshaukes, aliis (ni fallor) Phasianophani dicti, Falcones, Haliæti, sive Aquilæ Marinæ et *Æsalones*. Item Galli (ut vulgò appellantur) sylvarum, iidem scil. cum iis quos Giraldus Cambrensis, *Distinct.* 1, cap. 10 *Topograph. Hiberniæ*, Pavones sylvestres vocat, Pavonibus magnitudine æquales. Ibi etiam inveniuntur Margaritæ, sed pleræque vel pallidæ vel subfuscæ. His addendæ piscaturæ copiosæ Salmonum, Halecum et Halecularum *Þilchards* vulgò dictarum, quæ salitæ et doliis inclusæ, quotannis, magno mercatorum lucro, in partes transmarinas exportantur. Neque possum non hic memorare magnam navium multitudinem, quæ bobus, ovibus, carne bovinâ, coriis, pellibus, lanâ, lino, plumbo; ferro, stragulis, &c. onustæ, nostrâ ætate, solitæ fuerunt quotannis ex Hibernia in partes transmarinas exportari. Item ad Hiberniæ Dignitatem, vide si placet argumentum Oratorum Henrici quinti Regis Angliæ, in Concilio Constantiensi, inter Acta ejusdem Concilii Mss. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

Restat ut aliquid hic dicamus, de viris sanctis (maximis illis insulæ ornamentis) qui Christi euangelium prædicârunt, primis surgentis Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ temporibus, vel in ipsa Hibernia, vel in partibus transmarinis. Acta eorum, licèt compendio descripta, justum requirunt tractatum. Satis videatur hic indicare Hiberniam, ob eorum multitudinem, meritò olim dictam Insulam Sanctorum, et Sanctorum Patriam. Nuda eorum nomina, etiam eorum quorum res gestæ descriptæ extant, subungere, supervacaneum videatur: veruntamen eorum partem potiore, unâ cum temporibus quibus claruerunt et actis nonnullis, aptiùs petant postea qui volunt, in Diatriba nostra de Basilicis Hiberniæ.

CAP. VIII.

De Tanistria, Lege Brehonica et Consuetudinibus dictis

Gossáiríed, Fostering, et Gabel-kind.

LEGES et consuetudines Anglicanas, unâ cum ipso Anglorum adventu in Hiberniam, sub Henrico II, fuisse introductas, deindè à Johanne Rege, firmiùs stabilitas et

Dublinii in Scaccario, sub sigillo suo relictas, non negandum; vim tamen et virtutem postea, per aliquot annorum centurias, non extendisse, ultra regiones ab Anglicâ gente habitatas liquet: nam in cæteris Hiberniæ partibus, vigeat Tanistria, cum lege Brehonica et Gaveleto; quæ etiam leges et consuetudines inter Anglicos nonnullos, (etiam melioris notæ) paulatim irrepabant, ut è Statuto in Parlamento Kilkennii edito anno XL Edwardi III, sub Leonello Duce Clarentiæ Hiberniæ *Locumtenente*, liquet, in quo Anglici, in omnibus controversiis, gubernari jubentur, per communem Legem Angliæ, et qui se submitteret Legibus vel *Brehonorum*, vel *Marchiarum*, proditor declaratur. Cæterum Statuto eo non obstante, Leges et consuetudines illæ Hibernicæ, à quamplurimis Anglicæ Gentis, hic et illic postea erant receptæ. Neque ante pacem, sub Jacobo Rege redditam, Leges Anglicanæ universim, per totam Hiberniam, receptæ et agnitæ. Lege Tanistriæ, (de qua nunc agimus) jus hæreditarium successionis, apud Magnates, seu Regionum Dynastas, non observabatur, sed qui viribus et clientela potentior, plerumque senior et dignissimus sanguinis et cognominis defuncto Dynastæ succedebat, isque, postquam communibus populi suffragiis, vivente prædecessore, successor designatus fuerat, *Tanista* tum dicebatur, quasi secundus; quod nomen derivatum videtur à *Thanis*, viris apud Saxones honoratis, è quibus, qui superioris erant classis, *Thani Regii*, i.e. Regis Ministri appellabantur. Dynasta sive Dominus factus, se suamque sequelam sustentabat, partim ex terris quibusdam mensalibus, *Loghty* dictis, præsertim verò ex tallagiis vocatis *Goshetings*, &c. ad libitum suum impositis, Ecclesiæ possessionibus et eorum quibus specialia concedebat privilegia, exceptis. Sic quot apud eos Domini, tot Tyranni. Habebat is iudices quosdam *Brehonos* dictos, qui statis temporibus, sub dio, in colle aliquo plerumque, è sedibus aggesto cespite constructis, jus dicebant vicinis, coram iis litigantibus. Hi Juris Anglicani imperiti erant, sed in rebus ad eorum iudicium pertinentibus, aphorismis, partim ex Jure Civili et Canonico desumptis, partim ex præscriptis et consuetudinibus quibusdam Hibernicis, se dirigebant. Et ut Brehonos habebat unius stirpis sive familiæ, ita etiam Historicos,

toricos, Medicos, Chirurgos, Poëtas et Citharædos aliarum peculiarium familiarum, quibus singulis sua assignata sunt prædia. Asserebat etiam sibi (si ex Dynastis potentioribus esset) potestatem belli vicinis indicendi, et cum iisdem pacis ineundæ. Cæterum, ut ad legem Brehonicam redeamus, eâ lege homicidium, raptus et furtum mulctâ à peculio, *Eric* dictâ, puniebantur. Mulctæ adjudicatæ Brehonus habebat pro salario partem undecimam. Hoc mulctæ genus Scoti Albanienses (quibus idem mos in usu olim erat) *Cro* appellabant. Vid. Spelman. in voce *Cro*. Latrocinium verò ex finibus alienis importatum, tanquam pro bono publico actum, honestum atque laude et præmio dignum, more Spartæ et veteris Galliæ, existimabatur.

Duæ aliæ erant Consuetudines dictæ ~~Crossing~~ sive compaternitas et *Fostering* sive liberorum educatio à nutritiis, quæ per temporum corruptelam, multorum malorum erant fontes; hinc enim profluebant (quod mireris) combinationes et confederationes partium, ortâ aliquâ discordiâ inter potentiores, in omnibus rebus tam licitis quam illicitis. Atque ita, ex his quæ dicta sunt, miserrima subditorum conditio, in locis ubi istæ consuetudines vigeant, perspicui potest.

Denique ut caput hoc claudamus, restat tantum ut aliquid hic dicatur de consuetudine Gaveleti, nos *Gavel-kind* dicimus. Ad Etymon quod attinet, Lambardus ejusque sequaces exponunt esse fundum omnibus cognatione proximis datum, à Sax. *Țire-eal-cȳn*; sed probabilius opinor Somnerus, in Glossario, à Saxon. *Țapel* i. *census, tributum, pensio, et cȳn*, *natura, genus, conditio*, sic *Gavel-kind*, *fundum significat censualem, vel tributarium, redditui annuo, cæterisque plebeiorum prædiorum servitutibus et oneribus obnoxium*. De hoc disquirant alii. Hâc consuetudine, apud Hibernos, hæreditas defuncti, (infra Tanistæ gradum) divisa fuit æqualiter, inter filios, tam nothos quam legitimè natos, et iis deficientibus, inter proximos hæredes masculos, feminis penitus exclusis ab hæreditate: in his contra morem prisci Gaveleti Anglo-Saxonici, quo feminæ solebant adire hæreditatem, deficiente prole masculâ, et nothi excluderentur ab hæreditate. Hinc quilibet filiorum, licèt pudendâ pressus paupertate, generosum se existimans,

existimans, agriculturâ, mercaturâ, vel arte aliquâ mechanicâ instrui dedignabatur. Neque est prætermittendum consuetudinem eam Hibernicam Gaveleti, in Venedotia, sive Wallia Boreali, etiam usitatam fuisse, usque ad annum 12 Edwardi Primi, quo, per Statutum *de Rutland*, dicta consuetudo fuit reformata, et ita remanebat, donec demùm anno 34 Henrici VIII, per aliud Statutum, penitùs fuit abolita. Extant etiamnùm, ut accepi, volumina nonnulla, in quibus conscriptæ sunt Hibernicè Leges aliquorum Regum antiquorum Hiberniæ, ante Anglorum ingressum, promulgatæ, quæ ad formam Regiminis apud veteres Hibernos detegendam, procul dubiò sunt perquam necessariæ, et plenum merentur scrutinium.

CAP. IX.

De Hibernorum veterum Cognominibus; et quando Cognomina cæperint esse fixa et familiis annexa.

PROPRIIS Hibernorum veterum nominibus addita sunt cognomina, vel à re gesta, vel ab animi qualitate, vel à colore, vel à corporis sive notâ aliquâ, sive defectu, vel à casu, vel ironicè. Sic Nellus Rex Hiberniæ dictus est *Nigialac*, quòd à Regulis, novem obsides exegerat, eosque aliquamdiù, compedibus vinctos, detinuerat, Brienus Rex, *Boruma*, quòd tributum annuum ita dictum, à Lageniensibus recuperaverat, Cænfela, *Sapiens*, S. Barrus, *Finbarrus*, sive Barrus albus, S. Cominus, *Fada*, hoc est longus, et Æd Clericus *barbosus*, à prælonga barba ita dictus, in impresso Mariano Scoto, ad an. **MLIII**, malè Atdericus vocatus. Non secùs ac apud Græcos, Seleucus III Rex Syriæ dictus est *Ceraunus*, i. Fulmen, ob præcipitem naturam, Ptolemæus VII Rex Ægypti, Physcon, sive ventricosus; ob ventris crassitudinem, et (ut cæteros prætermittam) Ptolemæus penultimus, *Auletes*, ab insano tibi-arum amore: vel ut, apud Romanos, M. Valerius dictus est Corvus, et posterì ejus Corvini, quòd Gallum provocantem, Corvi advolantis ope, duello interfecisset, alter Scipio, Africanus, alter, Asiaticus, hic, ob partas victorias in Asia, ille, in Africa; sic qui absente patre editus, Proculus vocatus, qui

defuncto, Posthumus, et qui claudus, Claudius. Sed de cognominibus Romanis, qui plura scire avet, consulat Plutarchum, in vita C. Marci Coriolani. Ad Hibernica jam redeo, atque notandum hic quòd veteres Hiberni præter cognomina, de quibus suprâ fit mentio, nomina alia etiam, more illo antiquo, è paterno nomine acceperunt, ut Dermotus filius Cormaci, Cormacus filius Donaldi, Donaldus filius Tirdelvaci, &c.

Regnante tandem supradicto Brieno, Hibernorum Cognomina, sive familiarum nomina cœperunt esse fixa posterisque tradita, cum præposita vel aspiratione *h*, vel voce *ua*, quæ postea mutata est in vocalem [*O*] et significat unum è posteris viri alicujus Primarii, ut O-Brien, O-Conner, &c. Non paucæ tamen familiæ, per aliquot postea annorum centurias (quod fatendum) fixa cognomina non assumpserunt. Observant alii circa annum Dom. Millesimum, (quo vixit Brienus) Cognomina etiam fixa esse cœpisse, in Gallia, Anglia et Scotia, primùm inter nobiliores, et pedetentim postea, inter alios inferioris notæ. Denique in Hibernia, nonnullis ex singulis familiis Hibernicis, etiam postquàm cognomina essent fixa, agnomina quædam fuerunt addita, ut *Bane*, i. albus, *Boy*, i. flavus, *Bacca*, claudus, *Moil*, calvus, &c. Idemque mos sensim inter aliquas Anglicæ prosapiæ familias irrepsit. De hoc argumento plurium cupidus petat Paralipomena Anglica, sive reliquias v. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, ubi messem inveniet uberem, præsertim de Origine Cognominum Anglicorum. Ad alia jam transeamus, quæ ut difficiliora, ita fortè gratiora.

CAP. X.

Hiberniæ Antiquæ Populi et Loca, de quibus fit mentio apud Ptolemæum, qui floruit sub Antonino Pio: unâ cum adjunctis Nominibus recentioribus.

REM arduam hic aggredior, tantaque obscuritate passim involutam, ut hæreant sæpè qui acutissimi quicquam certò statuere. Siquidem nomina antiqua, temporum revolutionibus, ita mutata sunt, ut in hodiernis, sæpissimè vix vesti-

gia aliqua veterum remaneant, et, ut cum Seneca loquar, *nova Urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, aut in accessionem validioris conversis, oriuntur*. Idcirco tanquàm optimi duces habendi locorum situs, prout à Ptolemæo, ex Marino Tyrio plerumque descripti inveniuntur. Facem mihi in multis, quod libens fateor, prætulit Camdenus; quam quàm non negem, in non paucis, me, veritatis studio, ab illo dissentire coactum. Neque deerunt (spero) alii, qui plura invenient corrigenda. Interim hæc, qualiacunque sunt, ordine digesta Alphabetico, lectori hic visum est exhibere, unà cum *Tabula Chorographica* sequente Hiberniæ veteris, secundum Ptolemæum, additis duntaxat *Lucentis*, ex Orosio, qui claruit sub Theodosio Juniore. Ad notationem graduum longitudinis et latitudinis quod attinet, vide Ptolemæi regulam, lib. 2, cap. 1, quæ et semper observanda, ad sinceram lectionem cognoscendam.

A.

Argitæ flu. Ostium.

Nunc portus seu lacus dictus *Logh-foil*, in agro Londino-derensi, Camdeno, *Suilly* lacus.

*Ausona flu. al.
Ausoba.*

Fluvius è lacu Curb emissus, qui Galviam perluit. Hic flu. idem est opinor cum Galvia seu *Galiva*, cujus meminerunt Annales Roscomanenses, ad ann. 1177 et 1190. Flumen Galviam Urbem nomini suo adoptasse videtur. Sed nominis rationem veniunt alii.

Auteri populi.

Hi olim incolebant partes aliquas regionum, quæ hodiè comitatus Galviensis et Roscomanensis dicuntur. Auterorum nomen in se prodit Athenria urbecula in pago Galviensi.

B.

Boreum Promontorium.

Hodiè *Saint Helens-head* al. Telen, in Donegallensi Comitatu.

Brigantes pop.

Habitabant regiones quæ nunc appellantur comitatus Catherlaghensis, Kilkenniensis et Reginalis.



Brigus flu al. Birgus. Hodiè Barous dictus, qui Neoro auctus, post aliquot milliaria, Suiro se consociat. Hi tres fluvii è Bladinis montibus Hibernicè *Sleu-bloom*, profluunt, et divisis alveis diù decurrentes, uno tandem eodemq; ostio in mare se exonerant, prope turriculam de *Hook*, in agro Wexfordiensi, unde *tres sorores* olim dictæ.

Buuinda flu. Qui, nomine non prorsùs deperdito, *Boinus* hodiè dicitur, Nechamo, *Boand fluvius in Midia*, à *Boan* dictione tam Britannica quàm Hibernica, quæ velocem significat, ita, ut opinantur, denominatus.

C.

Cauci pop. Olim incolebant regiones quæ nobis hodiè comitatus Wickloensis et Kildar-ensis appellantur. Hi de Caucis Germaniæ orti videntur. Vid. Ortelii Thesaur. Geograph. in *Chaucis*.

Coriondi et Udiæ al. Vodii pop. Hi olim insidebant regiones quæ hodiè dicuntur Com. Corcagiensis, Tipperariensis et Limericensis. Corcagia urbs Coriondorum nomen in se prodere videtur. An Coriondi hi à Coritanis Britannicæ in Hiberniam demigraverint, dubium. Haud multùm sanè abludunt nomina.

D.

Darnii, vel Darini pop. Incolebant eas regiones quæ nobis hodiè vulgò appellantur Comitatus *London-dery, Antrim* et *Tir-oen*. In *Deria* (olim *Daire-calgaic*) nominis Darniorum nonnullæ supersunt reliquiæ uti etiam in *Dalriata*, quo nomine ager Antrimensis, vel magna ejus pars *Routa* hodiè dicta, antiquitus appellabatur.

Daurona flu. Camdeno, *flumen quod Corcagiam præfluit, Giraldo Cambrensi*, (ut ille habet)

habet) *Saverennus*. Giraldus quidem Topogr. Hiberniæ distinct. 1, cap. 6, asserit *Saverennum et Luvium per Corcagiam* (Provinciam scil. ita dictam, nou urbem) manare. Fluvius verò qui urbem eam circumfluit, hodiè Læus dicitur, et eundem esse censeo cum jam dicto Luvio. Daurona autem nunc (ni fallor) *Aven-more*, i. e. fluvius magnus, qui Oceanum prope Yoghallam ingreditur.

D.

Dunum.

Dunamause, in Comitatu Reginæ, ut situs loci apud Ptolemæum, à quo inter urbes mediterraneas numeratur, indicare videtur. Ibi, ante aliquot secula, Marchiæ comites castrum habuerunt firmissimum, editiori colli impositum, cujus cadaver etiamnùm visitur. Camdenus quasi sub alio sole locat, et Dunum vult esse in agro Dunensi. *Dunum* priscis Gallis, Britannis et Saxonibus, montem seu collem denotabat, unde Lugdunum in Gallia et Dunelmum, Camalodunum Sorbiodunum, et similia in Angliâ manârunt.

Dur. flu.

Dingliæ sinus, seu Mangi flu. ostium, in agro Kerriensi, Camdeno, malè fluvius qui Traleiam præterfluit. *Dur* Britannis aquam denotat, ut habet Humfredus Lhuydus Cambro-britannus, et ventos venari videtur qui aliam vocis originem indagat.

E.

Eblana urbs.

Dublinium Hiberniæ Metropolis, Jocelino, *Athcliath*, aliis, *Ballecliath*, id est, *Oppidum super crates*, utpote subjectis olim in palustri loco cratibus, conditum.

Eblani pop. al. Blanii.

Incolebant regionem prope Dublinium quæ nunc ager Dubliniensis appellatur,

latur, nec non Midiam, vel majorem ejus partem.

Edri Insula.

Plinio, *Andros*. Hæc Insula à Ptolemæo, inter eas ponitur quæ orientali parti Hiberniæ adjacent. Et eadem est, uti conjicio, cum *Beg-Eri*, id est, parva Hibernia, Insula sub ostium Slani flu. in agro Wexfordiensi. Camdenus *Berdssey* al. *Enbly* vult esse, quæ ad Caernarvonensem agrum in Wallia spectat. Sed perperam opinor.

Erdini pop.

Hi olim habitabant regiones quæ sunt prope lacum et flu. *Ern*, speciatim utramque *Breniam* et regionem quæ hodiè appellatur com. Fermanaghensis. In *Erno*, nominis Erdinorum reliquiæ supersunt.

G

Gangani pop.

Incolebant Tuomoniam et australes aliquas partes agri Galviensis. Candennus ortos putat à Concanis Hispaniæ, à Scythis procreatis.

H.

Hieron, id est, sacrum Prom.

Grenore, non longè à portu Wexfordiensi. Sunt qui locum, Salangam, et postea montem Domini dictum volunt, vel montem S. Dominici (Ossoriensis sc.) de quo loquitur Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hiberniæ dist. 1, c. 5.

I.

Iernus flu.

Kilmar flu. in agro Kerriensi, ubi portus est nobilis.

Isamnium Prom.

Nautis dictum *Saint Johns foreland*, in agro Dunensi.

Juernis.

Dunkeran esse censuit Camdenus ad Iërnum flu. Quid judicem nescio: in hæc re me cæcutire fateor.

L.

Laberus.

Fortè *Cenanus*, vel *Canenus*, temporis progressu nunc vulgò *Kells* in Midia, antiquitùs inter insigniores urbes numerata, Jos. Moletio, *Ampreston*

nescio quæ, Camdeno, *Killair* in *Midia* Occidentali. Sed in hac urbe indagandâ, desudent alii.

Libnius, al. Liboeus flu.

Sligous flu. quem *Slichneium* vocat *Giraldus Cambrensis*, et situs apud *Ptolemæum* *Sligoæ* sinum indicat. *Camdenus* malè eundem vult cum *Liffio flu.* qui *Dublinium* perfluit.

Limni Insula.

Nunc *Lambey*, Insula litori vicina, ad agrum *Dubliniensem* spectans, idque tùm nomen indicare videtur, tum situs apud *Ptolemæum*, *Camdeno*, *Ramsey*, apud *Penbrochienses*, in *Wallia*. *Lambeia* exponitur *insula agnorum*, sicuti jam dicta *Ramseia*, *insula arietum*, et *Shepeia* in *Cantio*, *insula ovium*.

Logia. flu..

Bannus flu. (ex *Lacu Logh-eagh* amplissimo emissus) in limite Orientali agri *Londinoderensis*, opimâ *Salmonum* piscatione celebris, *Villanovano*, corruptè *Bone*, *Camdeno*, lacus *Logh-foil*.

M.

Macoticum.

Mercator et *Camdenus* hunc locum *Malc* vocant. Sed ubi locum sic dictum inveniam, planè nescio, ego existimo *Milick* esse, quam *Shenanus* alluit, in agro *Galviensi*: nec multum absonant nomina.

Menapia.

Situs apud *Ptolemæum*, *Wexfordiam* indicat. Sunt verò qui eandem cum *Waterfordiâ* putant, *Hibernis* et *Cambris* *Port-largi* dicta. Vox *fford* in posteriore parte utriusq; nominis, exoticam sapit originem; *Anglis* et *Germanis* vadum significat vel trajectum, sic *Oford* in *Anglia*, utraque *Francofordia* in *Germania*, à vadis vel trajectibus nomina sua deducunt.

Menapii pop.

Incolebant regiones quæ nunc *Comit.*

Wexfordiensis et Waterfordiensis appellantur. An ex his, vel è Galliæ Belgicæ Menapiis, Carausius ille fuerit, qui purpuram in Britannia assumpsit, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, non facile quis dicat. Videtur tamen fuisse ex Menapiis Hiberniæ, nam *Menapia* civem, eum disertè appellat Sextus Aurelius Victor. *Et Menapia Urbs* (ut rectè notat Camdenus) *Non in Belgica, sed in Hibernia* à Ptolemæo ponitur, licèt *Menapiorum* populus utrobique ab eodem statuatur.

Modonus flu.

Nunc (antiquato priore nomine,) Slanus vocatur, in agro Wexfordiensi, ut situs apud Ptolemæum innuit.

N.

Nagnata. al.

Magnata.

Hanc urbem insignem appellat Ptolemæus. Situs loci apud eum, locum aliquem denotare videtur non procul à Sligoa. Atqui in eo tractu, nulla (quod sciam) vestigia supersunturbis sic dictæ, ita omnia delet temporis vetustas. Sunt quidem nominis antiqui reliquiæ, in *Magio* hodiè Maio, (cujus meminit Beda) nota proximi (ad austrum) comitatus villa, Ptolemæi tamen *Magnatam* fuisse, repugnat situs distantia, Fortè suspicentur aliqui urbem loco suo apud eum paulùm exturbatum. Sed hæc viderint alii.

Nagnatæ pop. al.

Magnati.

Nagnatæ, vel, pro exemplarium varietate, Magnati incolebant regionem quæ hodiè dicitur ager Sligoensis, fortasse etiam pagum Maionensem.

Notium, sive australe prom.

Nautis *Bissen-hrad* in comitatu Corcagiensi.

O.

Ovoca. al. Oboca. flu.

Aven-more, vel *Owen-more* ut vulgò appellatur, id est, fluvius magnus, qui

R.
Ravius flu.

Arkloam præterfluit in agro Wicklo-
ensi, Josepho Moletio, perperam, *Arce-*
lius dictus.

Ernus fluvius ex Erno lacu emissus,
in agro Donegallensi, à Giraldo Cam-
brensi Samarius dictus, à Camdeno,
Mercatore et Spensero malè *Trowis*.

Rheba.

Rheban ad Baroum flu. in agro Kil-
darensi, nunc solùm castello nota, olim
urbe.

Ricina Insula.

Insula *Recran*, vulgò *Rachlin*, Plinio,
Ricnea, quæ hodiè pars censetur agri
Antrimensis.

Rigia al. Regia.

Gerardo Mercatore, Limericum, Gu-
lielmo Camdeno, è nomine et situ pro-
babilis, locus aliquis non procul à
Loghrie lacu insuloso et amplo, in quem
Shenanus flu. se refundit.

Rigia al. Regia
altera.

Camdeno *Reglis* in Insula (petrosâ)
Lacus *Derg*, ubi S. *Patricii Purgatori-*
um. Atqui refragatur tum situs apud
Ptolemæum, tum ipsius Insulæ exigui-
tas, quæ continet vix tres quartas partes
unius acræ ordinariæ Hibernicæ. Ego
censeo *Athnery*, seu Athenriam esse, in
Comitatu Galviensi.

Robogdii, al. Rhobogdii, Incolebant regionem quæ hodiè ap-
et Vennicnii, pop. pellatur ager Donegallensis, necnon
partem agri Londino-derensis.

Rhobogdium Prom.

Extremum totius Hiberniæ Promon-
torium quod Oceano Deucalidonio in-
cumbit, in Pen-insula de *Inis-Oen*.

S.
Senus flu.

Shenanus, Orosio *Scena*, fluvius to-
tius Hiberniæ celeberrimus, è monte
Slew-neren (ita dicto à ferri venis quibus
abundat) in agro Leytrimensi effusus.

V.
Udiæ, vel Vodii, vid.
Coriondi.

Velabri pop. nonnullis exemplaribus *Velli-* An ab Iberis ita nominati, dubium.
bori. His Lucenos vicinos facit Orosius, ad

Scenæ fluminis ostium.

Vennicnii pop. vid.

Rhobogdii.

Vennicnium Prom.

Nautis *Kama-head*, aliis *Horn-head*, quod in cornu tenuatur, in agro Donegallensi.

Viduae fluvii Ostium.

Lacus *Suilly*, in eodem comitatu.

Vinderii flu. Ostium.

Carigfergusii sinus, sive Laganus flu, qui ibi in mare se exonerat.

Voluntii pop. al.

Uluntii.

Incolebant regionem olim dictam *Ullagh*, sive Ulidiam, ubi hodiè comitatus Dunensis. His fortè Ultonienses nomen suum debent, si non, quod alii asserunt, Ollomaino regi antiquo ethnico Hiberniæ.

Uterni pop.

Vel, pro exemplarium varietate, Iberni, Iberi and Juèrni incolebant australiores Desmoniaè partes. Forsan coloniæ fuerunt Iberorum: e nomine et positu contra Hispaniam, hoc conjectare licet.

Hæc, ordine alphabetico digessimus. Cæterùm non alienum erit, quantulumcunque sit, hîc etiam annotare Ptolemæum, in Geographiâ suâ, Septentrionale Hiberniæ latus primùm descripsisse, postea Occidentale, deindè Australe, ac demùm Orientale; tùmque, post latera, civitates mediterraneas, ac postremò Insulas Hiberniæ adjacentes. Ex iis verò plurimæ hodiè inter Insulas magnæ Britanniæ cui propriores, numerantur, Ebudæ sci. Maleos, Epidium, Mona-æda Mona, quas idèò in hâc disquisitione prætermisimus. Denique cùm de antiqua Hibernia hîc agatur, non tacendum est, quod de ea Marcius Heracleota, in Periplo suo, tradit, *Habet* (Hibernia) *Gentes seu Provincias XVI, Urbes insignes XV, Promontoria insignia V, Insulas insignes VI.* De Hiberniæ veteris descriptione, hoc dixisse sufficiat.

CAP. XI.

De Hibernorum veterum Vestitu et Ornatu.

Sect. 1. **S**AGUM villosum cum limbo jubato vestis est Hibernica exterior, ad talos usque fermè demissa, in vita S. Cadoci Cambrensis, *Coccula* dicitur; ubi et describitur *quoddam genus indumenti quo Hibernienses utuntur de foris plenum prominentibus jubis, seu villis, in modum crinium contextis*. Spenserus, in Dialogo inter Eudoxum et Irenæum, hanc vestem latinè dictam vult *Mantile*. Sed malè proculdubiò. Nam Mantile linteolum est ad manus tergendas factum, ut è Virgilio liquet. *Æneid.* l. 1, Ubi de Ænea à Didone hospitio excepto, ita canit,

*Jam pater Æneas, et jam Trojana Juventus
Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro;
Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque canistris
Expediunt, tonsisque ferunt mantilia villis.*

Et Georgic. lib 4,

—*Manibus liquidos dant ordine fontes
Germanæ, tonsisque ferunt mantilia villis.*

Cæterùm Isidorus lineæ *pro operiendis mensis* suo tempore *Mantilia* dicta notat. Angli quidem hanc vestem a *Mantell* vocant, et in eodem sensu, Radulphus de Diceto et Johannes Bromtonus *Mantillum* habent, quod nomen à Gallico *Manteau* derivatur, pro pallio nunc usurpato. Atque ut Pallia Græcorum propriæ erant vestes, et Togæ Romanorum, unde Virgilius *Æneid.* l. 1,

*Consilia in melius referet, mecùmque fovebit
Romanos, rerum Dominos, gentemque togatam.*

Ita saga Hibernorum veterum. Hac veste utebantur etiam fœminæ Hibernicæ, talari quam gerebant tunicæ superindutæ. Neque inusitatum est idem vestimenti genus fœminis Maclovianis in Gallia, id quod notabam, dum ibi essem anno MDCXLIX. Porro ut quod sentio dicam, valdè probabile

videtur Hibernos hanc vestem laneam à Gallis veteribus mutuatos. Nam sagum Gallicum esse nomen asserit Isidorus, et saga propria fuisse Gallorum vestimenta tradit Varro, l. 4, de lingua Latina, ubi de vestium generibus agens, *In his* (inquit) *multa peregrina, ut sagum, Rheno, Gallica, Gaunacum, majus sagum et Amphimallon Græca.* Idem docet Strabo, lib. 4. Geographiæ. Hinc Galli sæpè Sagati olim dicti. Hactenus de veste exteriori Hibernica. De aliis Hibernorum vestibus, tunicellis sc. et femoralibus illis arctissimis, *Trowes* vulgò dictis; vix habeo quod dicam memoratu dignum. Ad Etymologiam verbi *Trowse* quod attinet, fortè petenda à Gallico *Trouser*, connectere. Gir. Cambrensis *braccas caligatas, seu caligas braccatas vocat*, Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 3. cap. 10. Braccas vestes fuisse varii coloris tradit Diodorus Siculus. Pannus autem levidensis varii coloris, ex quo sæpè facta sunt ea femoralia, ab Hibernis *Braccan* appellatur. A talis vestimenti usu, dimidia pars Galliæ Transalpinæ olim dicta est Braccata, sicut altera pars, Comata, ob incolarum comas promissas, Gallos ita vestitos, secum Romam duxit Julius Cæsar, sed ibi in triumpho suo Gallico, vestibus decentioribus amictos, eos populo ostendit, unde illa, ait Suetonius, vulgò canebantur,

*Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit: iidem in Curia
Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.*

Et Britannos olim iisdem usos fuisse vestimentis, ostendit Martialis,

Quàm veteres braccæ Britonis pauperis.

Uxores Hibernicæ (pro more veterrimo) velato capite incedebant, virgines nudo, demissis interdum à tergo crinibus.

De Hibernorum veterum ornatu; admodum pauca mihi legenti occurrunt. Aliquos è regibus coronâ aureâ redimitos fuisse suprâ diximus; et reges margaritis in auribus suis usos, prodit Nennius. De torque aureo quo collum suum ornare solebat Dermotus filius Cerbailli Rex Hiberniæ, vid. Scriptor. vitæ S. Brendani. Nobiles præterea annulos aureos in digitis olim gestasse constat.

CAP. XII.

De priscis equitibus et peditibus Hibernicis, sed potissimum de iis qui fuerunt mediorum temporum: deque eorum armis et clamore militari.

Sect. 1.

ANTIQUIORIBUS seculis, equites Hibernici equos nudos, absque ephippiis ascendebant; postea sellis utebantur, sed absque stapede sive scala ea equestri, quâ hodiè utimur, ut in equos nos collochemus. Hique Equites, vel hastis, vel sagittis dimicabant. Aliqui præterea (mediis seculis) loricis ferreis erant armati. Neque mos ille equitandi inusitatus erat olim ipsis Anglis, ut testantur tam sigilla nonnulla antiqua quæ expressam ostendunt equitis Anglici imaginem, quàm Statutum Parlamenti Pontanæ inchoati anno decimo Henrici VII. Ita porro Britanni olim, ita Galli, et ita Romani equitabant. Murchardidem unum è potentioribus Dynastis Hibernicis absque ephippio equitantem exprimit Gallus quidam qui expeditionem secundam Richardi 2 in Hiberniam metro Gallico descripsit; equum verò ejus generosissimum (attende pretium) emptum asserit vaccis 400. Equitibus Hibernicis servi quidam erant à pedibus: *Daltini* vulgò dicti, jaculis amentatis tantum armati, qui eorum equos curabant. De Equitibus vocatis Hobellariis, suprâ à nobis dictum, cap. VII, nec hic repetendum. *ἵππος* equum significat, atque inde fortè vox *Hobby*.

Hiberni mediorum seculorum Peditibus duplicis generis utebantur, Quidam *Gallo-glassii* dicti, casside ferrea et lorica ferreis annulis confecta, erant armati, gladioque longo cincti; item alterâ manu securim acutissimam gestabant, more Gallorum illorum veterum, de quibus loquitur Marcellinus, lib. 19. Alii levioris armaturæ, Henrico Marleburgensi *Turbiculi*, quibusdam *Turbarii*, vulgò, *Kerni* dicti, jaculis amentatis, machæris, et cultris sive sicis, *Skegnes* vocatis, dimicabant. An tales fuerint cultri illi *Seaxes* dicti, quibus olim accingebantur Saxones, quærant alii. In rotulo clauso ann. v. Edwardi III, memb. 25, inter articulos in Hibernia observandos, sextus est, contra sustentatores et ductores *Kernorum et*

gentis vocatæ Eble-men, nisi in Marchiis (sive confiniis) suas proprias ad custas. Ita Archivum arcis Londinensis. In bello, pro tympano, tibia utricularis in usu erat. Sic Lacedæmonios olim, non cornuum tubarumve signis, sed tibiarum modulis, in prælis usos testatur A. Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 11.

Ad Hibernorum antiquiorum arma quod attinet, eos armis Sect. 2. aheneis fuisse usos constat, sic Græcos olim, sic Britannos armatos certum. Est mihi æs securis militaris, rudi quidem sed admodum antiquo opere, jampridem è loco uliginoso in agro Letrimensi, effossum. Hibernis præcipuam fuisse gloriam in armorum nitela, asserit Solinus, cap. 25, et speciatim tradit eos, qui studebant cultui, dentibus marinantium belluarum insigniisse ensium capulos, et candicasse ad eburneam claritatem. Labracum Loinsec regem Hiberniæ, quoddam hastæ genus dictum *Lagenib*, ex partibus transmarinis, secum in Hiberniam portasse anno Mundi 3670, tradunt (quàm verè nescio) historici Hibernici: atque inde orientalem Hiberniæ Provinciam, *Lageniam* dictam volunt, cum antea vocaretur *Coigidugarian*. In Annalibus Roscomanensibus, ad annum. mxcx, fit mentio *capitis hastæ, ad longitudinem unius cubiti, reperti in fluvio Gallivensi tùm desiccato*. De Hibernorum armis, tempore adventus Anglorum, sub Henrico II, sic Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hiberniæ, distinct. 3. cap. 10, *Tribus utuntur armorum generibus, lanceis non longis, et jaculis binis in quibus et Basdensium morem sunt imitati, securibus quoque amplis, fabrili diligentia optimè calibatis, quas à Norwagiensibus et Oustmannis, (de quibus post dicetur) sunt mutuati. Una tantum manu et non ambabus securi percutiunt, pollice desuper manubrium in longum extenso ictumque regente, à quo nec galea caput in conum erecta, nec reliquum corpus ferrea lorice tricatura tuetur. Unde et in nostris contigit temporibus, totam militis coxam ferro utcunque fideliter vestitam, uno securis ictu, præcisam fuisse, ex una equi parte coxa cum tibia, ex alterâ verò, corpore cadente moribundo: lapides quoque pugillares, cum alia defecerint, hostibus in conflictu damnosissimos, præ alia gente, promptius, et expeditius, ad manum habent. De scutis eorum, nec non arcubus et sagittis supra diximus, cap. 2. Gladius iis ingens erat et*

prælongus, unâ tantum parte acutus, quo cæsim non punctim pugnabant. Apud aliquos *in usu fuit Cudo* sive *Galea ferarum tergoribus inducta*, uti habet in Nomenclatore suo, Hadrianus Junius. Ocrearum usum ab Anglis tandem acceperunt, necnon armorum diversa genera, quæ ad recentiora tempora spectant, ideoque hic prætermittenda. In prælia ituri, cum ita propè essent hostes, ut ab iis exaudiri possent, clamore quodam Martio utebantur (uti suprà diximus) *Farah, Farah*, sæpius iterantes. Scythas, Germanos, et ipsos Græcos et Romanos tali olim usos fuisse clamore, ante pugnam constat. An verò à clamore illo *Eleleu* quo Græci (uti suprà diximus cap. 2) ad prælium euntes utebantur, vox *Aleleu* fluxerit, quam iterare solebant mulieres merè Hibernicæ, in ululatibus et palmarum complosionibus, dum amicorum funera prosequerentur, non definio: nam de Græcorum habitatione in Hibernia, parum aut nihil mihi legenti occurrit: superesse quidem vestigia nonnulla veterum Græcorum in Hibernia, innuit Ecclesia quædam Trimmæ in Midia, dicta *Græcorum Ecclesia*. De Dobda Episcopo, Græco, qui S. Virgilium ex Hibernia secutus est, vid. Wiguleum Hundium, in Juvaviensium sive Salisburgensium Episcoporum catalogo, et vitæ ejusdem Virgilii descriptorem Eberhardi Salisburgensis Episcopi Discipulum. Vid. porrò quæ suprà diximus, de Nemethi progenie. Pan militaris illius barritus dicitur inventor, et à tali stratagemate noctu, cum in Indica Bacchi expeditione, subito hostes in fugam essent versi, ortum proverbium *Terror Panicus*. Sed hoc extra oleas. Hactenùs de prisco milite Hibernico ejusque armis et clamore militari, nunc iconem ejus Lectori visum exhibere.



An Hiberni habuerint currus militares *Esseda* olim dictos, more Gallorum et Britannorum veterum, non certò constat. Sed verisimile est habuisse, præsertim si credamus anonymo vitæ S. Columbæ scriptori antiquo poëtice magis quàm historicè prælium Culedrebnense, anno 561 gestum, describenti. Habuisse currus illos quos Galli olim *Bennas* vocabant, ad usum sc. viatorum, et alios, linguâ Gallicâ *Carros* dictos, quibus sarcinæ eorum vehebantur, certissimum. Nescio an operæ pretium sit hic memorare certamina Ludicra (militiam quidem redolentia) equitum Hibernicorum, qui jaculis ferro non munitis, lusus et spectatores oblectandi gratiâ dimicare solebant, necnon eorum ardorem in ferarum, Luporum putà et Cervorum, venationibus. Venatio quidem non parvam habet cum militia affinitatem, et si Xenophonti in Cyropædia credimus, ad fortitudinem adsequendam est omninò necessaria. Beda (Eccles. Histor. lib. 1, cap. 1,) Hiberniam *Insulam* vocat *Cervorum venatu insignem*. Sed hæc Corollarii loco.

CAP. XIII.

De priscis Exactionibus Hibernicis, dictis Bonaght, Sorohen, Coshery, Cuddy, Shragh et Mart: deque Tributis ab Anglis introductis, vice Bonaghti, vocatis Cognz et Liberty.

BONAGHT Exactio erat pro Domini libito imposita, ad Sect. 1. alendos Equites, triarios quos Gallo-glassios appellabant et alios pedites levioris armaturæ, quos *Kernos* vocabant. Istique milites ita sustentati, aliquandò promiscuè *Bonaghti* dicebantur.

Sorohen Taxatio erat quater in anho imposita liberè tenentibus, (sive iis qui prædia habebant, ad hæredes transmittenda) pro victu, hospitio et stipendiis dictorum militum.

Coshery exactio erat Dynastæ Hibernici, quando ab incolis sub ejus potestate et clientela, victum et hospitium capiebat, pro seipso suaque sequela.

Aliæ erant Exactiones dictæ *Cuddies*, sive cœnæ nocturnæ: item aliæ (præsertim in Momonia) vocatæ *Shragh* et *Mart*, partim in nummis, partem vel in pecore vel in cibo, plerumque

pro Domini libito, impositæ. Hisq; direptionibus nec non *tasciis* quibusdam, Anglicè *Cuttings* dictis, vel quando Dominus iter ingrediebatur, vel epulo aliquem excipiebat, vel è simili occasione, impositis, prisca plebis Hibernicæ conditio penè servilis perspici potest.

Sect. 2. Hibernorum vestigia premens Mauritius filius Thomæ postea Comes Desmonia, Anglorum (uti fertur) fuit primus qui subditis imposuit tributa illa gravissima, *Cogn* et *Liberty* dicta, nummos scil. cibum et hospitium pro militibus, et pabulum pro equis. Hæc introduxisse fertur tempore Edwardi II Regis, Angliæ, ad sustentationem exercitus Regis, contra Scotos in Hibernia tum longè latèque grassantes, sub ductu Edwardi Brucei, qui se Regem Hiberniæ declaraverat. Ut ut fuerit, sive is primus, sive non, Scotis postea devictis, ac pace restitutâ, Tributa illa,

—————*per longas invaluerunt moras:*

Nam in plurimis Hiberniæ locis, per multos postea annos, imposita, misellum populum graviter affligerunt, etiam non obstantibus Statutis quibusdam Parlamentariis, quibus istæ direptiones et expilationes prohibitæ fuerunt, sub pœna proditionis. Sed plus valent boni mores (ut rectè Tacitus) quàm bonæ leges. De Comitibus illius Seneschallo Johanne Cotterell, morte multato, Radulphi de Ufford Hiberniæ Justitiarum mandato, quòd *multas graves, extraneas et intollerabiles leges exercuisset, tenuisset, et invenisset*, vid. Joh. Clynnei Annales, ad annum 1345. Notant aliqui hoc ipsum exactionum genus, uni ex jam dicti Mauricii posteris fuisse exitiale: nam Thomas Comes Desmonia, ob similia tributa, quæ subditis imposuerat, capite plexus est Pontanæ, (quam Droghedam et vulgò *Tredagh* vocamus) Februarii 15, anno Domini MCCCCLXVII, jussu Johannis Tiptofti Wigornia comitis Hiberniæque Deputati. Atqui Thomas Russellus in Historia Geraldinorum, quo auctore nescio, Desmonium sublatum asserit, machinationibus Elizabethæ Uxoris Edwardi IV, in ultionem verborum quæ contra eam, ad Regem loquutus fuerat. Ad voces ipsas quod attinet; *Cogn* verbum est Anglicum, quod pecuniam significat, et *Liberty*, in mitiori sensu, *res necessarias, quæ vel ex*

debito, vel honoris causâ (ut ait Spelmannus) *Magistratui, hospitibus, seu peregrinantibus ministrantur.* Cæterum in Hiberniâ, exactiones istæ tanto rigore et insolentiâ fuerunt impositæ, neque porro certis temporibus, neque locis limitatæ, ut inde profluxerint depopulatio, exilium et extirpatio multorum è primariis subditis; alique otiosi facti, miseriarum et malorum temporum eventum expectârint. Sic ferè Jo. Davisius Eques aur. Jacobi Regis, ad tempus, Procurator in Hibernia. Quibus miseriis addi possunt (ex Statuto anni x Henrici VII) homicidia, raptus et latrocinia, ab ipsis militibus, quos exactiones istæ sustentabant, frequenter perpetrata. Denique, invaluerunt etiam paulatim, apud Anglos nonnullos eminentioris loci, speciatim apud Comites Desmonia, exactiones Hibernicæ suprâ memoratæ, vel saltem earum pars maxima. Cæterum, clauso tandem Jani templo, altæ Pacis beneficio, sub Jacobo rege, Leges terræ universim receptæ sunt, tûmque tributa illa gravissima et direptiones evanuerunt. Ad alia jam festinamus: siquidem de exactionibus, satis superque dictum.

CAP. XIV.

De Mirabilibus nonnullis Hiberniæ; deque aliis ascriptitiis.

DE Mirabilibus Hiberniæ, multa scripsit Giraldus Cambrensis, sed fabulis mirè admixta: nonnulla etiam habet Nennius Britannus, seculis aliquot Giraldo antiquior, quæ, quia Author est adhuc ineditus, visum est transcribere. Sic igitur ille, in fine Historiæ suæ, *De prima Inhabitatione Britonum Britannia Insulæ*, sub titulo, *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ.* Sed aliqua exemplaria Gildæ nomen (ut hoc obiter annotemus) falsò præferunt.

Est ibi Stagnum (inquit Nennius) *quod vocatur Luch-lein;* (hodiè *Logh-lein* in Kerria) *quatuor circulis ambitur, primo circulo, Gronnâ* (sive venâ *vel fodinâ) *Stanni ambitur, secundo circulo, Gronnâ plumbi ambitur, tertio circulo, gronnâ ferri ambitur. Et in eo stagno margaritæ nullæ reperiuntur, quas ponunt Reges in auribus suis.*

* Asserius autem et Flor. Wigorn. loca palustria et aquis obducta gronnas vocant.

Est aliud Stagnum quod facit ligna durescere in lapides. Homines autem findunt ligna, et postquàm formaverunt, projiciunt in stagnum, et manent in eo, usque ad caput anni, et in capite anni lapis invenitur, et vocatur stagnum (vel ingens lacus potius) Luch-echac. Hodie vulgò Logh-each, in Ultonia.

Est aliud miraculum in regione quæ vocatur Cereticum; est ibi Mons qui cognominatur Crucmaur, et est sepulchrum in cacumine illius, et omnis homo quicumque venerit ad sepulchrum, et extenderit se juxta illud, quamvis brevis fuerit homo et parvus, similiter longitudo sepulchri juxta staturam hominis invenitur; et si fuerit longus et procerus, etiamsi fuerit in longitudine quatuor cubitorum, juxta staturam unius cujusque hominis, sic tumulus invenitur. Et omnis peregrinus tædiosus, qui tres flexiones flectaverit, juxta illud, non erit tædium super eum, usque ad diem mortis suæ, et non gravabitur ullo iterum tædio, quamvis habitasset solus in extremis finibus cosmi. Hoc postremum in quibusdam exemplaribus, rectiùs ponitur inter Mirabilia Britanniae, in quâ certè est Cereticum sive Ceretica, quæ nunc nobis Cardigan-shire appellatur. Sed ut quod sentio dicam, de miraculo ipso, commentum est notissimum: in duobus verò prioribus, Nennius miscet vera falsis, de aliis ejusdem farinæ mirabilibus, apud historicos nonnullos fit mentio, quæ sciens hic prætereo. De Bernaclæ sive Brantæ prodigiosa generatione, ex ligno in salo, tractu temporis putrefacto, vid. Giraldum Cambrensem, Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 1, cap. 11. Bernacla anserini est generis, fero ansere paulò minor, pectore subnigro, cætero cinereo, et anserum ferorum more volat, strepit, paludes frequentat, et segetem destruit. Caro autem paulò insuavior est et divitibus minùs appetita. Hæc ferè Gulielmus Turnerus. Vidi ego ligni putrefacti fragmentum, ex quo erumpebant minuta quædam corpuscula, testis inclusa, ex quo genere, uti recepta est opinio eorum qui prope litora habitant, à Bernaclis frequentata, tam in Hibernia quàm in Scotia, Bernaclæ originem sumere solent. Porro hæc Bernaclæ generatio non usque aded prodigiosa illis videbitur (inquit jam dictus Turnerus) qui quod Aristoteles de volucre Ephemero scripsit, legerint, quòd in Hypani fluvio, ex folliculis quibusdam erumpat. Ad hanc opinionem firmandam

vid. porrò quæ habet Jo. Gerardus, ad finem historiæ suæ Plantarum. Quid è contra objicitur, petendum ex Pontani Rerum Amstelodam. Histor. lib. 2, cap. 22, et ex Fabii Columnæ Piscium aliquot historiâ, Neapoli editâ 1592. Utcunque, in re quæ plenius scrutinium mereri videatur, nihil definitio. Sed (ut caput hoc claudamus) inter verè miranda non omittendum, licèt suprâ dictum, cap. VII, Hiberniam non gignere venenatum quicquam, nec alere aliundè invectum, habere tamen araneas et lacertas, sed eas non venenatas. Unde Hiberniam de se suisque dotibus, ita loquentem introducit Hadr. Junius,

*Cui Deus et melior rerum nascentium origo
Jus commune dedit cum Creta altrice tonantis,
Noxia ne nostris diffundant sibila in oris
Terrifici creti tabo Phorcynidos angues;
Et fortè illati compressis faucibus atris
Viroso pariter vitam cum sanguine ponant.*

Cæterùm an lignum Hibernicum valeat contra venenata, quod aliqui asserunt, non indignum est indagine penitiorè, eoque studiosiùs quia venerabilis Beda Eccles. Histor. lib. 1, cap. 1, asserit *omnia penè quæ de eadem insula (Hibernia sc.) sunt, contra venenum valere. Denique vidimus (sic porrò ille) quibusdam à serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum, qui de Hibernia fuerunt, et ipsam rasuram aquæ immissam, ac potui datam, talibus protinùs totam vim veneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse ac sedâsse tumorem.* Interim corrigendus est Cardani error, qui lib. 10, de Subtilitate, pro Hibernia Britanniam asserit *carere Serpentibus.* Hæc ejus assertio in eundem errorem duxit Jul. Cæs. Scaligerum, licèt ille immunitatis causas à Cardano assignatas, meritò confutet, Exercitatione 200.

CAP. XV.

De Academiis, sive Scholis insignioribus Hiberniæ. Deque aliis, apud exterarum nationes, Hibernorum operâ excultis.

FUISSE olim in Hibernia Scholas insigniores, sive ut nunc appellamus, Academias, ad quas Hiberni et Britones, ac demùm Galli ac Saxones, tanquàm ad bonarum literarum Emporia confluerunt, ex antiquis scriptoribus, fide dignis, liquidò constat. De hac re, vid. Bed. lib. 3. Histor. Eccles. gentis Anglorum cap. 7, et 27, et lib. 4, cap. 26. Item Alcuin. in prosaicâ S. Willibrordi vitâ, cap. 4, et lib. 2, de vitâ ejus, carmine, cap. 1, et 33, Eric. Autissiodorens. Monach. lib. 1, cap. ultim. de miraculis S. Germani, et Sulgeni vitam, à filio ejus Johanne, (qui claruit anno Dom. **MLXXXIX**) carmine descriptam. Inter scholas eas, ut antiquissima, ita olim eminebat Armachana; de qua, ita scriptor vitæ S. Patricii, qui eam tribus libris complexus est, diù ante Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam. *Ibi B. Patricius civitatem, quæ dicitur Armacha, instituit, in qua est omnis Archiepiscopatus Hiberniæ, quam valdè dilexit S. Patricius vivens, et in qua summum constituit suum honorem secula. In ipsa jam civitate, scil. Armacha, Summum Studium literale manet semper.* Gildam Albanium ibi ad tempus *Studium rexisse* tradit Carodocus Lhancarvanensis. Supersunt porrò etiamnùm nomina Prælectorum quorundam ibidem, sub ipsis Norwegorum in Hibernia sævientium temporibus, tanquàm antiqui splendoris reliquiæ: atque si Florentio Cartæo credamus, ex MS. nescio quo Oxoniensi, census studiosorum ejusdem Academiæ, uno eodemque tempore olim septem millium numerum excessit. Sed hoc transeat. Author Annalium Ultoniensium ad annum 1020 (qui nobis est 1021) Armacham universam tunc combustam asserit, eodemque incendio periisse (inter alia ibi memorata) *antiquam Cathedram Præceptorum*: ad annum itidem 1162 vel 1163, Synodum 26 episcoporum coactam asserit in loco dicto *Cleonad*, præsidente Gelasio Armachano Archiepiscopo, in qua decretum est, ut nullus deinceps ad

Theologiam publicè prælegendam admitteretur, nisi qui Academiæ Armachanæ fuerat Alumnus. De Schola Clonardensi, ad Boinum flu. in Midia, hæc habemus in vita S. Finiani fundatoris, qui claruit anno Dom. **DXXX**, *In loco qui Cluan-araird dicitur, velut Sol in medio cæli, Finianus radios virtutum et salutaris doctrinæ atque miraculorum illustrando mundum, emisit. Fama enim bonorum operum ejus, ex diversis terræ partibus, viros illustres, partim ad scripturam sacram addiscendam, partim ad Ecclesiasticam institutionem percipiendam, quasi ad quoddam totius sapientiæ Sacrarium, attraxit: quorum nomina sunt, duo Kierani, (Kieranus filius Artificis, qui Mac-Itair dicitur et Kieranus Saigre) Columba-Kill et Columba filius Crimthaind, duo Brandani (Brandanus filius Findlogæ, et Brandanus Birra, qui Propheta in Scholis illis et sanctorum Hibernensium habebatur) et Lasermanus filius Nathfraith, et Sinel filius Maënaci, et Cainecus filius Nepotis Daland, et Ruadan Lothra, et Nannyd Lamdere, et Mugenoc Killicumuli, et Episcopus Sennach. Et in vita S. Moluæ, Venit ad sanctam Scholam S. Finiani, in sua Civitate quæ est in confinio Luginensium, et nepotum. Neill: in qua Schola, multitudo Sanctorum Hiberniæ Divinitatem apud S. Finianum scrutabantur. Scholam ibi Academiam vel Gymnasium significare res ipsa loquitur. Scholam etiam eandem Ciceronis ætate habuisse significationem, ubi vox grammaticalis non adjuncta fuit, è Cicerone rectè colligit Johannes Caius, de Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiæ, lib. 1, pag. 177. Neque dubitandum est, *Studium* de quò suprà, idem olim denotasse: atque ita eodem sensu D. Hieronymus ad Rusticum Monachum scribens, vocat *Studia Galliarum florentissima*. Fuit et aliud bonarum literarum Domicilium Rossæ in Carbria, antiquitùs *Ross-ailithri* dictæ, à S. Fachnano, seculo sexto erectum; de quo ita scriptor vitæ S. Mocoëmogi, *Habitavit S. Fachnanus in australi Hiberniæ parte, juxta mare, in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit. Ibi crevit civitas, in qua semper mansit magnum studium scholarium, quæ dicitur Ross-ailithry. Sanctum Brendanum ibi artes liberales prælegisse asserit, quâ autoritate nescio, in Chronico suo Hiberniæ, Meredythus**

Hanmerus. Inter Academias itidem numerandæ sunt fortassè *Beg-Eri*, sub S. Ibaro, Clonferta, sub S. Brendano, Bangora, sub S. Congallo, Rathena (in Fercallia) et Lismora, sub S. Carthago, et Leghlina, sub S. Laseriano, Mirum est sanè, quod de magnis monachorum agminibus, sub eorum tutelis, à scriptoribus traditum. De aliis antiquis Musarum sedibus in Hibernia, Casseliensi sc. et Dunensi, fit nuda mentio in Epistola quadam Florentii Cartæi supradicti, ad Donatum non ita pridem comitem Thomoniæ. Sed, de iis, nihil præterea traditum reperii. De hac re, qui plura scire avet, consulat profundæ eruditionis virum D. Jacobum Usserium Armachanum, in Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitatibus.

Venio jam ad recentiorum temporum Academias; et hic primò se nobis offert Academia Dubliniensis, Johannem Lechum, Archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, à Clemente v, Bullam procurasse foundationis *Universitatis Scholarium* Dublinii, datam 3 Idus Julii, Pontificatus anno 7, certò constat. Sed per Archiepiscopi mortem, quæ secuta est 10. Augusti, anno Dom. mcccxiii, irritò successu. Anno verò mcccxx, Alexander de Bicknor successor ejus in Archiepiscopatu Academiam de novo fundavit, et Johannis xxii autoritate confirmari curavit. De regulis in ea observandis, en tibi ipsissima instrumenti verba, *In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Alexander de Bicknore permissione divina Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus, volumus concedimus et ordinamus, de consensu et assensu Capitulorum nostrorum S. Trinitatis et S. Patricii Dublin. Magistris et Scholaribus Universitatis nostræ Dublin. quòd Magistri actu regentes dictæ Universitatis possint eligere Cancellarium, Doctorem in sacra pagina, seu jure Canonico. Ita quòd si in altera Ecclesiarum nostrarum S. Trinitatis vel S. Patricii ejusdem loci, in dictis scientiis fuerit aliquis in iisdem facultatibus adeptus, in Cancellarium præ omnibus cæteris, per eosdem eligatur. Et si, quod absit, in electione ejusdem Cancellarii fuerit discordia, quòd tunc stetur electioni majoris partis dictorum regentium in numero duntaxat. Et Cancellario dictæ Universitatis cedente vel decedente, alius infra xv dies eligatur, et idem electus nobis et successoribus nostris præsentibus, seu Vicariis nobis vel illis*

in remotis agentibus, Sede Dubliniensi plenâ, et Sede vacante, Custodi Spiritualitatis ejusdem, pro confirmatione obtinenda, infra quindecim dies, à tempore electionis præsentetur, pro confirmatione sua petenda et obtinenda. Volumus ad hæc, quòd duo Procuratores actu regentes, cùm fuerit copia magistrorum regentium, simili modo ut priùs eligantur; et quòd iidem Procuratores, cùm Universitas prædicta Cancellario caruerit, vices suppleant ejusdem Cancellarii. Et si electio Cancellarii infra quindecim dies celebrata non fuerit, extunc devolvat Jurisdictio ad Officialem curiæ Dublin. Sede plena, vel Sede vacante, ad Custodem Spiritualitatis, quousq; Cancellarius electus fuerit et confirmatus, vel saltem aliquid non obsistat canonicum, quo minùs debeat confirmari. Concedimus etiam quòd dominus Cancellarius habeat Jurisdictionem spiritualem in Magistros et Scholares, ubi actor et reus sunt de Universitate prædicta, et in eorum familiares, et approbationem et reprobationem testamentorum eorum Magistrorum, Scholarium, et familiarium, ac dispositiones bonorum eorum, si intestati decesserint. Ita tamen quod mulctæ ipsis delinquentibus indicendæ, et emolumenta inde, et ex quacunque alia causa, de Jurisdictione prædicta provenientia, in cista quadam Universitatis prædictæ reponantur, convertenda in utilitatem dictæ Universitatis communem, secundùm dispositionem Cancellarii et Magistrorum; et quòd duas claves cistæ habeant Procuratores, et tertiam nominatus per Cancellarium; et inde dicti Procuratores bis in anno, coram Cancellario et Magistris regentibus, computum reddere teneantur, vel coram Deputatis seu Deputandis ab iisdem. Jurisdictionem verò nostram et Decani nostri S. Patricii prædicti, in familiares nostros et Canonicos Ecclesiarum prædictarum, et ad eorum familiares, et super gleba præbendarum existentes nullatenùs à nobis seu ab ipso Decano abdicantes. Provisò tamen quòd pro officio Cancellarii et ejus oneribus supportandis, pro loco et tempore, secundùm Universitatis facultates honorificè ordinetur. Si verò Cancellarius prædictus vices suas aliquibus, vel alicui committere voluerit, in causis specialiter et universaliter cognoscendis, facultatem eidem concedimus per præsentés. Et si ab iisdem Commissariis appelletur, primò ad eundem Cancellarium et

Regentes appelletur, qui per se in dicta causa appellationis cognoscent, vel per alios illa vice; à quibus si secundò appelletur, ad nos vel officialem curiæ nostræ, seu Custodem, ut præmittitur, ipsa appellatio interponatur. Licentiandi insuper Baccalarii, in facultate quacunque, præsententur Cancellario prædicto, et Magistris regentibus, qui si sufficientem numerum, pro tempore per ipsos ordinando, obtinuerint Magistrorum in eadem facultate, pro literatura, et quoad illos et alios aliarum facultatum, pro moribus, deponentium, quibus credi volumus, si iurati de credulitate deponantur, non obstante minoris partis numero Magistrorum contradictione, licentientur, alioquin per gratiam transeant Universitatis. Et si quis contrà licentiandus in quacunque facultate, aliquid objecerit, et illud in formâ Juris non probaverit, eo ipso habeatur pro malitiosè opponente, et propter refusionem damnorum et expensarum parti faciendarum, Universitatis privilegio privetur ad tempus, vel ad perpetuum, prout Cancellario et regentibus visum fuerit, habitâ consideratione ad qualitatem rei objectæ et conditionem utriusque personæ. Concedimus etiam, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, quòd Cancellarius, de consilio Magistrorum regentium et non regentium, si necesse fuerit, Statuta condere possit, ad honorem et pacem Universitatis, et ad scandala dirimenda, quæ contingere poterint, in eventum; et illa Statuta debent nobis et successoribus nostris præsentari, et per nos et eosdem successores confirmari. Ordinamus etiam quòd nos et successores nostri eligere possimus secularem in Theologia regentem, vel de quacunque religione, qui in Ecclesia nostra S. Patricii præfata actualiter legat in sacra pagina, sine alicujus contradictione vel calumnia, perpetuis temporibus in futurum. Ac nobis vel illis successoribus nostris agentibus in remotis, quòd Cancellarius hoc faciat vice nostra et eorundem successorum. (Eo non obstante quòd Scholas fratrum Prædicatorum ac Minorum duximus canonizandas.) Et quòd Cancellarius electus, et à nobis et successoribus nostris confirmandus Juramentum nobis et successoribus nostris præstet fidelitatis. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum nostrum, unà cum Sigillis Capitulorum nostrorum S. Trinitatis et S. Patricii Dublin. prædictorum, præsentibus

est appensum. Datum Dublinii, decimo die Februarii anno Dom. mcccxx, et Consecrationis nostræ quarto. Tūmq̃ue S. Theologiæ Doctores creati sunt ibidem Gulielmus de Hardite ordinis Prædicatorum, Henricus Cogry ordinis Minorum et Edmundus de Karmardin ordinis Prædicatorum. Item ad gradum Doctoratus in Jure Canonico, promotus est Gulielmus Rodiart Decanus Ecclesiæ S. Patricii Dublin. Qui constitutus est etiam primus Academiæ Cancellarius. Lecturam Theologicam, ab Edwardo III, ibi postea institutam docet Regestum Johannis Alani Archiepiscopi Dublin. Cæterum deficientibus facultatibus, quibus alumni alerentur, Academia ipsa paulatim defecit. Remanebant quidem vestigia aliqua Academiæ, tempore Henrici VII, Nam in Concilio Provinciali Dublinii habito, in Ecclesia S. Trinitatis, coram Waltero Fitz-Simons tunc Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi, concessa sunt, ad septennium, *Lectoribus Universitatis*, stipendia quædam, ab Archiepiscopo, Suffraganeis et Clero Provinciæ Dublinensis, annuatim solvenda. Tandem verò Elizabetha Regina, Dublinio Academiæ honorem restituit: nam Collegium SS. Trinitatis nomini consecratum, posuit (in loco ubi olim Dermitus filius Murchardi rex Lageniæ, cœnobium omnium Sanctorum, vulgò dictum ~~Al-Mallous~~ *Al-Mallous*, Canonicis ord. Aroacensis construxerat) prædiis ditavit et Academicis ornavit Privilegiis. Primum lapidem posuit Thomas Smithus Prætor Dublinensis, 13 Martii anno MDXCI, stylo Anglicano, et 9 Januarii MDXCIII, studiosi primùm admissi. Eidem postea Collegio rex Jacobus præter annuam 388 librarum et 15 solidorum Monetæ anglicæ, è fisco, pensionem, amplissimas in Ultonia possessiones elargitus est. Atque hæc unica nunc est Hiberniæ Academia, Athenæ nostræ. Neque silentio prætermittenda est Academia *Pontanæ erecta, autoritate Parlamenti ibi habiti, Mense Novembri MCCCCLXV, coram Thoma Comite Desmonia, Deputato Georgii Ducis Clarentiæ, Hiberniæque *Locum-tenentis*, et Academiæ Oxoniensis Privilegiis adornata. Cæterum ea Academia, ex defectu proventus, brevi evanuit.

* Al. Droghedæ.

Fundationis Statutum ipsum (Gallicè, pro more illorum temporum) typis antehac non excusum, lectori integrum hîc visum est exhibere, ex Archivo Cancellariæ Hiberniæ, anni v Edwardi iv, cap. 46.

Item a la requisition des Communes, Que pource que la terre d' Irland a nulle Université, ni Estude generale, dans la mesme, laquelle œuure voudroit cause si bien l'encreasse du science, richesse et bonne governance, comme l'avoidance du riot, male governance et extorsion dans la dite terre. Ordonné est et establié et granté par autorite du dit Parlement, que soit une Université, à la ville de Drogheda, en laquelle Université, pouuoient estre faits Bacheluers, Maistres et Docteurs en toutes sciences et facultez, si comme ils sont en l'Université de Oxenford, et aussi d' auoir, occuper et enioier toutes maniers, libertes, privileges, et loix, et laudables coustumes, que la dite Université d' Oxenford a occupié et enioié. Perainsi qu' elle ne soit prejudiciable au Maire, vicomité, ni communauté de la ville de Drogheda. Ita Statutum.

Sect. 2. De Academiis apud exteras nationes ab Hibernis excultis, Parisiensi nimirum in Gallia, et Ticinensi, sive Papiensi, in Italia, vid. quæ habet Notkerus Balbulus, vetustus cœnobii Sangallensis Monachus, lib. de Gestis Caroli Magni, quem ex MS. codice Bavarico, edidit Henricus Canisius, tomo i antiquæ Lectionis, anno Dom. mdcî. Consule etiam D. Rothæum, in Brigidâ Thaumaturgâ, et Hiberniâ resurgente.

CAP. XVI.

De antiqua Dispositione Episcopatum Hiberniæ.

PARNASSUM Hibernicum obambulavimus: nunc Sedes Episcopales videamus. Johannes Paparo Presbyter Cardinalis tituli S. Laurentii in Damaso, Legatus ab Eugenio III, in Hiberniam missus quatuor Pallia secum detulit, quæ (ut aliàs diximus) in Synodo habitâ Mense Martio, anno mclii, quatuor Archiepiscopis tradidit, Armachano scil. Dubliniensi, Casseliensi et Tuamensi. De loco Synodi variant scriptores; nam aliqui in cœnobio Mellifontis, alii Kenanusæ

sive Kenlisæ, (quam hodiè contractè *Kells* dicimus) in Midia habitam volunt. In ea Synodo cuilibet Archiepiscopo certus Suffraganeorum numerus subjectus est et assignatus. Horum Dispositio, in codice Censuum cameralium Centii Camerarii, qui fuit postea Honorius III, ita exhibetur.

Sub Archiepiscopo Armachano.

<i>Episcopatus de</i>	Conner. Dun-daleghlas. Lugud.	<i>Sive recentioribus nominibus, Episcop.</i>	Conorensis. Dunensis. Ludunensis, al. <i>Louthensis</i> . Clonardensis. Kenanensis, al. <i>Kellensis</i> . Ardachadensis. Rapotensis. Rathluriensis. Damliagensis, al. <i>Dulekensis</i> . Derensis.
	Cluainiard. Connanas. Ardachad. Rathboth. Rathlurig. Damliag. Darrich.		

De hac Distributione, non pauca hic notanda: nam si ad recentiora tempora veniamus, Sedes Clonardensis, Kenanensis, et Damliagensis, non diù post Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam, coaluerunt; ideóque Episcopi jam inde, à Midia, in qua dictæ sedes sitæ, stylum mutuati, Episcopi Midenses sunt appellati. Item Sedes Rathluriensis adjecta est Cathedræ Derensi. Ad Lugudunensem quod attinet; illius Sedis Episcopus quandoque Ludunensis sive Lugudunensis, quandoque Clochorensis dicebatur. Nam licèt illæ duæ Sedes (Ludunensis et Clochorensis) originitùs fuerint distinctæ, tandem tamen coaluerunt et unitæ manserunt, usque ad tempus Davidis O-Bragan Episcopi Clochorensis (qui vixit sub Henrico III,) Tùm verò omnes Ergalliæ sive Urielis Decanatus, qui olim suberant Episcopo Ludunensi sive Clochorensi, unà cùm ipsa Ecclesia Ludunensi, ab eo abstracti fuerunt, et Diocesi Armachanæ adjecti. Qua de re extat jam dicti Davidis Actio, data Perusii, Id. Augusti anno MCCLII, contra Rein-
erum Archiepiscopum Armachanum, licèt irritò successu.

Denique in hac Distributione, (quod hic non prætermittendum) desunt Sedes Dromorensis, Clonmacnoisensis et Triburnensis, quæ postrema, vetusto eo nomine tandem deposito, nomen accepit Sedis Kilmorensis, ex quo Andreas, (Bradæus ni fallor) loci Episcopus circa annum mccccliii, Ecclesiam parochialem S. Felimei *de Kilmore*, Nicolai quinti Papæ assensu, in Ecclesiam erexit Cathedralē. Ad sedendi ordinem quod attinet, inter Episcopos Suffraganeos Hiberniæ, in Conciliis et alibi, Episcopus Midensis primum habuit locum; Secundum sibi asseruit Episcopus Darensis, cæteri secundum tempora ordinationum sederunt.

Sub Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi.

<i>Episcopatus de</i>	{	Clendelachi.	<i>Postea dicti Episcop.</i>	{	Glendelacensis.
		Fern.			Fernensis.
		Cainic.			Ossoriensis.
		Leghlin.			Lechlinensis.
		Childar.			Darensis.

Sedes Glendelacensis quæ (in Bulla Lucii Papæ III, data 1182, à Johanne Comino Archiepiscopo Dublin. impetrata) dicta est *Episcopatus Insularum*, unita fuit postea et annexa cathedræ Dubliniensi, tempore Henrici *Loundres* Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis. Non defuerunt qui tradidere Sedem Fernensem olim subfuisse Cathedræ Menevensi in Wallia; sed transeant conceptus isti imaginarii.

Sub Archiepiscopo Casseliensi.

<i>Episcopatus de</i>	{	Cendalnan.	<i>Postea dicti Episcopatus</i>	{	Laonensis, al.
		Limerich.			<i>Killalow.</i>
		Insula Gathay.			Limericensis.
		Cellumabrach.			Iniscattiensis.
					Fenaborensis, al.
		Ole-imlech.			<i>Kilfenoragh.</i>
		Roscreen.			Imelacensis.
		Waltifordian.			Roscræensis.
		Lismor.			Waterfordiensis.
		Cluainvanian.			Lismorensis.
		Corcaia.			Clonensis.
		Ros-aillither.			Corcagiensis.
		Ardfert.			Rossensis.
					Ardfertensis.

Ex his, Sedes Iniscattiensis, post Anglorum ingressum, adjecta est Cathedræ Limericensi, et Roscræensis, Laonensi. Item adunatæ sunt sedes Waterfordiensis et Lismorensis, deinde Corcagiensis et Clonensis, atque demùm Imelacensis adjuncta est Casseliensi.

Sub Archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

<i>Epis- copa- tus de</i>	{	Mageo.	{	<i>Posteà dicti Episco- patus</i>	{	Magionensis.
		Cell-alaid.				Alladensis, vul- gò <i>Kill-alla</i> .
		Roscoman.				Roscomanensis.
		Cluanfert.				Clonfertensis.
		Achad.				Achadensis, vulgò <i>Achonry</i>
		Cinani.				Cluanensis.
		Celmun-duac.				Duacensis vul- gò <i>Kilmacogh</i> .

Ex his, sedes Episcopalis Magionensis posteà adjuncta est Cathedræ Tuamensi, sicut, quæ in dicta distributione omissa, Enaghduensis. Porro Roscomanensis Elphiniam posteà translata est, et Cluanensis Provinciæ Armachanæ adjecta, post longam nimirum ea de re contentionem Romæ agitatam, inter Archiepiscopos Armachanum et Tuamensem. Nam non possum non suspicari *Cinani* corruptè ibi legi pro Cluana (vulgò Clonmacnoisa), tum ob nominis affinitatem, tum ob sedis illius propinquitatem, ut quæ à provincia Tuamensi Shenano flumine tantum disterminatur.

Nomina Episcoporum qui Synodo interfuerunt, in qua facta fuit dicta distributio, ex antiquo codice MS. visum est hic apponere; quia huic rei lucem aliquam præbent,

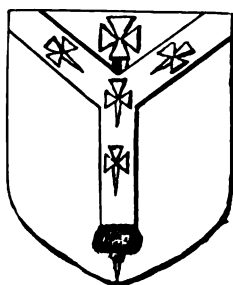
Giola-Christ (sive Christianus) *O Conarchi Episcopus Lismorensis Legatus*, *Giolla mac-liah* (al. Gelasius) *Primas Hiberniæ*, *Domnaldus O Lonargain Archiepiscopus Momoniensium*, i. Casseliensis, *Æda O Hossin Archiepiscopus Con-naghtensium*, i. Tuamensis, *Greri* (sive Gregorius) *Episcopus Athacliath*, i. Dubliniensis, *Giolla-na-namh Episcopus Glandelacensis*, *Dungallus O-Cellaid Episcopus Lechlinensis*.

Tuistius Episcopus Waterfordiensis. Domnaldus O-Fogartaic Episcopus Ossoriensis, Find mac Tiarcaín Episcopus Kildarensis, Giolla-anchomdheh (sive Deicola) O-Ardmail Episcopus Imelacensis; Giolla-Æda O-Maigin Episcopus Corcagensis, Macronan Episcopus Kierensis, i. Ardfertensis, Torgesius Episcopus Limericensis, Muirchertachus O-Melider Episcopus Cluainmicnois, Mæliosa O-Conachtain Episcopus Airthir-conacht, ————O-Ruadan Episcopus Luigni, i. Achadensis, Macraith O-Morain Episcopus Conmacnæ, i. Ardachadensis, Ethru O-Miadachain Episcopus Cluanairardensis, Tuathal O-Connachtaig Episcopus Huambruin, i. Enachdunensis, Muiridheach O-Cobthaig Episcopus Ceanla-Eogain, i. Derensis, Mæl-Patricius O-Bainan Episcopus Dailraid, i. Connorensis, Maliosa Mac-Inclericuir Episcopus Ullagh, i. Dunensis, cæteris, quorum tituli, à regionibus, in quibus Sedes eorum sitæ, quandoque mutuabantur, suprâ recentiora nomina adjecimus. Huic distributioni sic absolutæ visum est adjicere Insignia jam dictarum iv Sedium Archiepiscopaliū.

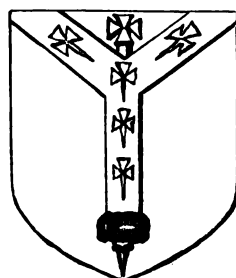
Fuerunt et aliæ sedes Episcopales in Hibernia, ante Papæ adventum, de quibus fit mentio apud Scriptores Hibernicos, Trimmensis nimirum, Sleptensis, Luscensis, Ardmorensis Ardsrathensis, Slanensis et (ut cæteras hic prætermitamus) Saigerensis. Sed illæ partim in Synodo suprâ memorata, partim antea, et partim brevi postea aliis cathedris adjunctæ fuerunt et annexæ. Denique si prima surgentis Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ tempora spectemus; Jocelinus Furnessensis in vita S. Patricii cap. 186, affirmat eum cccl (Nennius habet ccclxv,) *Episcopos manu suâ consecrâsse*. Ut ut fuerit, Sedes illius ævi Episcoporum, in villis exiguis plerumque sitas, non diu postea, ad longè minorem numerum fuisse redactas, certò constat. Sed hæc pleniorē requirunt disquisitionem; nos aliò festinamus.

INSIGNIA
Sedium Archiepiscopatum
Hiberniæ.

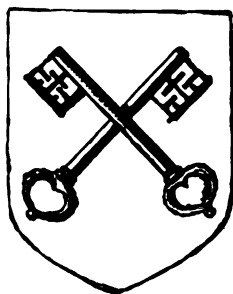
Sed. Armach.



Sed Dublin.



Sed. Cassel.



Sed. Tuam.



CAP. XVII.

De Corbis sive Corbanis, Erenachis sive Herenachis, Scribis, Colideis et Anachoretis Hiberniæ: deque Igne dicto inextinguibili, à Monialibus Kildariensibus, olim custodito.

Sect. 1. **D**E ordinibus hic agimus in Ecclesia Hibernica olim repertis, è quibus nomina aliqua rarò alibi audita. Corba sive Comorba, Corbanus sive Comorbanus, (nam variè legitur) significat, secundùm aliquos Chorepiscopum, unde nomen (ut putant) barbara contractione sortitum; alii volunt *Comfurbach* Hibernis significare comprædianum, sive ejusdem prædii vel patrimonii possessorem. Passim verò (ut rectè Colganus) usurpatur, apud priscos nostros scriptores, pro successore in Prælatura, vel dignitate Ecclesiastica. Et hoc sensu in Annalibus et Historicis Hibernicis sæpè occurrit mentio Comorbanorum Patricii, Albei, Jarlathi, Columbæ, Fechini, aliorum. Cæterùm hoc loco, loquimur tantùm de Comorbanis qui laici fuerunt, et plerùmque uxorati, licèt ex iis aliqui improprie olim appellabantur Abbates, et alii, Priores. Illis, eorùmque familiis assignatæ sunt terræ quædam liberæ, vulgò *Termon-lanús* dictæ, de quibus plura postea in Erenacho. Neque Wallis olim (ut opinor) ignotus fuit hic ordo, licèt alio vocatus nomine. Nam Comorbanum denotare videtur Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarii Cambriæ lib. 2, cap. 4, nomine Abbatis laici. Sic enim ille. *Notandum autem quod hæc Ecclesia (de Lhan-Padern-Vaur, sive Ecclesia Paterni magni loquitur) sicut et aliæ per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, Abbatem laicum habet. Usus enim inolevit et prava consuetudo, ut viri in Parochia potentes, primò tanquam Oeconomi, seu potius Ecclesiarum Patroni et Defensores, à clero constituti: postea processu temporis, auctâ cupidine totum sibi jus usurparent, et terras omnes cum exteriori possessione, sibi impudenter appropriarent: solum altaria cum decimis et obventibus clero relinquentibus, et hæc ipsa filiis suis et cognatis assignantes.* Sed pergamus.

Sect. 2. Ad Erenachum sive Herenachum jam ventum est: is Archidiaconi munere functus, unde nomen accepit, non autem super-

rioris generis (ut in Dom. Henrici Spelmanni Archæologo, ex observationibus D. Jacobi Usserii Armachani legimus) *qui hodiè sub Episcopo, Jurisdictione fruitur, sed antiqui illius, qui Presbytero inferior, pauperes et Xenodochia (diaconias inde appellata) curabat.* Illi porrò ejusque stirpi assignatæ sunt olim terræ dictæ *Termon-lands*, utpote liberæ et immunes à secularibus impositionibus, sed pensionibus quibusdam et refectionibus, annuatim Episcopo in cujus Diocœsi fuerunt, pendendis, oneratæ. Verbum *Termon* mutuatum videtur à *Termino* Deo, cui Ethnici olim templa construebant, quòd rusticorum lites, in dividendis agris, eum sustulisse crederent. Ita *Termon* fuit quasi terminus, sive prædium limitatum et distinctum à prædiis Laicorum, unde et dici cœpit pro Sanctuario. Sed ad Erenachum redeamus. Mortuo aliquo Erenacho, cæteri ejusdem stirpis, qui terras eas possederunt, talem è suâ familiâ, ad hoc munus suscipiendum elegerunt, qualem ob ætatem et mores, idoneum judicârunt. Is, uxoratus plerumque, sed qui primam habuit tonsuram, Episcopo præsentatus, ab eo admissus est et confirmatus, ac sub introitu, subsidium Episcopo solvit; sin ob justas aliquas rationes rejectus, alium in ejus locum elegerunt. Si discreparet de electione familia, tunc ab Episcopo et clero electus est Erenachus, at ex eadem stirpe. Si porrò stirps ea deficeret, tunc ab Episcopo et clero, ad munus illud subeundum, alia electa est familia, sub conditionibus olim usitatis. Sunt qui Herenachum à verbo *hæreo* ducunt, quòd gremio Ecclesiæ quasi hærebat, et alii, qui per *Termon, Terram Monachorum* intelligunt. Sed ego priores deductiones magis probo.

Scribæ apud Judæos, lectores erant et doctores sive inter- Sect. 3.
pretes Legis. Ad veteres Hibernorum Scribas quod attinet, non possum non per eos intelligere Theologiæ Lectores. Ita olim vocabantur viri eruditione clari, Suibneus Clonmacnoisensis, qui obiit anno Dom. dcccxcī, Cormacus Culiani filius, Rex et Episcopus Casseliensis, in prælio occisus anno Dom. dcccviii, et (ut alios hic prætermittamus) Cele *Comorbanus S. Comgalli* qui ex hâc vitâ migravit an. Dom. dccccxviii. *Lectoris* nomen longè frequentius (fateor) apud historicos Hibernicos invenitur. Non desunt tamen (ne quid lectorem
p 2 79 celemus)

celemus) qui per veteres Hibernorum *Scribas*, Scriptores intelligunt. Quære.

Sect. 4. Erant porrò apud Hibernos, Presbyteri nonnulli, *Colidei*, sive *Culdei*, i.e. cultores Dei appellati. Ita in Insula Viventium, Hibernicè Inchinemeo, apud Tipperarienses in Momonia, erat *Capella*, cui (ut Giraldus Cambrensis testatur, Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 2, cap. 4,) *pauci calibes, quos Calicolas vel Colideos vocant, devotè deserviebant.* Ibi certè cœnobium erat olim Canonicorum regularium. Quære an dicti Colidei ejus fuerint ordinis. Monachos quosdam ita dictos in *Enhly* (sive *Berdseia*) insula, apud Cambros, disertè assertit dictus Giraldus, Itinerar. Cambr. lib. 2, cap. 6. Erant porrò Presbyteri quidam seculares, choro inservientes in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Armachanâ qui Colidei appellabantur, et eorum Præses, Prior collegii Colideorum, eratque loco Præcentoris dictæ Ecclesiæ. Hunc, vacante Prioratu, eligeant Colidei, et sic electum confirmabat Archiepiscopus Armachanus. Erat item Prior Colideorum apud *Cluain-Inis* in agro Monaghanensi. Item alius, apud *Devenish* in agro Fermanachano, uti testatur Regestum Johannis Kyte, sub Henrico VIII, Archiepiscopi primùm Armachani, deinde Thebani, ac demùm Episcopi Carleolensis in Anglia. Monachos porrò et Sacerdotes apud Scotos Albaniensis, *Culdeos* olim dictos, notat Hector Boëthius, Histor. Scotiæ lib. 6. Denique non ignotum erat hoc nomen, apud ipsos Anglos: nam Regestum chartarum Hospitalis S. Leonardi Eboraci (quod in Bibliotheca instructissima D. Thomæ Cottoni Baronetti asservatur) docet *Ministros* Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S. Petri Eboracensis, tempore Æthelstani regis Angliæ, dictos fuisse *Colideos*, ac ejusdem ecclesiæ *Colideos*, sub Gulielmo Victore, fundâsse *Hospitale* S. Petri Eboraci, *pauperibus ad ipsam civitatem confluentibus*, sed à Gulielmo Rufo rege postea translatum ad locum Regium; et jam inde à Stephano rege, qui ecclesiam ibidem, in honorem S. Leonardi, construxit, dictum *Hospitale* S. Leonardi.

Sect. 5. Neque deerant Anachoretæ, qui cellas suas habebant Fouræ, Lismoræ, Kilkenniæ, ad S. Dulachi, et alibi in Hibernia. Hi alio nomine dicebantur *Inclusi*, quod in cellis sive Anachoretagiis se includerent. Atqui mos ille non tam strictè ob-

servabatur, quin qui semel inclusus, aliquandò dispensatione aliò migraret. Sic in annalibus Ultoniensibus, ad annum 928, ita legimus, *Cele Comorbanus Comgalli Scriba, Anachoreta et Apostolicus Doctor totius Hiberniæ, anno 59 ætatis suæ, 18 Calendas Octobres, in peregrinatione, feliciter Romæ quievit.* Et Marianus Scotus, in Chronico suo, ad annum 1069, *Ego miser Marianus, jussu Episcopi Moguntinensis et Abbatis Fuldensis, feria sexta ante Palmas, 3 nonas Aprilis, post annos decem meæ inclusionis, solutus de clusa in Fulda, ad Moguntiam veni, et in festivitate septem fratrum secundò includor.* Sic ille de seipso. Regula vitæ Anachoreticæ extat in libro MS. olim pertinente ad cœnobium S. Thomæ juxta Dublin. cum adjunctâ epistolâ Roberti cujusdam Presbyteri, ad Hugonem Anachoretam, de eodem argumento, scriptâ (ut conjicio) circa tempora Henrici III. Sed eorum varias olim fuisse regulas certò liquet. In Regesto Octaviani de Palatio, Florentini, Archiepiscopi Armachani, fit mentio Meileri Bratnagh, Ordinis Minorum de Observantiâ, *qui oculorum lumine orbatus admissus est per dictum Archiepiscopum, 10 Julii MDCVIII, Anachoriticam ducere vitam, juxta Ecclesiam Cathedralem Casseliensem, ubi sibi locum in pariete construxerat.* De Inclusis, vid. plura apud Marianum Scotum et Florentium Wigorniensem, ad ann. MCLIII et MLVIII. De alio Anachoretarum genere, vid. vitas Patrum, lib. 4, cap. 8. Seniores hîc prætermitto, à Scriptoribus antiquis Hibernicis ita nempe appellatos, quòd *Senior*, dignitatis, apud eos, non Ordinis alicujus specialis neque Officii fuerit nomen. Prætereo itidem regulas monasticas, Sanctis Albeo, Columbæ, Congallo, Columbano, et Comano adscriptas, ut quæ ad præsens institutum non pertinent.

De igne dicto inextinguibili, à Monialibus cœnobii, S. Sect. 6. Brigidæ Kildaræ, olim custodito, ita Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 2, cap. 34, *Apud Kildariam, quam gloriosa Brigida reddit illustrem, digna sunt memoratu, miracula multa; inter quæ primum occurrit ignis Brigidæ, quem inextinguibilem dicunt, non quòd extingui non possit, sed quòd tam sollicitè tam accuratè Moniales et sanctæ mulieres ignem, suppetente materia, fovent et nutriunt, ut à tempore*
Virginis,

Virginis, per tot annorum curricula semper manserit inextinctus, et cum tanta lignorum strues, tanto in tempore sit hic consumpta, nunquam tamen cinis excrevit. Hinc ipsum Monialium cœnobium, *the fire house* sive domus ignis vulgò vocabatur. *Ceterum extinctum fuisse hunc ignem Kildariæ, per* (Henricum Loundres) *Archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, anno Dom. MCCXX, tradit author quidam anonymus ordinis (ni fallor) Prædicatorum, qui Annales rerum Hibernicarum breviter descripsit, ab anno Dom. 1163, ad annum usque 1314, quo vixit.* Hoc idè fortè factum est ab Archiepiscopo, quòd mos ille alibi inusitatus originem suam traxisse videretur ab imitatione Virginum Vestalium, quas Numa Pompilius primum instituerat, Vestæque sacris ac perpetuæ ignis custodiæ dicarat. *Focum Vestæ virginibus, ait Lucius Florus, de Numa loquens, colendum dedit, ut ad similitudinem cœlestium Syderum, custos Imperii flamma vigilaret.* Vestam porrò pro igne perenni aliquando usurpari, docet Ovidius, *Fastor. 6,*

Nec tu aliud Vestam quàm vivam intellige flammam.

Sed hoc obiter. Ut ut fuerit, morem ignis fovendi in jam dicto cœnobio à Monialibus S. Brigidæ usitatum durasse postea (pro pauperibus, ut dicitur, et hospitibus refocillandis,) ad tempus usque suppressionis cœnobiolorum sub Henrico VIII, certò constat. De hoc igne, si plura velis, Giraldum Cambrensem consulas, *Topographiæ Hiberniæ distinct. 2, cap. 35 et 36.* Hæc sufficient hîc.

CAP. XVIII.

De veterum Hibernorum navigiis quibusdam, coriis intectis.

HIBERNI veteres, navigiis vimineis, coriis vaccinis intectis, usi sunt, nec in fluviis tantum, sed interdum etiam in ipso Oceano. Naviculæ illæ, vel cymbæ potius, Hibernis *Corraghs* appellantur, à Britan. ut videtur *Corwg*, quod cymbam sonat corio contextam : vid. Guliel. Somneri *Glossarium*, ubi nomina etiam invenies docturum quorundam virorum, qui de naviculis hujusmodi scripserunt. S. Cormac

cum tali usum fuisse naviculâ, cum *pelliceo tecto*, in tertia sua navigatione, docet Adamnanus, vit. S. Columbæ lib. 2, cap. 29. Item Probus, lib. 2, vitæ S. Patricii, de *Mac-fil* sive *Mac-Cuil* episcopo Manniensi loquens, *Cùm esset* (inquit) *super mare, in navi pelleâ aspirante aquilone, projectus est in insulam Euboniam nomine, &c.* Meminit porrò hujus generis navigii Florentius Wigorniensis, in Chronico suo, ad annum Dom. (secundùm Dionysium) dcccxcii, *Tres* (ait ille) *Scoticiviri Dufslanus, Macbethus, Magulmumenus, peregrinam ducere vitam pro Domino cupientes, assumpto secum unius hebdomadæ viatico, occultè de Hibernia fugerunt, carabumq; qui ex duobus tantùm coriis et dimidio factus erat, intraverunt, mirumq; in modum, sine velo et armamentis, post septem dies, in Cornubiâ applicuerunt, et postmodum Regem Alfredum adierunt.* Hæc ille, ex Mariano Scoto. Item Gildas, in epistolâ suâ, de Britannicæ excidio, *Emergunt certatim de Carruchis* (sive carrabis) *quibus sunt trans Scythicam vallem evecti, &c. tetri Scotorum Pictorûmque greges.* Sed classis Hibernicæ in Britanniam appulsum sub Honorio et Arcadio Impp. intelligere videtur Claudianus, cùm lib. 2, de laudibus Stilichonis, Britanniam ita loquentem inducat,

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam quùm Scotus Iërnen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.*

Sed ut cœpta persequamur; Isidorus, Originum lib. 19, cap. 1, *Carabum* exponit esse *parvam scapham, ex vimine factam, crudoque corio contextam.* Tales naviculas habuisse olim Britannos testatur Plinius, lib. 4, cap. 16, et lib. 7, cap. 56. Item Lucanus, lib. 4,

*Primum cana salix madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum supereminet amnem.
Sic Venetus, stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.*

Et Solinus Polyhistor, cap. 35, *Mare quod inter eam* (Hiberniam sci.) *et Britanniam interfluit undosum inquiet-*

umque, &c. Navigant autem vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubalorum. Eodem modo et Saxonicos Piratas olim navigasse docet Apollinaris Sidonius, carm. 7,

*Quin et Aremeticus piratam Saxona tractus
* Sperabat cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus, et assueto glaucum mare findere lembo.*

Sed idem navigii genus olim apud alias gentes in usu fuisse, è Seneca, Solino, Orosio et aliis è veteribus intelligimus. Non negandum tamen Anglo-Saxones antiquos, (ut de Phœnicibus, Græcis, Romanis, &c., hîc taceamus) præter naviculas eas prædatorias, naves etiam habuisse præsiarias. De remorum numero quibus agebantur naves Alfredi Regis Angliæ, ita Henricus Huntindoniensis, *Rex Alfredus naves longas sc. 40 remorum vel plurium fecit parari, contra puppes Dacorum.* De Edgari Regis ingenti classe, vid. Florentium Wigorniens. ad an. dccccclxxiii, et Florilegum ad annum dccccclxxv. Et si ad recentiora tempora veniamus, non sumus nescii quantum honorem Anglicæ genti addiderunt copię maritimæ, naves instructissimæ, *Muri illi lignei Angliæ*, (ut eas appellat D. Walterus Raleghus equ. aur.) et nautarum exquisita peritia in re nautica, cum adjuncta indefatigabili industria in navigationibus ad oras remotissimas. Non abs re erit forsân hîc etiam annotare Hibernos veteres alio cymbæ genere, in fluviis et lacubus fuisse usos, è quercu cavata, quod aliquibus in locis etiamnum in usu est, et Hibernicè *Cotti* Anglicè a *Cot* dicitur.

CAP. XIX.

De more antiquo creandi milites, apud Hibernos.

PPRIMUS (quod sciam) qui de hac re literis quicquam commissit, fuit Johannes Froissardus Gallus, in historiâ suâ. Narrationem is habet (vol. 4, cap. 63,) de 4 regibus (vel dynastis potiùs) Hibernicis, qui licèt more patrio, ordinem militarem suscepissent, iterùm tamen à Richardo II rege Angliæ, dum Dublinii esset, in prima sua expeditione Hibernica, milites creati fuerunt, more Anglicano. Rem verò ita

* Sperabat; i. timebat.

ille aperit. Hi reges, post submissiones et agnitas Regi Richardo fidelitates, committebantur curæ Henrici Castilii Angli, qui linguam Hibernicam callebat, mandatum is à rege acceperat, de iis informandis et instruendis in moribus Anglicanis, et speciatim de iis inducendis ad ordinem militarem suscipiendum, more Anglicano. In hac re, ita se gessit Castilius, ut ejus suasu et rationibus evicti reges, manus dederint. Dicebant tamen se à patribus suis, diù antea, nimirum cùm annos nati essent septem, creatos fuisse milites, more antiquo, quo singuli reges Hibernici solebant creare filios milites, et (quod ad ceremonias attinet) quemq; tyronem, tempore creationis, hastam tenuem, tam puerili ætati aptatam, in clipeum, palo in medio prati affixum, cursu impingere solitum, deinde pro numero hastarum ibi fractarum, magis aut minùs honoratum. Addit Froissardus reges illos plenius, ab Ormonie comite instructos, et Richardi regis jussu, pro dignitate, vestitos, admodùm solenniter Dublinii in Ecclesia Cathedrali, vigiliis peractis et missâ auditâ, iterùm manu Regis, milites fuisse creatos, eodemque tempore alios itidem eundem suscepisse ordinem. Hæc ferè Froissardus. Atqui de puero creato milite, longè antiquius habemus exemplum, apud Guliel. Malmesbur. de gestis Regum Angliæ, lib. 2, cap. 6, in creatione Athelstani, qui postea rex fuit Angliæ, *Nam et avus ejus Alfredus (verba sunt Gulielmi Malmesburiensis) prosperum ei regnum olim imprecatus fuerat, videns et gratiosè complexus speciei spectatæ puerum, et gestuum elegantiam, quem etiam prematurè militem fecerat, donatum chlamide coccinea, gemmato baltheo, ense Saxonico, cum vaginâ aureâ.* Hic obiter (ex Archivo fiscali Angliæ, an. 18 Richardi 2) observare liceat Dynastarum Hibernicorum submissiones factas fuisse Pontanæ in domo fratrum Prædicatorum, rege ipso coram, 16 die Martii 1394, stylo Anglicano unâ cum ritu insequenti; quilibet ante verba submissionis, *zonam cum cultello, et caputium ipsius à se amovens, genibus flexis, ad pedes dicti Dom. Regis procidit, et ambas manus suas, palmis ad invicem junctis erigens, inter manus dicti Domini Regis erectas, tenuit.* Atque hæc gesta sunt paulò ante militum creationem à Froissardo memoratam. Videamus jam alia.

CAP. XX.

*In quo ostenditur Hiberniam in Romanorum potestatem
nunquam concessisse.*

ROMANOS olim in Hibernia subjuganda *aliquid tentasse*
credunt nonnulli, et ægrè colligunt (ut ait Camdenus)
ex illo Juvenalis,

—————*Arma quid ultra*

Litora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas

Orcadas, et minimâ contentos nocte Britannos.

Aliqua exemplaria Chronici Eusebii Galbam in Hibernia imperium arripuisse habent, sed Hiberia legendum. In Hispaniâ enim (quæ et Hiberia dicta) hoc factum, è Suetonio liquet, uti rectè notat Ortelius. Innuit etiam Panegyricus Constantio Chloro Augusto dictus, Hiberniam sub ejus fuisse nutu, *Britannia* (inquit) *ita recuperata est, ut illæ quoque nationes terminis ejusdem insulæ cohærentes, vestris nutibus obsequantur.* Et in recentiorum Chronicis (ut jam dictus Camdenus notat) *Hiberniam cum Britannia et Thule Constantino Constantini Maximi filio, in Imperii divisione obvenisse scribitur.* Veruntamen, de expeditione aliquâ Romanorum in Hiberniam, vel insulæ illius expugnatione ab iis, tam apud Historicos Hibernicos, quàm ipsos Romanos, altum est silentium. Et ego quidem Camdeno assentior, quod felix faustumque Hiberniæ fuisset, si in Romanorum potestatem concessisset, nam citiùs tunc barbariem exuisset. Julio Agricolæ animus quidem fuit Hiberniam invadere, cùm regulum quendam Hibernicum seditione expulsum, specie amicitiae, retinuerit: nihil tamen in ea subjuganda tentavit. Sed audiamus jam quid de hac re scripsit Tacitus, in Agricolæ vita. *Quinto expeditionum anno* (inquit) *nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad tempus gentes, crebris simul et prosperis præliis domuit, eamq; partem Britanniae, quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quàm ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam Imperii par-*

tem, magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. *Spatium ejus, si Britannia comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cælumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum à Britannia differunt, melius aditus portusque; per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audiui, legione una et modicis auxiliis, debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse, idque adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur.* Sic Tacitus. Ex ejus verbis, colligit Camdenus multos ex Hispania, Gallia, et Britannia, in Hiberniam se recepisse, ut Romanorum jugo colla subducerent. Sed hoc alii excutiant: in re obscura variæ (scio) oriuntur opiniones.

Denique, (ut hoc etiam notemus) reperiuntur in Anglia, Gallia et aliis regionibus, ubi Romani victores fuerunt, præter nummos antiquos Romanos, multæ aræ, statuæ, urnæ, columnæ et inscriptiones marmoreæ, (quasi tot antiqui operis miracula) à veteribus Romanis relictæ, at in Hibernia nullæ, ne quidem nummi Romani, nisi aliundè inventi. Hinc cum Gulielmo Neubrigensi (*Rerum Anglicarum* l. 2, c. 26,) concludimus, *Hiberniam Romanis, etiam Orcadum Insularum dominium tenentibus inaccessam.*

CAP. XXI.

De Cormaco Culinani filio, Rege simul et Episcopo Casseliensi: ubi obiter de aliis qui Reges fuerunt simul et Pontifices, vel Sacerdotes. Deque miro more tonsuræ ab Ædo (dicto Clerico barboso) introducto.

DE Regibus aliquot, qui, regnis renunciatis, vel Monachi Sect. 1. facti fuerunt vel Episcopi, apud Historicos, crebra fit mentio: sic in Hibernia, Cormacus rex Lageniæ, regno suo renunciato, monasticam amplexus est vitam in cænobio Banchorensi, sub S. Congallo. Sic Aidus Niger rex itidem Lageniæ ex rege factus est *Monachus, Abbas et Episcopus Kildariensis,*

Kildariensis, ut Jo. Colganus habet, et obiit 10 Maii anno DCXXXVIII. Atque ita (ut alios hic omittamus) in Anglia, Sigebertus Rex orientalium Saxonum, pompâ regiâ resignatâ, Fursæi Hiberni suasu, monasticam amplexus est vitam, in cœnobio de *Cnobersburg*, hodiè *Burgh Castle*, in Suffolcia. Atqui Cormacus Culinani filius, de quo nunc loquimur, et rex fuit simul et episcopus Casseliensis. Is stemma suum duxit (uti alibi diximus) ab Ængusa Nafrachi filio Casseliensium regum primo, qui Christianam religionem amplexus est. Regnum iniit Cormacus an. Dom. DCCCCI, et (quod mireris) Episcopi etiam munus obivit. Morem eum, apud Hibernos, illo ævo viguisse, scriptores patrii luculenter ostendunt. Speciatim inter Cormaci prædecessores, Olchobarus, qui obiit anno 851, et Cenfeladus, qui anno decessit 872, simul reges fuerunt Casselienses et antistites Imelacenses. At non sine exemplo: nam inter Judæos, Jonathan, Simon et Johannes Hyrcanus, tam Ethnarchiâ, (seu populi principatu) quàm pontificatu, simul gavisi sunt: et qui regiis diadematis inter eos ornati fuerunt, Aristobulus nempe, Alexander Jannæus et alii, uno etiam eodemque tempore, summi fuerunt Pontifices. Si de antiquis ethnicis loquamur, habemus ipsos Imperatores Romanos, Pontifices simul Maximos; inter Reges itidem, Anium regem Deli, de quo Virgilius, *Æneid* 3,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phæbiq; sacerdos.

Et Ovidius, *Metamorph.* 13,

*Hunc Anius, quo Rege homines, Antistite Phæbus
Ritè colebatur, temploque domoque recepit.*

Item *Mercurium Trismegistum sive ter-maximum*, qui (si Alex. ab Alexandro credamus, *Genialium dierum lib.* 2, cap. 8,) inde nomen tulit, quodd philosophus maximus, sacerdos ac rex maximus esset. De hac re, vid. plura apud Platonem in *Politicis*. Sed ad nostra jam redeamus. Meminit Cormaci hujus, Caradocus Lhancarvanensis, in *Chronico suo Cambriæ*, ceu viri pii, sed *Carmotum filium Cukemani regem et episcopum Hiberniæ*, sive is, sive qui Anglicè edidit, perperam appellat.

An. dccccvi Flanus Melsechlini filius rex Hiberniæ, coacto exercitu, in Momoniam irruit, eamque provinciam, ad Limericum (al. Lumniacum) usque, diripuit et vastavit. Cæterum Cormacus, qui tempori cedens, fugâ evaserat, hâc injuriâ irritatus, anno insequente, Midiam cum copiis ingressus, Flantum prælio fudit, eumque ad conditiones quasdam observandas, sibi obsides tradere coëgit iisq; acceptis, Casseliam reversus est. Anno verò dccccviii (al. dccccvii) Flanus, ut cladem nuper acceptam ulcisceretur, pactis et obsidibus traditis non obstantibus, cum Lageniensi et Conatiensi regibus egit, ut conjunctis viribus Momonienses adorirentur, eoque successu, ut maximis copiis instructus, signa adversus Cormacum extulerit: Momoniensium exercitui in loco dicto *Moyalbe*, obviam factus est, ubi Augusti die xvi, post longam et cruentam pugnam, cessit ei victoria, Cormaco rege ibidem occiso. Cæsi etiam cum eo feruntur duces ferè omnes primarii, seu mavis, reguli, inter quos nominatur Fogertachus Kerriensis et Kellachus Ossoriensis. Sic Annales Hibernici. Cæterum Caradocus Lhancarvanensis, Cormacum sub hoc tempore, à Danis in prælio occisum tradit. Memini etiam me legisse in codice quodam MS. bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, eum à bubulco quodam occisum, ad *Beanree* prope Leghlinam, dum ibidem, pro exercitu suo tunc pugnante, ad Deum preces fundens, in genua procumberet. Tanta est de ejus cæde discrepantia. Ego verò non possum non assentiri, tam Annalibus Ultoniensibus, quàm iis cænobii Canonicorum Inis-fallanæ in agro Kerriano, qui à dicto Flani exercitu, victum eum et occisum tradunt. Corpus ejus Casseliam delatum ibidem tumultu conditum est. Vir fuit eruditus et Antiquitatum Hibernicarum scientissimus. Scripsit linguâ suâ patriâ, historiam *Psalter-Cashell* vulgò dictam, quæ etiamnùm extat, et magno habetur in pretio. Excerpta quædam ex dicta Historia, in vetusto habeo codice membraneo, *Psalter-na ran* appellato, ante annos plusquàm 300 exarato, ut ex characteris antiquitate liquet. In eodem codice sunt multa miscellanea de rebus Hibernicis, partim Latinè, partim Hibernicè, collecta per Oengusium *Celide*, inter quæ, catalogum habemus nudum (solùm nimirum nomina) regum Hiberniæ, ab Heremone ad

Brienum filium Cinedi, cognomento *Boro*, de quo suprâ, cap. 4. Notandum hîc coronidis loco, Casseliam sedem fuisse olim præcipuam Regum Momoniæ, et unam è primis Hiberniæ Synodis, à S. S. Patricio, Albeo, et Declano, ibi habitam, tempore Ængusæ Regis, de quo suprâ.

Sect. 2. Liceat his adjicere, utpote rem inusitatam, mirum tonsuræ morem, ab Ædo Hiberno introductum. Is (à barba promissa vulgò *Æd clericus barbosus* dictus) magnam eruditionis et sanctitatis opinionem consecutus fuerat; cæterùm anno 1053, vel 1054, in exilium pulsus est, quòd in schola sua, in qua *clericorum, puellarum et laicorum magnum habuit numerum, Puellas MORE CLERICORUM tonderet*, ut ex Mariano Scoto et Florentio Wigorniensi liquet. Hic animo conceperam ansam arripere describendi varias tonsuræ formulas, à veteribus, tam clericis (sive Presbyteris secularibus) quàm monachis, olim usitatas, earùmque origines, dum alii in vertice, tonsurâ uterentur, in modum coronæ spinæ Domini, formâ sequenti,



alii, in anteriore tantùm capitis parte, rotundâ quidem tonsurâ, sed imperfecto orbe, ab aure ad aurem circumducto; alii, modico circulo in vertice, aliique in toto ferè capite, relictis tamen inferiùs, in modum coronæ, capillis. Cùm verò observârim hæc omnia, aliaque multa ad hanc rem pertinentia, ex intima antiquitate antehac tractata fuisse, ab eruditissimo nuper Archiepiscopo Armachano, in Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitatibus, et à Prospero Stellartio, in libris de Coronis et Tonsuris Paganorum, Judæorum, Christianorum, mihi satis erit hîc subindicâsse. Plurium cupidus petat libros suprâ citatos.

CAP. XXII.

De Hibernorum veterum domiciliis et ædificiis; deque eorum victu, convitiis et musicis instrumentis.

HIBERNIS veteribus nullam fuisse curam condendarum *Sect. 1.* urbium munitarum certò constat. Fuerunt quidem in Hibernia urbes, illæque munitæ, ante Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam, ut Dublinium, Limericum, Waterfordia, Wexfordia et Corcagia, sed ab Ostmannis constructæ. Hic verò agimus duntaxat de Hibernorum veterum domibus, quæ ut neque marmoreæ erant, neque latericiæ, sic (nisi rarissimè) neque specus subterranei, neque antra, ut erant veterum Germanorum, apud Tacitum, in sua Germania, sed cratitiæ et stramine vel arundinibus tectæ, de ligno solido rarò. Hæque fuerunt aut amplæ, aut parvæ, pro habitatoris dignitate, aut qualitate, in sylvis et fluviorum ripis plerumque ædificatæ. Neque aliter erat (ut videtur) apud priscos Cambros. De Penbrochiæ castro, *ex virgis et cespite tenui*, ab Arnulpho de Mountgomery, sub Henrico Primo extracto, vid. Girald. Cambrens. Itin. Camb. lib. 1, cap. 12. Et de ipsis oppidis Britannicis antiquissimis, quidni adjiciamus verba Cæsaris, in Bell. Gall. lib. 5, *Oppidum vocant Britanni, cum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt*. Sed redeo. A tenui hoc et exili ædificandi modo, apud Hibernos veteres, evenit, ut tam pauca vestigia ostendi possint domorum vel castrorum, ab ipsis regibus Hiberniæ extractorum, ante Anglorum ingressum. Hinc cùm Rodericus ô Conner rex Conatiæ castrum lapideum Tuamæ construxisset, an. MCLXI, illud tanquàm novum et inusitatum apud Hibernos *Castri mirifici* nomine, iis temporibus, innotuit. Sed instar omnium erit Temoria, (quam *Taragh* nunc vocamus) in Midia, quæ, ut suprâ diximus, cap. 4, eorum regia erat præcipua, ubi etiam festa regum solennia et comitia, statis temporibus, olim tenebantur; veruntamen nulla hodiè supersunt ibi rudera, nulla vestigia alicujus ædificii antiqui. Hibernorum primus, vel saltem inter primos, qui ædificare cœpit è saxo et cæmento fuit Malachias

O-Morgair Archiepiscopus Armachanus. Qua de re, in vitâ ejus, ita S. Bernardus, ejus æqualis; *Visum est Malachiæ debere construi in Benchor Oratorium lapideum, instar illorum quæ in aliis regionibus extructa conspexerat. Et cùm cæpisset jacere fundamenta, indigenæ quidam mirati sunt, quòd in terra illa, necdum ejusmodi ædificia invenirentur.* Et post pauca, malevolum quendam ita loquentem introducit, *O bone vir; quid tibi visum est nostris hanc inducere regionibus novitatem? Scoti sumus non Galli. Quenam lævitas hæc? Quid opus erat opere tam superfluo, tam superbo? Unde tibi pauperi sumptus ad perficiendum? Quis perfectum videbit? &c.* Ex Bernardo porrò intelligimus Malachiam hunc, oratorium ibi, aliquot annos antea construxisse, *de lignis quidem levigatis, sed aptè firmitérque contextum, opus Scoticum pulchrum satis.* Neque abs re erit hic memorare Henricum secundum regem Angliæ, dum Dublinii esset anno 1171, *fecisse sibi construi juxta Ecclesiam S. Andreæ extra civitatem, Palatium regium, miro artificio, de virgis levigatis, ad modum patriæ illius, extructum, in quo ipse, cum regibus et principibus Hiberniæ, festum solenne tenuit, die Natalis Domini; ut ex Hovedeno intelligimus.*

Sect. 2. Ad victum veterum Hibernorum quod attinet, vulgi victum quotidianum olim valdè tenuem fuisse certum est, plerúmque ex lacte, butyro et herbis; unde Strabonis Epitome Hibernos vocat, *Herbis vescentes.* Ex herbis, utebantur præcipuè trifolio pratensi, nasturtio aquatico, oxale et cochlearia, nostris *Scrubby Grasses*, quam Medicorum nonnulli eandem esse putant cum Plinii *Britannicâ*, de quâ ita ille, *In Germania trans Rhenum: castris à Germanico Cæsare promotis, maritimo tractu fons erat aquæ dulcis, solus qua pota, intra biennium dentes deciderent, compagésque in genibus solverentur. Stomacacem medici vocabant et Sceletyrben ea mala. Reperta auxilio est herba quæ vocatur Britannica, non nervis modò et oris malis salutaris, sed contra anginas quoque et serpentes, &c.* Ad convivium ordinarium quando conveniebant, super juncis vel toris gramineis, scamnorum aut cubilium vice, in orbem considebant, iisque ita considentibus, mensæ lignæ tripedes cibus instructæ, more Gallorum

veterum, apponebantur, pane nempe escarite, vel subcinericio, lactiniis, carnibus et piscibus tam assis quàm elixis: pocillatoribus interim potum in poculis ligneis et corneis interdúmque æneis, circumferentibus. Priscus et peculiaris Hibernorum sicut et Britannorum potus fuit cervisia. Hujus potus meminit Dioscorides, lib. 2, cap. 110, cùm Britannos et Hibernos (quos *Hiberos* ibi vocat) usos dicat pro vino, *Curmi* potu, ex hordeo confecto. Sed *Curmi* perperam ibi legitur pro antiquo verbo Britannico *Cwra*, quod cervisiam significat, uti notat Camdenus. Hibernis porrò olim in usu fuit *Hydromelon*, sive mistura aquæ cum melle (nos hodiè *Mead* dicimus) ut tam è vita S. Berachi, qui claruit Seculo VII, quàm ex Annalibus Ultoniensibus, ad annum 1107, intelligimus. De optima eorum *Aqua vitæ*, sive *Uske-bah*, ut vocant, quæ multò minùs quàm Anglica inflamat, et magis tamen insiccat, non est hic dicendi locus, quia ejus confectio (uti creditur) ad posteriora tempora pertinet.

Transeo ad convivandi tempus: erat id olim plerúmque sub vesperam; unde epulum illud solenne quo regni Ordines, Temoriæ sive Temræ excepit Lægarius Rex Hiberniæ anno Dom. 455, in jam dictus Annalibus appellatur *Cæna Temræ*. Et ab hac cæna, inchoabant Historici (quod mireris) posteriorum administrationis ejus temporum calculum. Idem convivandi tempus observabant olim Cambro-Britanni, id quod colligimus è legibus Regis Hoëlis *Dha*, cap. *De Cæna Regali et ejus mensura*.

Ad prisca Hibernorum Musica instrumenta jam ventum: *Sect. 3.* atque ea *Citharam* fuisse cum chordis æneis, et *Tympanum*, tradit Giraldus Barrius Cambrensis, *Topograph. Hiberniæ*, Distinctione 3, cap. 11, *in quibus eos etiam præ omni natione quam vidit incomparabiliter instructos* asserit. An verò instrumentum illud Musicum Hibernicè *Clairpeach*, Anglicè a *Harp* dictum Antiquorum cithara fuerit, vel lyra, (quamvis Grammaticorum plerique hæc duo instrumenta confundant) inter doctos controvertitur. Venantius Fortunatus, lib. 7, carm. 8, lyram à *Harpá* distinguere videtur,

*Romanusque Lyrá plaudat tibi, Barbarus Harpá,
Græcus Achilliacá, Crotta Britanna canat.*

Nec mira videatur differentia: nam ipsam Antiquorum Lyræ, ab ipsis tam formâ quàm variâ chordarum accessione, mutatam certò constat. Janus Gruterus in Inscriptionibus, p. 38, n. 10, figuram exhibet lyræ antiquæ, Romæ in hortis Cardinalis Cœsii, in manu nempè statuæ Apollinis, visendæ. Item Philippus Cluverius, in Sicilia sua antiqua, p. 93, ectypon ostendit nummi antiqui Græci, cujus una pars exprimit Apollinem *Archagetum*, altera, lyræ ejus, sed à priori paulò diversam. Operæ est pretium fortasse ipsa ectypa tam veteris lyræ Apollinis, quàm hodiernæ Citharæ sive (ut aliis placet) lyræ Hibernicæ subungere, ut lector inde de differentia faciliùs judicet.

Lyra Apollinis,
apud Gruterum.



Lyra Apollinis,
apud Cluverium.



Cithara seu Lyra
Hibernica.



De Orphei Lyra, quam aliqui tetrachordem fuisse contendunt, alii, septichordem, consule Seldenum, in notis ad Marmora Arundeliana, pag. 87.

De lyræ et cytharæ differentia, vide Had. Junii Nomenclatorem. Neque hac occasione prætermittendum propria Hiberniæ Insignia, vel saltem per secula aliquot ei attributa, esse in campocæruleo citharam seu lyram Hibernicam auream, cum chordis argenteis. Cæterùm, si Ulissi Aldrovando credimus, Ornithologiæ lib. 1, antiquiora Hiberniæ Insignia fuerunt, ex una scuti parte aurea, brachium gladio armatum, ex altera, in argenteo campo, Semi-Aquila. Sed hoc obiter. Quàm profunda fuit citharæ antiquitas, è Geneseos cap. iv, docemur, ubi inventio ejus Jubali tribuitur. Item tympani usus vetustissimum est exemplum in Exodi xv. Mitto recentiora instrumenta Musica, post Anglorum ingressum introducta, ut quæ ad nostrum institutum non pertinent.

CAP. XXIII.

De erroribus nonnullis et figmentis veterum aliquorum Scriptorum, de Hibernia agentium; deque aliis scriptorum mediorum temporum.

DE Hiberniæ ornamentis et dotibus specialibus, suprâ compendio diximus, cap. 7. Videamus jam quæ de eâ, à scriptoribus creduntur. Solinus *avem ibi raram* asserit. Porro addit postea, *ibi apes nusquàm, et advectum inde pulverem seu lapillos, si quis sparserit inter alvearia, examina favos deferere. Item mare quod inter eam et Britanniam interfuit, undosum inquietumque, toto in anno, nisi pauculis diebus non esse navigabile.* Cùm tamen avibus et apibus abundet. Et ad mare quod attinet, navigabile esse in ipsa summa hyeme, frequentes navigationes ex Anglia Gallia, Hispania, &c. in Hiberniam, et ex ea, in externas regiones, sufficienter demonstrârunt.

Prima ejus assertio, de avibus et apibus, in eundem errorem duxit Isidorum Hispalensem, qui iisdem ferè utitur verbis. *Illic (de Hibernia loquens) avis rara, apis nulla; adeò, ut advectos inde pulveres, seu lapillos, si quis alibi sparserit inter alvearia, examina favos deserant,* Originum lib. 14, cap. 6.

Item Barthol. Cassanæum, in Catalogo Gloriæ Mundi, part. 12, consid. 57, *Ibi (ait) arvis rara. ac apis nulla.* Neque defuerunt, qui Solinum sequuti sunt, in secunda sua assertione, de æstu maris Hibernici, interque eos Cornelius à Judæis Geographus. Veniamus jam ad climatis dispositionem. Strabo, qui sub Tiberio Cæsare floruit, Geographiæ lib. 2, ex versione Gulielmi Xylandri, ita loquitur, *Extrema navigatio à Celtica versus septentrionem, nostra ætate, dicitur esse in Hiberniam: (Iënnen vocat) quæ ultra Britanniam sita, ægrè ob frigus incolitur, ita ut quæ ulterius sunt, habitari non posse existimentur.* Deinde, Pomponius Mela, qui sub Claudio vixit, Cosmographiæ lib. 3, *cælum Hiberniæ ad maturanda semina iniquum* esse asserit. Speciatim ita Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographiæ Hiberniæ distinct. 1, cap. 4, *multam ait fruges in herba, plurimam in culmis, minorem in granis, spem promittunt. Tritici namque grana contracta sunt et minuta, et vix alicujus vanni beneficio purganda.*

Audiamus etiam quid è contra scripserunt aliqui è veteribus, Ita igitur Orosius, *Hæc (Hibernia scil.) propior Britannicæ, spatio terrarum angustior, sed cæli *solisque temperie magis utilis, Scotorum Gentibus colitur.* Item Isidorus, loco suprâ citato, *Scotia eadem et Hibernia, proxima Britannicæ Insula spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior.* Et Beda, lib. 1, cap. 1, *Hiberniam tam aëris salubritate quàm serenitate, multum Britannicæ præstare,* asserit. Cæterum (ut quod sentio dicam) si hæc comparationes ad australem Britannicæ partem, quam Angliam dicimus, referantur, sunt prorsus rejiciendæ: non negandum tamen Hiberniam, aëris esse adeò temperati, ut prata ibi et campos, in summâ hieme virere videamus, et ad pascua pecudes quotidie duci, nisi quod rarò accidit, nix biduana vel triduana impediat; locis præterea uliginosis et palustribus *culturâ siccatis*, (quod de regione circa Philippos scribit Plinius) *emendatam aëris temperiem.* Ad tritici grana quod attinet, non contracta sunt vel minuta universim, ut Giraldus Cambrensis ejusque sequaces habent; nam rarò in vicinis Hiberniæ regionibus, seu majora, seu graviora, quàm in plurimis partibus Hiberniæ inveniri possunt.

*Solique meliùs.

Neque audiendus est Raphael Maffæus Volaterranus, qui Commentariorum Urbanorum lib. 3, de Hibernia loquens, *Tellus* (inquit) *nihil omnino fert, præter frumentum et equos præstantissimos quos Ubinos (Hobinos) vocant, &c.* Corrigendus est itidem error Ranulphi Higdeni, qui in Polychron. lib. 1, cap. 32, asserit ibi *deesse Perdices, Phasianos, Damas et Hericios; Hiberniam etiam* (quod è jam dicto Giraldo et Johanne Bromtono addit) *ab austro in boream extensam, à Brandaniciis scil. montibus usque ad *Columbinam Insulam continere octo dierum dietas, quarum quælibet 40 milliurum existit, et à Dublinio usque ad Patricii colles Connacticumque mare, in latum quatuor dierum excursus tenere.* Sed de Hiberniæ Dimensione, vid. quæ suprâ diximus cap. III. Porro multa hic observari possent fabulosa, quæ de Hibernia accumulavit Giraldus Cambrensis, in Topograph. Hiberniæ; sed aliis ea discutienda relinquimus, siquidem exacta eorum discussio justum requirit tractatum. Admonendus est interim lector Topographiam eam cautè legendam, id quod ipse Giraldus quodammodò fatetur, in Apologia quam habemus in prima sua præfatione in librum Expugnationis Hibernicæ cùm ob fabulosa, jam dictæ Topographiæ inserta, insimularetur; cui hanc etiam admonitionem, è Retractionum suarum tractatu, hic adjicere visum, *De Topographia Hibernica, labore sci. nostro primævo ferè nec ignobili, ubi multa nova, aliisque regionibus prorsus incognita (ideoque magis admiranda) scribuntur, hoc pro certo sciendum; quod quorundam, quinimò et quàm plurium perdiligentem et certam indagacionem, à magnis terræ illius et authenticis viris notitiam eliciimus; de cæterisque, totius terræ famam potiùs secuti fuimus. De quibus omnibus, cum Augustino sentimus: qui in libro de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ solum fama celebrat, nec certâ veritate fulciuntur, loquens, nec ea affirmando plurimum, nec prorsus abneganda decrevit. Sic ipse Giraldus. Atqui non possum non mirari viros aliquos hujus seculi, alioqui graves et doctos, figmenta ea Giraldi, mundo iterùm pro veris, obtrusisse. Plurima addi possent ex aliis authoribus, quæ aliorum etiam industriis relinquimus.*

* al. Torre.

CAP. XXIV.

De Ostmannis, sive Danis et Norwegis; deque eorum rebus gestis in Hibernia, ab anno Christi DCCXCV, usque ad Anglorum ingressum, sub Henrico II, sc. per quatuor ferme annorum centurias.

OSTMANNOS magnam Hiberniæ partem olim subjugasse, et post plurima prælia cum Hibernis, variante successu, per multos annos, acriter commissa, præcipuas ibi urbes maritimas, ad Anglorum usque adventum in Hiberniam occupasse certò constat. De eorum nomine et regione unde venerunt, ita eruditissimus Jacobus Usserius nuper Archiepiscopus Armachanus, in sua veterum Epist. Hibernicarum recensione; *Livonia ad eorum maris Baltici litus porrecta, in tres partes, locis et linguis distinctas, Estiam, Lettiam et Curlandiam distribuitur: Estiæ sive (ut Crantzius appellat) Estoniæ provinciam ii incoluisse videntur, qui à veteribus Græcis, Ostiæi et Ostiones, à Tacito in Germania sua, Æstii, ab Eginhardo in Caroli Magni vita, Aisti, à Saxone Grammatico, Estones, à nostris, Ostmanni appellantur. Ad Ostmannos Hiberniæ quod attinet, hi aliis nominibus vocabantur etiam Dani, Norwegi, et Normanni, quod et mediis temporibus (verba sunt iterùm jam dicti Usserii) omnibus Daniæ, Norwagiæ, Livoniæ et reliquarum Borealium gentium commune nomen fuisse docti nôrunt. Ut omittam quod à Scriptore vitæ Griffithi filii Conani est traditum, unum è tribus illis fratribus qui in Hiberniam venerunt, cum Norwagiensibus suis in Galliam concessisse, et Francis devictis, sedes in Normanniâ fixisse. Hunc Rodulphum ille vocat, quem alii Rollonem; à quo Gulielmus et alii Normanni qui in Anglia regnaverunt, genus deducunt suum.*

Danos et Normannos, vel Ostmannos anno Christi DCCXCV, Hibernica et Albanica litora primùm infestasse et speciatim Recran Insulam spoliasse produnt Annales Hibernici. Sub eodem tempore vel paulò seriùs S. Findanum, Principis Lage-

niæ filium, à Danis captivum ductum, sed mirabili modo elapsam, tradit in vita ejus, anonymus Hibernus, (qui et ejus socius) à Melchior Goldasto editus, Tom. 1 Rerum Alamanicarum, pag. 318. Meminit illarum deprædationum Normannicarum, Dicuil Hibernus, qui tum vixit, in libro *de mensura Provinciarum Orbis terræ, secundum illorum auctoritatem* (ut ipse loquitur) *quos S. Theodosius Imperator ad Provincias prædictas mensurandas miserat.* Sic enim ille, *Circum nostram Insulam Hiberniam, sunt insulæ, sed aliæ parvæ, atque aliæ minimæ.* Et post pauca, *Sed sicut à principio mundi desertæ semper fuerunt, ita nunc causâ latronum Nortmannorum vacuæ Anachoritis, &c.* Triennio postea, anno nempe DCCCXVIII, Normanni iterum Ultoniam, et Hebrides piraticâ infestârunt. Siquidem *antiquitus* apud Danos (ut habet Olaus Wormius) *Piratica honesta ac licita erat, atque in ea se crebrò reges ipsi, aut eorum liberi exercebant, ascitis famosioribus et fortissimis athleticis.* Sed missis hisce Danorum piraticis, veniamus jam ad copias quas in Hiberniam miserunt, ad eam subjugandam, et, secundum temporum seriem, ad alia eorum acta ibidem, ad Anglorum usque ingressum.

Anno 807, Dani et Norwegi in Hiberniam appulerunt, et Roscomaniam, regionemque adjacentem ferro flammâque vastârunt. Eodem tempore Cellacus Abbas cœnobii S. Columbæ Huensis, multis è suis, Norwegorum crudelitate, interfectis, in Hiberniam profugit, et Kenanusæ, alias Kenlisæ in Midia, monasterium in honorem S. Columbæ sive condidit, sive restauravit. Cùm verò annos circiter 7 ibi præfuisset Abbas, Dermotio quodam in dicto cœnobio Abbate relicto, in Jonam sive insulam Huensem reversus est, ubi, post annum unum vel alterum, mortem obiit. Nescio an in laniena prædicta, vel posteriore aliqua, trucidatus fuerit Blaithtacus reguli Hibernici filius. Eum, sub his temporibus, à Danis sive Norwegis ethnicis in Jona insula cæsum, ex vita ejus, à Wal-lafrido Strabone carmine descripta, liquet. Omitto hic commenta Saxonis Grammatici, qui (more suo) Fridelithum, Frothonem 3, et Haconem, Danos, multis annorum centuriis, ante hæc tempora, Hiberniam infestâsse fingit.

Anno 812, *Classis Normannorum Hiberniam insulam*
 99 *aggressa,*

aggressa, (inquit Rhegino in Chronico) commissoque cum Scotis prælio, multi ex iis interfecti, cæteri fugâ lapsi sunt. Et, ad eundem annum, Hermannus Contractus, Classis Danorum Hiberniam invadens, à Scotis victa est. Item Historici Hibernici Danos sub eodem tempore duobus præliis ab Hibernis profligatos asserunt.

Circa annum 815, aliis 818, Turgesius, Norwegus Hiberniam primùm invasit.

Anno 835, Norwegi, majoribus instructi copiis, magnâ classe appulerunt, sub ductu Turgesii, et Conatiam fermè universam, unâ cum quibusdam Lageniæ et Midiæ partibus, devastârunt. Intra triennium deinde postea, non parvâ Ultoniæ parte subjugatâ, ubique fermè templa demoliti sunt, et in Christianæ religionis professores (cujus tunc hostes erant) magnâ crudelitate grassati. Qua de re, vid. Jocel. Furnesens. in vitâ S. Patricii, cap. 175. Speciatim Turgesium Armacham occupâsse et inde Farananum Archiepiscopum loci expulisse, unâ cum omnibus religiosis et studiosis tradunt Historici Hibernici. Asserit porrò Colganus (in Triade Thaumaturga) ex Annalibus 4 Magistrorum, Anno 838, *classe sexaginta navium Nortmannos ingressos esse ostia Bori fluminis, et aliâ 60 navium, ostia Liffii flu. in Lagenia.* A Turgesio (quòd obiter adnoto) multa fossatorum illorum rotundorum, sive militarium vallorum, vulgò *Danes Rathes* dictorum, facta dicuntur, quæ in plurimis Hiberniæ regionibus, etianmùm supersunt. Atque talia fortassè fuerunt castella Brigantum veterum, de quibus ita Juvenalis, Satyr. 14,

Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum.

Sunt porrò qui credunt Danos et Norwegos extruxisse multos è collibus illis rotundis quos sine fossis, passim in Hibernia cernimus, quasi sepulchra magnatibus et ducibus suis. Eundem morem in Dania olim viguisse, ex supradicto Olao Wormio liquet, in libro de Danicis Monumentis, Hafniæ edito, Anno MDCXLIII. Speciatim (in Hibernia) è tali colle in orientali suburbio civitatis Dublinii, prope Collegium S. Trinitatis, effossum est anno MDCXLVI monumentum quod ossa hominis

combusta textit : opus uti creditur Ostmannicum, de quo fusiùs postea.

An Saxa illa ingentia et rudia quæ in planitie non longè à Naasa in agro Kildariensi et alibi visuntur, (victoriarum putà monumenta) à Danis erecta fuerint, non possum pro certo affirmare. Sed ut ad nostrum institutum revertamur.

Anno 845, Norwegi diripuerunt et incenderunt Clonmacnoisam, Clonfertam, Loghram, et Tirdaglassam. Porro circa eundem annum, Turgesius Melachlini seu Melsechlini Regis Midiæ filiam deperiisse fertur : *Atqui Rex ille* (Giraldum Cambrensem audis) *virus sub pectore versans, filiam suam illi concedens, ad insulam quandam Mediæ, scil. de Loch-vair, illam cum 15 puellis egregiis ei missurum se spondit. Quibus et Turgesius gavisus, cum totidem nobilioribus gentis suæ, statuto die et loco, obviam venit, et invenit in Insula 15 adolescentes imberbes, animosos, et ad hoc electos, sub habitu puellari, dolum palliantes, cultellis, quos occultè secum attulerunt. Statim inter amplexus, Turgesius cum suis occubuit.* Sic ille, Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct. 3, cap. 4. Cæterùm author Annalium Ultoniensium, de dolo eo tacens, Turgesium à Melachlino rege captum fuisse et in dicto lacu submersum, tradit. *Famâ tùm pernicibus alis* (sic iterùm Cambrensis, cap. 41,) *totam statim insulam pervolante, et rei eventum, ut assolet divulgante, Norwegienses ubique truncantur, et in brevi, omnes omninò, seu vi, seu dolo, vel morti traduntur, vel iterùm Norwegiam et insulas unde venerant, navigio adire compelluntur.* Deinde cap. 42, *Quæsiverat autem à Turgesio prædictus Midensium rex, et in dolo (nequitia jam animo concepta) quonam tenore vel arte, aves quædam in regnum nuper advectæ, terræ toti patriæque pestiferæ, destrui possent et deleri. Cùmque responsum accepisset, nidos eorum ubique destruendos, si jam fortè nidificassent, (de castellis Norwegiensium hoc interpretantes) mortuo Turgesio, in eorum destructione Hibernienses per totam Insulam, unanimiter insurrexerunt. Annos igitur circiter 30 Norwegiensium pompa et Turgesii tyrannis in Hibernia perduravit, et deinde gens Hibernica servitute depulsâ, et pristinam libertatem recuperavit, et ad regni gubernacula denuò successit.* Hactenùs Giraldus. Hibernos quidem

hoc tempore Norwegorum vires multum fregisse certum est. Attamen auxiliares copiae, novis è Dania et Norwegia classibus, indies confluentes Hiberniam per plurimos postea annos, gravissimè affligerunt, ut infra patebit.

Anno 848, Prælium inter Melachlinum (de quo supra) tum regem Hiberniæ et Danos Fouræ commissum est, in quo 700 Danis occisis, victoria Melachlino cessit. In prælio itidem *ad Scia-naght*, ab Olcobarò rege Casseliæ (quem Abbatem etiam Imelacensem appellat Liber meus cænobii Inisfallensis) et Lorcano filio Kellachi, rege (ni fallor) Lageniæ, cæsi sunt è Danis 1200, ac in duabus aliis pugnis, ante finem anni, ceciderunt circiter 1700. Ita hic annus Danis in Hibernia fuit luctuosissimus, unde Melachlinus Rex ob partas victorias, ad Carolum Calvum Francorum Regem *pacis et amicitiae gratiâ, legatos cum muneribus misit, viam sibi petendi Romam concedi deposcens*. Sic Chronic. Norman.

Anno 849, auxiliares copiae, è Dania et Norwegia 140 navibus, in Hiberniam appellentes, bellum, magno Hibernorum damno, redintegrârunt.

Anno 850, Melachlinus rex, jam bello civili implicatus, pace, ad tempus, Danis stabilitâ, eorum auxilio, hostes magnâ strage profligavit.

Ante annum 851, Danos, Dublinio et regiuncula vicina quam Fingalliam vocamus, potitos esse, ex Historicis Hibernicis liquet. Inter hos et alios ejusdem gentis, hoc anno, atrox commissum est prælium, in quo Dani Dublinienses profligati sunt, et Dublinium à victoribus direptum. Atqui fugâ non pauci elapsi, in patriam confugerunt, unde anno insequente, auxiliariis copiis reversi, hostibus victis, Dublinium recuperârunt et restaurârunt. Danos sive Ostmannos Dublinienses intelligit proculdubiò vitæ S. Coëmgeni sive Keivini scriptor, cùm de Dublinio et ejus civibus ita loquatur, *Civitas Ath-cliaht est in aquilonali Laginiensium plaga, super fretum maris posita; et id Scoticè dicitur Dub-lein, quod sonat Latine nigra therma: et ipsa civitas potens et belligera est, in qua semper habitant viri asperrimi in præliis, et peritissimi in classibus*.

Anno 852, Armacha, ipso Paschatis die, à Danis devastata est. Ac paulò post, Dermitius loci Episcopus, quem Annales

Hibernici *Sapientissimum omnium Doctorum Europæ* appellant, sive mœrore, sive morbo, extinctus est.

Anno 853, Amlavus aliis Amelaus magnâ Danorum et Norwegorum classe, hûc appulit, eique omnes Dani, in Hibernia tum degentes, se submiserunt. Hic Amelaus (opinor) ille fuit, et hæc Norwegorum ea classis, de quibus hæc habet Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hiberniæ l. 3, c. 43, *Non multo verò post tempore* (post mortem sci. Turgesii) *iterum de Norwagiæ et insularum Borealium partibus, quasi de reliquiis gentis prioris, et quia vel occulata fide, vel parentum relatione, terram optimam noverant, non in bellica classe, sed sub pacis obtentu, et quasi mercaturæ exercendæ prætextu, in insulam quidam advenerunt, qui et maritimos Hiberniæ portus, statim occupantes, tandem de assensu principum terræ, civitates in ipsis varias construxerunt. Quoniam enim innatæ ociositatis vitio, gens Hibernica, ut diximus, nec maria lustrare, nec mercaturæ indulgere aliquatenus voluerat, de communi totius regni consilio, perutile videbatur, ut gens aliqua, cujus operâ, aliarum regionum commercia, quibus hæc terra caruerat, hûc advehi possent, in aliquibus regni partibus admitterentur. Fuerunt autem Duces eorum tres fratres, Amelaus sci. Sytarachus, et Yvorus. Constructis itaque primò civitatibus tribus; Dublinia, Guaterfordia, Limerico; Dubliniæ principatus cessit Amelao, Guaterfordiæ, Sytaraco, Limerici, Yvoro; et ex iis paulatim ad alias Hiberniæ civitates construendas processu temporis, sunt derivati. Gens igitur hæc quæ nunc Ostmannica gens vocatur, inprimis, istius regibus satis tractabiles fuerunt et pacifici: sed ex quo in immensum, generis numerositate jam excreverant, et civitates fossatis et muris optimè cinxerant; antiquas inimicitias altâ mente repositas, nonnunquàm renovare, et acriter rebellare solebant. Dicti sunt autem Ostmanni, linguâ ipsorum, corrupto quodam Saxonico, quasi Orientales homines: respectu namque terræ istius, ab Orientalibus hûc partibus undecunque advecti sunt. Ita Giraldus; è quo eadem hausisse videtur Ranulphus Monachus Cestriensis, in Polychronico. Cæterum, ut de hac narratione, quod sentio dicam, constabit (opinor) Ostmannos sedes eas maritimas, non mercaturæ prætextu,*

nec Hibernorum assensu, sed vi et armis obtinuisse, si consideremus quantâ immanitate, à primo eorum ingressu, imò hoc ipso tempore, de quo nunc loquimur, et diù postea, per Hiberniam grassabantur. Certè ex optimis Historicis liquet Amlavum hunc, post prælium unum aut alterum, prospero contra Hibernos eventu, tanto fuisse iis terrori, ut annuo quodam tributo, pacem, ad tempus redimere coacti fuerint.

Anno 856, inter Melachlinum regem et Danos atrox ortum est bellum, quo multi utrinque ceciderunt.

Anno 857, Cathaldus *Albus*, dum res novas moliretur, ab Amlavo et Ivaro, prælio profligatus est in Momonia.

Anno 859, Amlavus et Ivarus cum magno exercitu in Midiam profecti sunt. De successu, tacent Annales Hibernici; sub eo verò tempore (ut videtur) induciæ inter Melachlinum et Danos sunt pactæ.

Anno 862, defuncto Melachlino rege Hiberniæ, Lorcanus, filius Cathaldi et Cornelius filius Dermitii, regnum Midie inter se partiti sunt. Iis verò ab Edano cognomento *Finliat*, Danorum auxilio, postea captis, Edanus Rex Hiberniæ salutat est. Lorcanum ab Edano tunc oculis orbatum, et Cornelium, ab Amlavo, Clonardæ submersum ferunt.

Anno 869, Amlavus Armacham diripuit, et incendit, postquam mille homines ibi prælio interfecisset.

Anno 870, Amlavus et Ivarus, cum classe 200 navium in Britanniam solverunt, in auxilium Hinguari et Hubbæ Danorum. De quibus Florilegum petas et alios rerum Anglicarum scriptores. Anno sequenti, cum ingenti præda, multisque captivis, Dublinium reversi sunt. Sed brevi postea Amlavus naturæ cessit.

Anno 871, Ailillus Rex Lageniæ à Danis occisus est.

Anno 872, fato functus est Ivarus, quem Annales Hibernici *regem Normannorum totius Hiberniæ* appellant.

Anno 875, Ostinus Amlavi filius, postquam Pictos magna strage profligaverat, Danorum sive Ostmannorum dolo, occisus est. Tùmque imperium suscepisse videtur Godfridus Ivari filius.

Anno 888, atrox prælium inter Flanum regem Hiberniæ et Danos commissum est, quo multi utrinque ceciderunt, et

inter alios ex parte Flani, Edanus filius Cornelii rex Conatiæ cæsus est. Paulò postea, Godfridus filius Ivary Danorum princeps, per Sitrici fratris sui malas artes, interemptus est.

Anno 892, simulas inter Sitricum filium Ivary, et Galfridum quendam *Merlum* cognominatum, tunc temporis virum magni nominis apud Dublinienses, eo usque in apertam inimitiam erupit, ut inter eos, urbs quasi divisa fuerit, dum una pars Sitricum, altera, Galfridum sequeretur.

Anno 895, Ostmanni Dublinienses in Ultoniam profecti Armacham diripuerunt.

Anno 896, Sitricus filius Ivary, qui fratrem (uti diximus) occiderat, poenâ licet claudâ reum assequente, à suis occisus est. Prælium inter Amlavum filium Ivary et Ultonienses, in Tirconalia, commissum est, in quo Amlavus victus est et occisus.

Anno 902, Dani novâ classe appellentes, à Lageniensibus prope Dublinium, magnâ strage profligantur.

Anno 914, acris pugna navalis prope Manniam Insulam, inter Barredum et Reginaldum *O-Hivar* Danos, commissum est, in quâ Reginaldus, Barredo et suis occisis, victoriam reportavit.

Anno 915, Dani magnâ classe appellentes Momoniæ partem devastant.

Anno 916, Dani sive Ostmanni, in Momonia, præliis aliquot superati sunt : cæterum in Lagenia, meliori successu pugnârunt. Nam, sub ductu Sitrici, Angarrus, filius Aililli, rex Lageniæ prælio occisus est, et cum eo ceciderunt multi Lageniæ proceres. Sub eodem tempore, Dani sive Ostmanni Dubliniæ Monam, sive Angleseiam in Cambria vastârunt, ut è Caradoco Lhancarvanensi intelligimus.

Anno 918. Dani Momoniæ Albaniam, hodiè Scotiam, infestârunt.

Anno 919, prælium atrox inter Nellum *Glundub* Regem Hiberniæ et Ostmannos commissum est Septembris 15, prope Dublinium, quo rex ipse, unâ cum multis proceribus, periit. Nello occiso, imperium suscepit Donatus, Flani filius, qui, anno sequenti, Ostmannos magnâ strage profligavit.

Anno 921, Reginaldo regulo Ostmannorum Dublinii defuncto

functo, successit Godfridus, qui eodem anno, contracto exercitu, in Ultoniam profectus est, ubi mense Novembr, Armacham diripuit.

Anno 924, Godfridus in expeditione Limericum versùs, magnam exercitus sui partem amisit.

Anno 926, Godfridus copias in Ultoniam misit, sub ductu Aulafi filii sui, qui ab Ultoniensibus, bis in fugam coniectus, ægrè tandem à patre, qui eum, novis è Dublinio auxiliis secutus est, liberatus.

Anno 934, Godfridus obiit, ob crudelitatem infamis, successit filius Aulafus, aliàs Aulavus, idem opinor cum Anlapho illo qui in prælio ad *Bruneburgum* in Northumbria, ab Athelstano, Anglorum rege victus est, anno 937. De quo vid. Ingulph. et Hen. Huntindon.

Anno 941, Aulafus morte repentinâ sublatus interit. Hunc Caradocus Lhancarvanensis Abloicum præcipuum Hiberniæ regem appellat, et obiisse asserit anno 939. Liber Marganensis an. habet 940.

Anno 942, Dunum, Clonarda et Kildara, regionésque adjacentes variis Ostmannorum exercitibus, vastantur.

Anno 943, Dani in Lecalia degentes, sedibus suis, ab Ultoniensibus ejiciuntur; eodem verò anno Murtachum Ailechæ regulum; prælio interficiunt 26 Febr. et die sequenti, Armacham diripiunt.

Anno 944, Donato rege Hiberniæ morte repentina sublato. Congelachus filius Mælmithi imperium suscepit, qui eodem anno Brienni regis Lageniæ auxilio, Dublinium vi cepit et diripuit, Ostmannis ibidem partim occisis, partim in fugam conversis.

Anno 945, Blacarus Ostmannus, Aulafi frater, copiis auxiliariis, Dublinium recuperavit et restauravit.

Anno 946, Ostmanni Dublinienses, ut cladem nuper acceptam ulciscerentur, hoc anno non parvam Midiæ partem devastârunt.

Anno 947, Ostmanni Dublinienses à Congelacho rege, prælio profligantur.

Anno 948, bellum redintegrârunt Dublinienses, sed à Congelacho rege iterum superati sunt, ipso Blacaro rege, et è suis

fermè 1600 in prælio occisis. Blacaro successit Godfridus, Sitrici filius. Circa hæc tempora *Ostmanni* Hibernici ad religionem Christianam conversi sunt. Neque desunt qui, hoc ipso anno, Ostmannos cœnobium B. Mariæ Virginis juxta Dublin. Monachis Benedictinis posuisse tradunt, quamvis alii, diù antea fundatum asserunt, à Melachlino al. Malachia rege Hiberniæ (qui obiit 862) Gillemoholmoc nescio quo et Roisia uxore ejus, et alii, à Donaldo Gillemoholmoc. Ut ut fuerit, monachos ibidem *Ordinis Cistertiensis institutionibus se submisisse* anno 1139 *imitantes patrem suum Abbatem Saviniacensem* docent ejusdem cœnobii Annales. Jacobum Abbatem primum obiisse 5 nonas Martii prodit loci codex antiquus MS. penes Rogerum Twysdenum equ. et Baronettum. De anno silet, sed Everardum Abbatem quartum obiisse tradit 4 Idus Aprilis 1131, quæ si vera sint, vel plerique eorum *Macrobiani* fuerunt, vel cœnobium diù Abbate fuit viduatum.

Anno 950, Ostmanni Dublinienses Slanam in Midia diripuerunt et incendio deformârunt. Eo incendio, Cinaum virum doctum et loci Prælectorem, multosque alios in Ecclesia congregatos periisse ferunt. Cæterum anno sequenti, postquam magnam Midia partem, sub ductu Godfridi devastâssent, ingenti præda onusti, in reditu Dublinium versus, ab Hibernis intercepti sunt et magnâ strage profligati.

Anno 956, prælium atrox inter Congelachum regem Hiberniæ, et Ostmannos Dublinienses, ad *Tiguiran*, in Lagenia, commissum est, ubi Congelachus fusus est et occisus. Eo cæso, Hibernorum imperium arripuit Donaldus Nellus.

Anno 959, Aulafus Dublinii regulus à Caradoco Lhancarvanensi, *Abloicus rex Hiberniæ* appellatus, Promontorium sacrum (quod nos *Holy-head*, incolæ *Caer-gubi* vocant) in Mona sive Angleseia insula, deinde regiunculam Lhinnensem, classe sua diripuit. Atqui liber Marganæ sive lib. *Hergesti* hanc deprædationem ascribit *Abloici filiis*.

Anno 962, mortem obiit Godfridus Ostmannus, Aulafi filius. Circa hæc tempora (ut videtur) Eadgarus, Rex Angliæ, magnam Hiberniæ partem subegit, et speciatim Dublinium urbem. Qua de re, vid. quæ suprâ dicta sunt cap. 4, ex præfatione Chartæ Eadgari.

Anno 970, pugna Kilmonæ commissa est, inter Donaldum regem Hiberniæ et Donaldum Congelachi filium, Aulafi Ostmanni copiis adjutum. In eo prælio multi utrinque ceciderunt; sed plures ex parte Donaldi regis.

Anno 977, Aulafus Sitrici filius prælio vicit et interfecit Murtachum et Congelachum, Donaldi regis filios.

Anno 980, Donaldo regi defuncto successit Melachlinus, aliàs Malachias filius ejus, qui eodem anno, Temoriæ, prælio memorabili, Ostmannorum vires fregit et quodammodò pessumdedit: nam in eo prælio, præter millia aliquot militum gregariorum, primarii Ostmannorum duces ferinè omnes cæsi sunt, inter quos numeratur Reginaldus, Aulafi filius; ob cujus interitum et maximam eam Ostmannorum cladem, Aulafus ipse, anno insequente, peregrinatione ad insulam Huensem susceptâ, ibidem (ut ex Annalibus cœnobii Insulæ omnium Sanctorum in occiduo limite agri Longfordiensis intelligimus,) pœnitentiâ peractâ, vi mœroris obiit. Successit ei filius Gluniarandus. Pugnâ Temoriensi finitâ, Melachlinus in Fingalliam, ditionis Ostmannicæ regiunculam profectus, eam igne et ferro devastavit, eodemque tempore Hibernos omnes, quos Ostmanni captivos tenuerunt, in libertatem asseruisse fertur. Cæterùm pace tandem inter Melachlinum regem et Ostmannos Dublinii certis conditionibus factâ, ii, ut priorem jacturam, aliquo modo, resarcire viderentur, auxiliaribus copiis contractis, in Brieni, filii Murchardi, Regis Lageniæ territoria irruerunt, quæ dum Brienus tueri conaretur, ipse, ab iis captus est et paulò pòst occisus.

Anno 983, Melachlinus Rex, ab Ostmannis Dubliniensibus adjutus, Donaldum *Clæn* Lorcani filium regem Lageniæ, prælio fudit. In ea pugna, inter alios melioris notæ, cecidit Patricius Ivarei reguli Waterfordiensis filius.

Anno 989, Gluniarandus, al. Glumainus, Aulafi filius rex Ostmannorum Dublinii, à famulo suo interemptus est. Successit frater ejus Sitricus. Circa idem tempus, Elirmannum, filium Abloici, occisum asserit Caradocus Lhancarvanensis, quem regem Hiberniæ appellat: et nomine et titulo deceptus. Eodem anno Godfridus Haraldi filius Hebridum insularum regulus à Dalriadinis occisus est; cui successit filius Reginaldus.

Anno 994, Sitricus Aulafi filius, ab Ostmannis Dublinii, in exilium pulsus, ante annum circumactum revocatus est, regnóque restitutus.

Anno 999, Marianus aliàs Mælmurrius Murchardi filius à jam dicto Sitrico adjutus Lageniæ regnum obtinuit, Donato prædecessore ejus in prælio capto et abdicare coacto. Ante finem ejusdem anni Brienus Borous rex Momoniæ Ostmannos Dublinienses in prælio ad *Glenananin* fudit, ac Dublinium vi cepit et diripuit.

Anno 1000, Ostmanni (obsidibus Brieno traditis) Dublinium restaurârunt et firmârunt. Eodem anno, Ivarus Ostmannorum Waterfordiæ regulus obiit, successit ei filius Reginaldus.

Anno 1013, Lagenia, primùm à Murchardo filio Brieni Boroi tum regis Hiberniæ, deinde à Brieno ipso, ad muros, usque Dublinii, miserè direpta est: Lageniensibus interim et Ostmannis, pace inter se factâ, conjunctis copiis, se suaque frustrâ tueri nitentibus.

Sub initium anni 1014, vel paulò ante, Brienus Borous rex cum plurimis Hiberniæ regulis egit, ut conjunctis viribus, Sitricum, omnesque Ostmannos Dublinii, utpote publicos regni hostes, ex Hibernia expellere conarentur. Sitricus contrà, certior factus, quid Brienus moliebatur, nullum non movit lapidem, ut se suosque propugnaret: pace igitur (ut antea diximus) cum Mælmurrio Murchardi filio rege Lageniæ facta, suppetias, tam ab eo, quàm à Danis, sive Norwegis, qui Manniam et Hebrides, (Hibernis *Inche-gall*) incolebant, obtinuit. Magnis copiis sic utrinque coactis, concurritur tandem Clontarfæ prope Dublinium, Aprilis 23, ubi post longam acerrimamque pugnam, victoria (sic plerique habent) cessit Brieno qui tamen ex vulnere, quod in prælio acceperat, mortifero, mox expiravit. Sunt contrà qui asserunt Danos sive Ostmannos, cùm eorum acies nutare cœperit, Brieno occiso, redintegratis viribus, in Hibernos irruisse, eosque magna strage profligasse. Qui hanc sententiam tenent, addunt etiam Brieni temeritatem magno fuisse Danis commodo: ille enim (ut fertur) auxilia cum filio ejus Donato intra triduum ventura, non præstolans, ne priorum actorum gloriam obscurare videretur,

retur, cum hostibus congredi facilè persuasus est, id quod sibi suisque postea fuit exitio. In exercitu suo, Melachlinum porro habuit, tunc Midiae, antea Hiberniae regem, qui in praelio, ob priores injurias, alienati in eum animi indicia dedisse fertur. Cum Brieno ceciderunt, filius ejus Murchardus et Murchardi filius Tirdelvacus, magnus etiam procerum numerus, et caeterorum 7000, vel ut aliqui habent, 11000. Ex Danis sive Ostmannis et Lageniensibus, plurimi etiam perierunt, sed numerus incertus est. Inter eos primarii numerantur Dubgallus Aulafi filius, Bruodarus classis Danicae praefectus, qui Brienum occiderat, Maelmurrius rex Lageniae, Donaldus dux Fortuallensium, et alii quos praetereo. Sunt qui tradunt cadavera Brieni et filii ejus Murchardi, necnon Donati O-Kelli, Doulani O-Hartegan, et Gille-Barmedi, ad *Kill-mainan*, villam unico milliari à Dublinio distantem, juxta antiquam crucem lapideam, ab Hibernis sepulta esse. Alii verò asserunt corpora Brieni et Murchardi filii, Swordam, (villa est ad 6 à Dublinio lapidem) delata, inde à Maelmurrio, Eochae filio, Archiepiscopo Armachano, (quem Annales Hibernici S. Patricii *Comorbanum* appellant) Clero comitante, Armacham deportata, in ecclesia Cathedrali ibidem, cui benefactor fuerat Brienus, fuisse condita. Praelio finito, Sitricus, cum Ostmannorum reliquiis, Dublinium se recepit, ac Melachlinus rex Midiae, à popularibus, rex maximus Hiberniae denuò declaratus est.

Anno 1018, jam dictus Melachlinus copias Lagenienses Ostmannicas, in praelio ad *Fodvay*, fudit.

Anno 1019, Brienus, Maelmurrii filius, rex Lageniae oculis orbatus est Dublinii, à Sitrico rege.

Anno 1020, Reginaldus, Ivary filius, regulus Ostmannorum, Waterfordiae improles obiit. Successit ei Sitricus frater.

Anno 1022, Ugairus rex Lageniae in conflictu ad *Delgne*, Sitricum regem Dublinii fugavit.

Anno 1023, Sitricus Ostmannorum Waterfordiae regulus, ab Ossoriensibus, occisus est. Successit ei Reginaldus *O-Hivar*.

Anno 1029, Sitricus rex Ostmannorum Dublinii, peregrinatione Romam usq; suscepta, in via defunctus est. Successit ei filius Aulavus sive Auloedus, qui anno sequente, à Matthæo

aliàs Mathgauno O-Riagan captus, pro lytro solvit 200 vaccas, 80 equos Britannicos, tres uncias auri et gladium quendam vulgò dictum Caroli gladium.

Anno 1035, Aulavus filius Sitrici rex Dublinii Romam profecturus, in Anglia occisus est. Successit ei filius Sitricus.

Anno 1036, Reginaldus O-Hivar Waterfordiæ regulus occisus est Dublinii, à Sitrico rege.

Anno 1038, Commuanus O-Raban regulus Waterfordiæ domesticis insidiis periit. Eodem anno Waterfordia à Dermatio rege Lageniæ direpta est et incensa.

Anno 1042, (aliis 1041) Sitricus, Aulavi filius, rex Ostmanorum Dublinii decessit. Hic fuit (ut reor) Sitricus ille, quem liber niger Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis Dublinii Sitricum filium *Ableb* appellat, de quo ibidem hæc legimus, *Sitricus rex Dublin. filius Ableb Comitæ Dublin. dedit Sanctæ Trinitati et Donato primo Episcopo Dublin. locum ad ædificandam Ecclesiam S. Trinitati, ubi fornices sive voltæ sunt, cum terris subsequentiis, viz. Bealdulek, Rechen, Portrahern, cum villanis et vaccis et bladis, nec non aurum et argentum, sufficienter ad ædificandam Ecclesiam, cum tota curia, contulit.* Sitrico successit Aulavus sive Auloedus, quem Caradocus Lhancarvanensis Alphredum perperam appellat. Sub eodem tempore Conanus *ap Jago*, Aulavi gener, copiis Dublinii collectis, in Walliam trajecit, contra Gruffinum *ap Lhewellin* regulum, qui Venedotiam Conano profugo debitam, usurpârat: Gruffinum ibi dolo cepit, sed dum captivum, naves versùs, secum duceret, Walli, de ea re certiores facti, tanto numero confluerunt, ut facilè Gruffinum liberaverint, et Conanum ad naves repulerint.

Anno 1050, Conanus cum alia classe, è Dublinio Walliam versùs solvit, spe plenus, Venedotiam, hæreditario jure sibi debitam, recuperandi: sed operam denuò luit; nam maximâ classis parte tempestate amissâ, ipse ad litora Hibernica reiectus est.

Anno 1066, *Godredus* sive Gothricus cognomento *Crovan* rex Manniæ (ut è Chronico Regum Manniæ intelligimus) *subjugavit sibi Dublinium et magnam partem de Laynester, Scotos verò ita perdomuit, ut nullus qui fabricaret navem vel*
R 2 111 *scapham,*

scapham, ausus esset plusquàm tres clavos inserere. Eum regem Hiberniæ appellat Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in epistola quadam, cujus exemplar habetur in tomo undecimo Annalium Cardinalis Baronii.

Anno 1071, Murchardus, filius Dermitii, rex Lageniæ, mortem obiit, et Dublinii ab Ostmannis sepultus est.

Anno 1074, Maii 6, è vita migravit Donatus al. Dunanus Ostmannorum primus Episcopus Dubliniensis, et in Ecclesia sua Cathedrali, prope summum altare, sepultus est. Tùmque Patricius quidam, Ostmannus itidem, Godredo rege petente, successor electus à Dubliniensibus, in Angliam missus est, à Lanfranco Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecrandus, cum epistola sequente, *Venerando S. Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Metropolitano Lanfranco, clerus et populus Ecclesiæ Dubliniensis debitam subjectionem. Vestræ Paternitati est cognitum, quòd Ecclesia Dubliniensis, quæ Hiberniæ Insule Metropolis est, suo sit viduata Pastore, ac destituta Rectore. Propterea elegimus Presbyterum, nomine Patricium, nobis sufficientissimè cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, Apostolica et Ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide Catholicum, in scripturarum sensibus cautum, in dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis exercitatum, quem nobis quantociùs petimus ordinari episcopum, quatenus auctore Deo, regulariter nobis præesse valeat, et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter militare possimus, quia integritas Præsidentium salus est subditorum, et ubi est incolumitas, ibi est forma Doctrinæ.* Ante finem ejusdem anni, Patricius ille Londini, in Ecclesia S. Pauli, à dicto Lanfranco consecratus est, obedientiæ professione sequenti præstitâ, *Quisquis aliis præsidet, si et ipse aliis subjaceat, dedignari non debet, sed potiùs obedientiam, quam à subditis suis desiderat habere propter Deum, studeat prælatis sibi per omnia humiliter exhibere. Propterea ego Patricius ad regendam Dubliniam Metropolim Hiberniæ electus Antistes, tibi, venerande pater Lanfrance Britanniarum Primas, et Sanctæ Doroborniensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscope, professionis meæ chartam porrigo, meque tibi tuisque successoribus, in omnibus, quæ ad Christianam religionem pertinent, obtemperaturum esse promitto.* Hæc ex vetusto codice MS. bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, unà cum

aliis Episcoporum Ostmannicorum professionibus, in lucem emisit, inter veteres Epistolas Hibernicas, eruditissimus Jacobus Usserius Armachanus, anno 1632.

Anno 1076, Godredus *Crovan* rex Dublinii, necnon Manniæ et Hebridum Insularum obiit in Ila insula, Ptolemæi Epidio. Successit ei, in regimine Manniæ et Hebridum, filius ejus Lagmannus : cæterum à Dubliniensibus, in regem electus est (ni fallor) Godfridus cognomento *Meranagh*.

Octobris 10, 1084, Patricius Dubliniensis Episcopus, in Oceano Britannico, naufragio periit, Episcopatus sui anno 10.

Anno 1085, Donatus (alias Dongus) O-Haingly Ostmannus, Dublinii natus, sed Cantuariæ in Angliâ educatus, ubi monachus factus est Benedictinus, Tirdelvaci regis clerique Dubliniensis consensu, Cantuariæ, à Lanfranco Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, professione consueta præstita, consecratus est Episcopus Dubliniensis, ac in patriam reversus, libros nonnullos, et ecclesiastica ornamenta, quæ Lanfrancus Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis Dublinii dederat, secum reportavit.

Anno 1088 (aliis 1087), Waterfordia vi capta est et combusta, ab Ostmannis Dublinii.

Anno 1089, Ostmanni Dublinii, Waterfordiæ et Wickloæ dum conjunctis viribus, Corcagiam diripere intenderent, ab Oneaghensibus, in prælio fusi sunt et profligati.

Anno 1095, Moriertachus O-Brien rex Hiberniæ, Dublinium, cum exercitu pervenit, ac inde expulit Godfridum *Meranagh* regulum. Eodem anno mortem obiit Donatus O-Haingly Episcopus Dubliniensis, cui successit ejus nepos Samuel O-Haingly, cœnobii S. Albani monachus Benedictinus. De quo vid. plura apud Eadmerum, in Historia Novorum. Sub eodem tempore Godfredus *Meranagh* mœrore confectus è vivis excessit.

Anno 1096, sedes Episcopalis Waterfordiæ instituta est, et primus ibi Episcopus electus est Malchus quidam, in Hibernia natus, sed educatione Monachus Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis in Anglia. Is consecrationem obtinuit Cantuariæ 5 Kal. Januarii, ab Anselmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, assistantibus Radulpho Cicestriensi et Gundulpho Roffensi, episcopis, professione sequenti præstitâ ; *Ego Malchus ecclesiæ Waterfordiæ*

fordiæ electus, et à te, reverende pater Anselme, sanctæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, et totius Britanniae Primas, Antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis, canonicam obedientiam me per omnia servaturum promitto. Literarum in ejus gratiam conscriptarum exemplar habes apud Eadmerum, à doctissimo Seldeno, in lucem editum, anno 1623, cum notis et spicilegio. Sub exitum hujus seculi xi, Ecclesia cathedralis S. Trinitatis Waterfordiæ ab Ostmannis constructa est.

Anno 1103, Magnus rex Norwegiæ, Manniâ et Orcadis expugnatis, fœdus temporarium percussit cum Moriertacho O-Brien rege Hiberniæ, sed anno sequenti (dum in Ultonia exploratorem egit) ab Ultoniensibus improvisò interceptus interiit. De hac re, si non pigeat legere, en tibi verba Chronici Regum Manniæ, Magnus Murecardo (rectiùs Murier-tacho) regi Hiberniæ misit calceamenta sua, *præcipiens ei ut ea super humeros suos in die Natalis Domini, per medium domus suæ portaret, in conspectu nunciorum ejus, ut inde intel- ligeret se subjectum esse Magno regi. Quod audientes Hiber- nienses, ægrè ferebant et indignati sunt nimis: sed Rex saniori consilio usus, non solum, inquit, calceamenta ejus portare, verùmque manducare mallet, quàm Magnus Rex unam provinciam in Hibernia destrueret. Itaque complevit præceptum, et nuncios honoravit. Multa quoque munera per eos Magno regi transmissit, et fœdus composuit. Nuncii verò redeuntes ad Dominum suum, narraverunt ei de situ Hiberniæ et amœnitate, de frugum fertilitate et aëris salubritate. Magnus verò hæc audiens, nihil cogitabat quàm totam Hiber- niam sibi subjugare. Itaque præcepit classem congregare. Ipse verò cum sedecem navibus procedens, explorare volens terram, cùm incautè è navibus discessisset, subiò à Hibernien- sibus circumvallatus interiit, cum omnibus ferè qui secum erant. Sepultus est autem juxta ecclesiam S. Patricii in Duno. Regnavit sex annis, sc. in Mannia. Exordiis illis quàm dispar exitus.*

Anno 1106, Donaldus Archiepiscopus Armachanus Dub- linium profectus, ut pacem inter Moriertachum regem Hiber- niæ et Donaldum O-Loghlin procuraret, in ægritudinem

incidit, quâ Dulekæ in reditu Armacham versus, ætatis suæ anno 58, consecrationis 15, sublatus est.

Anno 1109, Limericum incendio (maximo Ostmannorum damno) deflagravit.

Anno 1121, 4 nonas Julii, obiit Samuel O-Haingly, Ostmannorum quartus Episcopus Dubliniensis. Successit ei Gregorius, Lamethæ consecratus, 2 insequentis Octobris, à Radulpho Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

Anno 1125, Torfinus, filius Torcalli, Ostmannorum Dublinii regulus, in ipso juventutis flore, morte repentinâ obiit.

Anno 1131, defuncto Everardo Ostmanno Abbati cœnobii B. Mariæ juxta Dublin. successit Andreas.

Anno 1134, Cornelius filius Murchardi regis Midiæ, in conflictu, à Donaldò filio *Gillemoholmoc* et Ostmannis Dublinii, occisus est: sed Donaldò eo, subitâ rotæ conversione, in alio conflictu occiso, et Dubliniensibus fugatis, Midenses in Fingalliam irruunt, eamque ferro et flammâ devastant.

Anno 1136, Mælisæ O-Hammire Episcopus Ostmannorum Waterfordiæ ex hac vita migravit, successit Tuistius, aliàs Tostius Ostmannus.

Anno 1140, Mortuo Gille sive Gilleberto episcopo Limericensi, vel saltem resignante, Patricius quidam, ab Ostmannis Limerici Episcopus electus, in Angliam trajecit, ubi à Theobaldo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi consecrationem obtinuit, professione sequenti præstitâ, *Ego Patricius ad regimen Ecclesiæ Limericensis electus, et à te, reverende pater Theobalde Sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo et totius Britannie Primas, per gratiam Dei Antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis, tibi canonicè succedentibus, debitam subjectionem, et canonicam obedientiam, per omnia me exhibiturum fore promitto.*

Anno 1142, vel circiter, Cadwaladrus à fratre suo Oweno *Gwineth* Venedotiæ principe, deficiens in Hiberniam profugit, ac Ostmannis duo millia marcarum pollicetur, si justo exercitu bellum contra fratrem moverent. Annuunt Ostmanni, ac copiis collectis, partim è suis, partim ex Hibernis exercitum (Octero filiisque Torcalli et Cherulphi ducibus) in Walliam mittunt. Cæterum paulò post eorum appulsum pacem inter

fratres factam audientes, Cadwaladrum captivum detinent, donec pro 2000 marcarum, 2000 pecudum acceperant. Tum verò Owenus in Ostmannos et eorum socios sic onustos, improvise irruens, antequàm naves conscenderent, eorum numerum permagnum interfecit, et cum spoliis reversus est, cæteri fugâ ad naves evaserunt. Sic, paucis mutatis, Caradocus Lhancarvanensis.

Anno 1147, Reginaldo, Torcalli filio, Dublinii regulo, in acie occiso à Midensibus, Godfredus filius Olavi, rex Manniæ, (si fides sit adhibenda Chronico Manniæ) ab Ostmannis Dublinii, rex salutatus est: atqui in Annalibus Hibernicis Oiterus (aliàs Ochterus) Reginaldo successisse dicitur, fortè tamen Godredi imperio subjectus; utcunque, Otero biennio post occiso, Dublinii principatum obtinuit Brodarus Reginaldi frater.

Anno 1151, obiit Haraldus Ostmannus episcopus Limericensis, successit popularis ejus Torgesius.

Anno 1161, Brodaro Torcalli filio Ostmannorum Dublinii regulo, à Midensibus, in prælio, occiso, successit frater ejus Asculphus. Eodem anno (Octobris 8) decessit Gregorius primus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, cui successit Laurentius (indigenis Lorcanus) O-Toole, Abbas Glendelacensis, à Gelasio Archiepiscopo Armachano, Dublinii consecratus, in Ecclesiâ cathedrali S. Trinitatis anno insequenti.

Anno 1167, Rodericus O-Conner, rex Hiberniæ, Lageniam cum copiis ingressus, Dermotio filio Murchardi rege Lageniæ in fugam coniecto, Lagenienses et speciatim Ostmannos Dublinienses sibi obsides tradere coegit.

Anno 1169, e Wallia, cum copiis, sub initium Maii, in Hiberniam appulerunt Robertus filius Stephani, Meilerus filius Henrici, Milo filius Davidis Menevensis et Hervæus de Montemarisco. Primi appulsus locus, bono omine, dicebatur *Banna*, sive Beatus, vulgò *Bag et Bun* prope Fethardam, in agro Wexfordiensi, quem aliqui (perperam opinor) eundem esse existimant cum Ptolemæi *Sacro Promontorio*. Postridiè eos sequutus est Mauritius de Prendergast, cum 10 militibus et 60 sagittariis. Dermotius Murchardi filius, de eorum adventu certior factus, Bannam quantâ potuit celeritate contendit,

dit, eosque lætissimo excepit animo. Die sequente, Wexfordiam versus movent, quæ postquàm obsidionem paulisper sustinuisset, Dermitio in manus tradita est. Wexfordiâ sic captâ, et Mauritio Giraldis filio, cum novis copiis ibi appulso, (nam quæ ad res Ostmannicas non pertinent hic prætermittimus) iis rex Dermitius ex pacto, suas etiam copias adjunxit. De armis tùm in Ostmannos Dublinii convertendis, initur consilium, quod cùm omnibus placuisset, Dublinium, quantâ possunt celeritate, contendunt, urbemque deditione capiunt. Sed, obsidibus acceptis, protinùs Asculpho Torcalli filio (de quo suprâ) restituant.

Anno 1170, rex Dermitius ad Richardum cognomento *Strong-bow*, Penbrochiæ vel (ut Giraldus Cambrensis eum appellat) Striguliæ comitem, literas perscripsit, quibus vehementer ab eo petiit auxiliares eas copias quas promiserat. Comes his literis acceptis, à rege Henrico II, *licentiâ ironicâ potius quàm verâ* (ait dictus Giraldus) *impetratâ*, Reimundum Crassum, sub initium Maii, 10 viris equestri ordinis et 70 sagittariis stipatum, in Hiberniam præmisit, ipse brevi postea secuturus. Reimundus exscentionem fecit ad *Dundenil*, ad quartum à Waterfordia lapidem. De Anglorum appulsu, Ostmanni Waterfordienses facti certiores, eos antequàm auxiliis firmarentur, aggredi statuunt: tùmque à Malachia O-Felan Desiensi et O-Riano Idronensi adjuti, exercitum conscribunt, in quo 3000 erant equitum et peditum. Hi in Anglos impetum facientes, ab illis, paucis duntaxat adjutis, sub ductu Hervæi de Monte-marisco, (qui illuc fortè Reimundum visendi gratiâ venerat) fortiter excepti sunt, et post aliquot horarum pugnam, profligati. In eo prælio, ex Ostmannis Waterfordiæ et Hibernis, plùs minùs mille cæsi occubuerunt. Capti sunt præterea 70, qui omnes, Reimundo procurante, in vindictam interitus amici sui *de Bucin*, qui in prælio ceciderat, occisi sunt. Sic Mauritius Reganus. At Giraldus Cambrensis eos, Hervæi suasu, adversante Reimundo, è rupibus in mare præcipitatos asserit. Hæc mense Maio. Augusto sequente, Richardus Comes Penbrochiæ, è Milfordia solvit, ventoque secundo in portum Waterfordiæ invectus, exercitum exposuit, in quo fuerunt 200 milites primarii, præ-

ter mille ordinis inferioris. Post diem unum vel alterum, Waterfordiam contendit, quam Augusti 25 vi cepit, ac in ea Reginaldum Ostmannorum Waterfordiæ principem et Malachiam O-Felan, de quo suprâ. Illi ad mortem damnati, intercessione Dermittii Regis, (qui unâ cum Stephanide, multisque Anglis et Wallis, post victoriam partam, Waterfordiam venerat) servati sunt. Nuptiis tunc inter Richardum Comitem et Evam Dermittii regis filiam ibidem celebratis, Comes ejusque uxor Dermittii hæredes publicè sunt declarati. Paulò post, Dermittius et gener, præsidio Waterfordiæ relicto, conjunctis copiis Dublinium contendunt, urbemque (Roderico rege viam frustrâ obstruere nitente) obsident. Asculphus Ostmannorum princeps, cùm resistere (quod viribus impar) sibi non tutum putaret, Laurentii Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis intercessione, de deditione citò agere cœpit. Cæterum Reimundus et Milo de Cogan, durante intercessionis tempore, selectâ manu urbem invadentes, eâ primo impetu, 21 die Septembris (qui S. Matthæo sacer) potiti sunt. Asculphus tamen et civium plerique naviculis et cymbis, eo tempore in portu consensis, evaserunt.

Anno 1171, Circa festum Pentecostes, Asculphus à Johanne quodam (quem Orcadiensem appellant Annales Ultonienses) et copiis suæ gentis auxiliariis, è Mannia, adjutus, cum 60 navium classe, portum Dubliniensem ingressus est, et militibus expositis, in urbis partem orientalem irrumpere tentavit, ubi, dùm Milo Coganus, qui urbi præerat, præsidio haud satis firmatus, urbem propugnare conaretur, Richardus frater ejus, è porta S. Pauli australi, cum parva manu, egressus, hostes (qui auxiliares copias Cogano advenisse putârant) in fugam facilè conjecit. Partim in prælio, partim in fuga, multi eorum cæsi feruntur, et, inter eos, dictus Johannes Orcadiensis. Asculphus etiam ipse captus est, et quòd linguæ frænum intemperantiùs laxâset, ultimo supplicio postea affectus. De adventu Henrici II in Hiberniam, et de aliis licèt magni momenti rebus hoc anno in Hibernia gestis, non est hic dicendi locus, ut quæ ad rem, de qua nunc agimus, non pertinent. Denique satis erit hic indicare, captis, intra paucos annos postea, urbibus Limerico et Corcagia ab Ostmannis plerumque possessis, penitus fractas fuisse eorum vires, post-

quàm (ut ex iis quæ suprà dicta sunt liquet) in Hibernia, per aliquot annorum centurias, sedes fixerant. Veruntamen, remansisse ibi aliquas Ostmannorum familias diù postea, ex archivis, in promptu colligere est; speciatim ex Rotulo Placitorum anni 4 Edwardi Secundi. Huc etiam facit, (si ad antiquiora recurramus tempora) *Recognitio facta* (anno Dom. 1201) *per Sacramentum 12 Anglorum, et 12 Ostmannorum, et 12 Hiberniensium, de terris, Ecclesiis et cæteris pertinentiis, ad Limericensem Ecclesiam spectantibus.* Recognitio ea habetur in Regesto Decani Limericensis. Atque ita res ab Ostmannis in Hibernia gestas maximè memorabiles, paucis perstrinxi.

CAP. XXV.

De re nummaria, sive de nummis Hiberniæ antiquis, cùm ante adventum Anglorum, sub Henrico II, tùm postea, usque ad Henrico VII tempora.

OPULENTIÆ Hibernorum pars maxima in pecorum multitudine (Germanorum more, de quo vide Tacitum) olim consistebat. Neque aliter erat apud veteres Romanos, unde Varro, lib. 4, de lingua Latina, à pecude pecuniam derivat. Et de Hispanis veteribus, Justinus, *Armenta Gerionis, quæ illis temporibus habebantur solæ opes.* Hiberniam porrò metallorum venis esse divitem quotidiana experientia docet: speciatim sunt ibidem aliquæ plumbi fodinæ, quæ mixtam habent lucrosam argenti quantitatem. Hadrianus Junius, inter alia, in Hiberniæ laudem, fodinas hasce *puri argenti venas* poëticè appellat,

*Et puri argenti venas, quas terra refossis
Visceribus manes imos visura recludit*

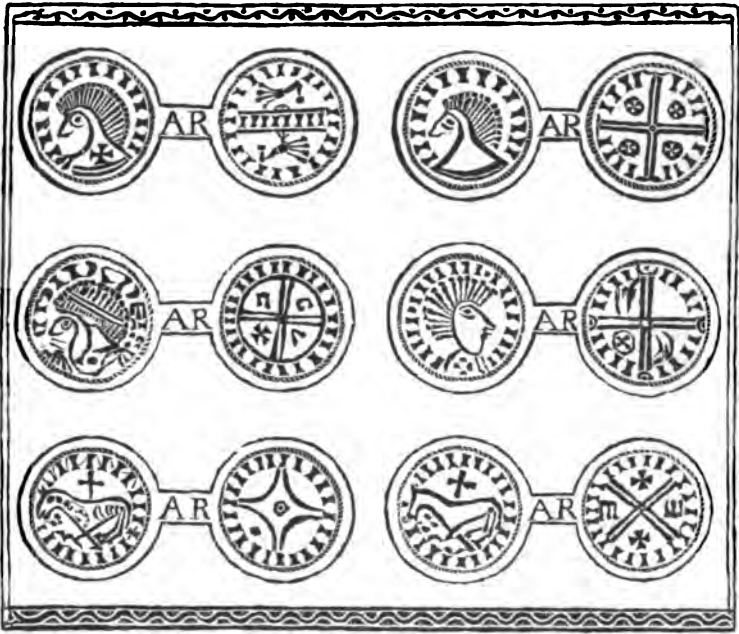
Sed hæc obiter. Ad rem veniendum est, ac primò quærendum, an Hiberni ante Anglorum adventum, nummis usi fuerint, vel auro duntaxat, argento, ære, aut annulis, ad certum pondus examinatis. Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 6, Historiæ Danicæ narrat Hugletem regem Hiberniæ, divitem sed avarum, ab

Hacone Dano, in prælio victum et occisum, magnam deinde pecuniæ summam in ærario ejus, *Duflinæ*, sive Dublinii, à Danis repertam. Sed Saxonis notissimæ sunt fabulæ. Speciatim, tota hæc narratio ab antiquitatum Hibernicarum scientissimis rejicitur. Apud historicos nostros, dum de rebus antiquis Hibernicis loquuntur, occurrit quandoque auri mentio, quandoque argenti, variis occasionibus dati, interdum etiam ponderis. Sic in Annalibus Ultoniensibus, ad annum Dom. 1004, Brienus *Boruma* sive Borous rex Hiberniæ, maximâ procerum multitudine comitatus, Armacham pervenisse dicitur, et inde cum obsidibus ei traditis, in Momoniam rediisse, postquàm 20 uncias auri, in Ecclesia cathedrali Armachana, super altare S. Patricii, obtulisset. Item anno 1152 (ut ex iisdem Annalibus intelligimus) Tirdelvacus O-Conner rex Hiberniæ à Dermotio Lageniæ, Melachlino Midia, et Tigernacho Brethniæ, regibus adjutus, signa adversus Momonienses tùm rebellantes, extulit. Pugnatum est ad *Monimore*, aliàs *Monadmora*, ubi Momonienses magnâ strage profligati, eorumque dux Limericum profugere coactus, pro lytro dedit Tirdelvaco 60 uncias auri, 60 monilia et scyphum aureum, Brieni Boroi scyphum dictum. Item anno 1157, vel 1158, Mauritius O Loghlin tùm rex Hiberniæ, finitâ dedicatione Ecclesiæ cœnobii Mellifontis, (à Gelasio Archiepiscopo Armachano) monachis ibidem, inter alia donaria; dedit 60 uncias auri, Itidem Donatus O-Carollus (Ergalliæ regulus et loci fundator) alias 60 uncias, totidemque alias, Dervorgilla uxor Tigernaci O-Ruark. Anno item 1161, vel 1162, 420 uncias puri argenti, ab Ossoriensibus collectas fuisse, ad usum Flachertachi O-Brolchan Comorbani Columb-Kill, produnt jam dicti Annales Ultonienses. Ad hanc rem, vid. porrò quæ suprâ dicta sunt, c. 24, ad ann. 1029 et 1042. Sunt et alia multa hujus generis exempla, sed singula hîc enumerare, instituti non est mei. An verò aurum vel argentum ita donatum, percussum fuerit necne, non liquet. Audiamus jam, quid de hæc re, habet Giraldus Cambr. Topographiæ Hiberniæ Distinct. 3, cap. 10, *Metallorum quoq; diversorum (inquit) genera, quibus venæ scaturiunt inferiores, ejusdem ociositatis vitio, nec ad usum prodeunt, nec proficiunt; aurum enim quo et abundare*
120
quærent,

quærunt, et quod adhuc Hispanico more sitiunt, commerciorum gratiâ, scrutantes Oceanum, mercatores Ostmannic iadvectant. Ostmannos, et ipsos veteres Hibernos nummos habuisse, ante Anglorum adventum, non est cur quis dubitet. Hoc constat ex Epistola Lanfranci Archiep. Cantuariensis, ad Tirdelvacum regem Hiberniæ, anno 1074 perscripta, in qua inter alia eum rogat corrigere pravam eam consuetudinem (apud Hibernos usitatam) conferendi *sacros ordines per pecuniam ab Episcopis.* An verò nummi illi fuerint in Hibernia cusi, vel aliundè invecti, viri nonnulli docti dubitârunt. Ad hujus rei notitiam quod attinet, fatendum est nobis, eam perquàm exilem superesse. Cæterùm ad veteres Ostmannos quod attinet, eos in Hibernia nummos cudisse, satis est argumento nummus argenteus Aulafi sive Anlaphi Regis Dubliniensis, nonnullis regis Hiberniæ dicti, cujus figuram subjungimus:



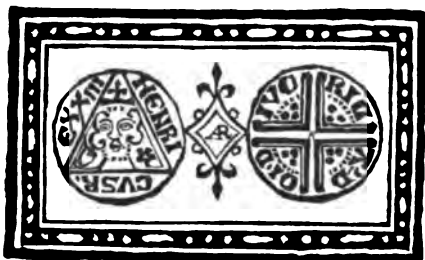
Restat de Hibernorum veterum nummis scrupulus: atque hic non possum (fateor) non memorare, rusticos quosdam, mense Decembri, anno Dom. 1639, incidisse in magnam vim veterum numismatum Hibernicorum, prope Glendelacham, in agro Wickloensi, è quibus aliqua ad manus meas pervenerunt, quorum ectypa hic exhibere operæ pretium duxi,



Aversa pars nummi tertii annum videtur designare 1115, quod si certum sit, non est cur quis ulterius, de hâc re, operam insumeret. De cæteris, cùm sine aliqua literarum luce, non habeo quod pro certo affirmem; antiquitatis speciem præ se ferunt, et procusi videntur ante Anglorum ingressum. Atque tales (opinor) fuerunt *minores illi denarii (quasi oboli) cujusdam veteris monetæ et incognitæ reperti in quodam campo juxta Kilcolyn*, de quibus fit mentio in Archivo fiscali an. 33 Edwardi 1.

Sequuntur jam tempora, post Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam, à quibus, nummos frequenter ibi cusos constat. De nummis in Hiberniâ procusis tempore Johannis regis, ita Rogerus de Wendover, et ex eo Matthæus Parisius, ad annum Dom. 1210, *Præfecerat autem (Johannes Rex) ibidem Johannem de Grey Episcopum Norwicensem Justitiarium, qui denarium terræ illius, ad pondus numismatis Angliæ fecerat fabricari; et tam obolum quàm quadrantem rotundum fieri*
 122 præcepit.

præcepit. Jussit quoque rex, ut illius monetæ usus, tam in Anglia, quàm in Hibernia, communis ab omnibus haberetur, et utriusque regni denarius in thesauris suis indifferenter poneretur. Hinc constare videtur, nummos in Hibernia antea percussos fuisse, sed tunc, regis jussu, *DENARIUM TERRÆ ILLIUS ad pondus numismatis Angliæ primò fuisse fabricatum.* Henricum III (Johannis filium) anno regni 35, hoc est anno Dom. 1251, *novam monetam in Hibernia fabricari mandasse,* ex archivis, quæ in arce Londinensi asservantur, liquet. Meminit ad annum sequentem, ejusdem *Novæ monetæ, Regis mandato, in Hibernia percussæ, unà cum veteris abolitione,* author anonymus Annalium cœnobii Canonicorum Præmonstratensium S. Trinitatis de Loghkea, in agro Roscomanensi. Sed ecce figuram nummi ejus nuper Dublinii reperti, et ibidem (ni fallor) procusi, cujus prior pars exprimit effigiem Regis, cum hac inscriptione, *Henricus Rex III,* aversa verò, crucem et cusorum nomina,



De pondere et valore, nihil traditum reperi. De novo etiam Monetæ genere, quod sub Edwardo primo, percuti curavit Stephanus de Fulburn, dùm episcopus esset Waterfordiensis et Hiberniæ Justitiarius, sic Pembrigius, in Hiberniæ Annalibus à Camdeno editis, ad calcem Britanniæ suæ, *Anno 1279, Dom. Robertus de Ufford* (Hiberniæ Justitiarius), *intravit Angliam, et constituit loco suo fratrem Robertum (lege Stephanum) de Fulburn Episcopum Waterfordiensem; cujus tempore mutata est moneta.* Hoc factum est jussu Regis Edwardi Primi, qui monetæ regulam fixam, sive *Standardum* ut vocant) et pondere et puritate, ad perpetuum ejus honorem, emendavit in Anglia, secundum quam regulam, officinæ etiam

monetariæ in Hibernia fuerunt moderatæ, ut è computis Donati et Andreæ de Sperdsholt *Magistrorum Cambii* Dublinii liquet. Anno deinde 1300, dicti Regis Edicto, nummi dicti *Polards et Croccards*, tam in Anglia, quàm in Hibernia, sunt prohibiti. Edictum quod de hac re edidit, in Hiberniam transmissum conscriptum extat in Libro rubro Scaccarii Dublinii. Ad eundem annum Pembrigius, *Anno 1300, numisma Pollardorum prohibetur in Anglia et Hibernia*; Vid. porrò Walsingham. Histor. ad annum 1301. Pollardi illi valebant medietatem nummorum *sterlingorum*. Notandum autem nummum propriè olim dictum Sterlingum vel Esterlingum fuisse Denarium Anglicum, ut ex ordinatione quæ dicta est *Compositio Mensurarum* facta tempore Edwardi Primi liquet, in qua invenimus quod *Denarius Angliæ, qui nominatur Sterlingus, rotundus, sine tonsura, ponderabit 32 grana frumenti, in medio spicæ*. Atque hinc cæteri nummi per Sterlingos fuerunt mensurati. Sic solidus valebat 12 Sterlingos, Marca, secundum Matthæum Parisium, 13 solidos et 4 Sterlingos, sive denarios, obolus, dimidiam partem Sterlingi, et quadrans (nos a *farthing* dicimus) quartam partem Sterlingi. Ad nomen quod attinet, ita Camdenus, in Scotia sua, *Quod quidam monetam probam Angliæ, quæ Sterling money dicitur, hinc (nempe à castro Sterlingæ) denominatam volunt, frustrà sunt; à Germanis enim quos Angli Esterlings, ab orientali situ, vocârunt, facta est appellatio, quos Johannes rex ad argentum in suam puritatem redigendum, primus evocavit: et ejusmodi nummi Esterlingi in antiquis scripturis semper reperiuntur*. Cæterum tempus quo dicta moneta primùm procudi et ita appellari cœpit, incertum est: nam apud Rogerum Hovedenum in Historia Richardi Primi, Johannis prædecessoris, ejusdem monetæ his verbis fit mentio. *Videns igitur Galfridus Eboracensis electus, quod nisi mediantè pecunia, amorem Regis fratris sui nullatenus habere possit, promisit ei tria millia librarum Sterlingorum, pro amore ejus habendo*. Et in Regesto antiquiori cœnobii S. Thomæ juxta Dublin, (penes me) habetur exemplar Chartæ Civium Dublin. factæ circa idem tempus, ad cujus finem ita legimus, *Pro donatione ista nobis dedit præfatus Rogerus unciam auri,*

caussa emendandi murum villæ, et 20 solidos sterlingorum, quando transmisimus nuncios ad Dom. Comitem Johannem pro negotio civitatis. Sed tempora antiquiora etiam spectemus, vid. Orderic. Vital. Histor. ecclesiastic. ubi sæpius fit mentio nummi *Sterilensis*, ipsis Gulielmi Victoris temporibus, et speciatim in charta quadam ipsius, cœnobio Uticensi concessa. Polydorus Virgilius, et ex eo alii, nummum *Sterlingum* dictum volunt, ab effigie sturni avis, Anglicè a *Sterling*, quasi interdum in alterâ parte nummi impressâ: atqui Polydorus is Italus fuit et in rebus nostris non benè versatus, specialiter effigies ea columbæ est, non sturni, ut alii rectiùs observant. Pergo. Sub exitum seculi XIII, vel initium insequentis, Edwardus primus constituit Dublinii novam officinam monetariam, et Alexandrum Normannum *de Luic* cusorum præfectum. Anno deinde 1304, (ut è libro rubro Scaccarii Dublinii intelligimus) *Magister Gulielmus de Wimundham custos Cambiorum Domini Regis in Anglia, de præcepto venerabilis patris Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii ejusdem Domini Regis, misit Domino Gulielmo de Essenden thesaurario in Hibernia, 24 pecias cuneorum, pro moneta ibi facienda, viz. tres pilas cum sex crucellis, pro denariis, tres pilas cum sex crucellis, pro obolis, et duas pilas cum quatuor crucellis, pro ferlingis, per Johannem le Minor, Thomam Dowle et Johannem de Shordich clericos, de societate operariorum et monetariorum London. per eosdem, ad monetam prædictam operandam et monetandam.* Sed ut tempora Edwardi primi jam concludamus, notandum, ut in Anglia, sic etiam in Hibernia, nomina urbium, in quibus nummi cudebantur, in aversis nummorum partibus, tunc fuisse inscripta, juxta illud Roberti *le Brun*, poëtæ antiqui Anglici, à Johanne Stowo Chronographo citatum,

Edward did smite round penny, halfe penny, farthing.

Et postea,

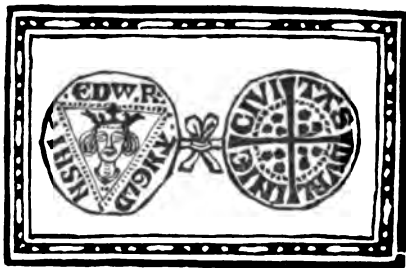
On the Kings side was his Head, and his name written,
On the Crosse side, the City where it was smitten.

s

125

Hûc

Hûc spectat nummulus argenteus hujus Edwardi, Dublinii percussus, quem expressum hic tibi exhibemus,



Duos alios habeo, tempore ejusdem Edwardi in Hibernia cusos, alterum Waterfordiæ, alterum Pontanæ sive Droghedæ, ut ex inscriptionibus eorum liquet. Asservatur etiam (ut accepi) inter cimelia D. Simon. D'ews, nummus antiquus argenteus, Clonardæ in Midia procusus, cum hac inscriptione in aversa parte, *CIVITAS DE CLUNARD*, sed cujus fuerit temporis adhuc ignoro. Atque ita olim apud veteres Romanos in Britannia pecunia interdum percuti solebat; de nummis in memoriam Constantini Junioris, post excessum ejus procusis, cum literis *P. LON.* inscriptis, utpote Londini signatis, vid. Camdenum: atque ut apud veteres eos Romanos, ita apud nostros majores (ut idem Camdenus in Wiltonia notat) *pecunia et appendi et numerari solebat.* Sed pergamus.

Ab ultimis temporibus Edwardi primi, usque ad annum 10 Edwardi tertii, de hac re nihil traditum reperi. Tum verò (ut è rotulo Finium illius temporis liquet) de obolis et quadrantibus, in Hibernia cudendis, prodiit edictum regis et concilii sui, *Que la liure des mailles, par poids de l'estandard de la change, contiendra 21 sols par compt: et la liure des ferlings 21 sols et 11 deniers: et que la liure sudite tiendra dix onces de fin argent, c'est à scavoir trois sols et quater deniers.* Sic viginti denarii temperati ut suprâ faciebant unciam, et 12 uncia, libram (quam vocant) Trojanam. Juxta eam proportionem, usque ad 18 annum ejusdem regis, id est 1344, omnes coronæ redivisus, et pondere et numero, fisco illati sunt: cum (ut rectè notat, D. Robertus Cottonus equ. et Baronettus)

ex variis *Standardi* mutationibus, factis temporibus subsequentibus, in qualibet uncia jam numerentur quinque solidi. Neque mirum igitur, si omnium rerum venalium pretia hodiè ter auctiora reddantur, quàm quæ tempore Edwardi primi, pro mercibus consimilibus, pendebantur. Ad statum verò fisci Hibernici, tempore Edwardi tertii, quod attinet, non posuimus non hic obiter annotare crassum Walsinghami errorem, qui in historia Richardi secundi (ad annum 1394) Edwardum 3, ex Hibernia annuatim percepisse asserit, *ad regalem fiscum, triginta millia librarum*: siquidem ex ipsis illorum temporum archivis, quæ etiamnum extant, liquidò constat, nè tertiam quidem ejus summæ partem annuatim in fiscum fuisse solutam.

Anno 3 Richardi secundi, hoc est, 1379, autoritate Parlamentariâ, singulis in Hibernia concessa est licentia effodiendi è venis auri vel argenti, in terris suis propriis, per sexennii spatium, nonâ parte auri vel argenti sic effossi, regi reservatâ, et residuum, ad placitum eorum, vel in vasa convertendi, vel in nummos, in officina monetaria Dublinii, cum prohibitione tamen exportationis auri, argenti vel massæ sive *billionis*, in aliquam aliam regionem, præterquam in Angliam, sub pœna confiscationis.

De temporibus Henrici 4 et Henrici 5, ad hanc rem, non habeo quod dicam. Constat verò sub initium regni Henrici 6, circiter 32 denarios fecisse unciam argenti. Sic Linwodus (qui tunc scripsit) De Testamentis, cap. *Item quia* Verh. *Centum solidos. Hic solidus* (ait ille) *sumitur pro duodecim denariis Anglicanis: horum viginti sex ponderabant unciam, cum tamen jam 32 denarii vix faciant unciam.* Sed videamus jam quid de re nummaria temporum sequentium produnt tabulæ publicæ Hiberniæ.

In Parlamento Trimmæ habito, coram Johanne Talboto comite Salopiæ, Wexfordiæ et Waterfordiæ, *Locum-tenente* Hiberniæ, mense Januario anno 1446, lata est lex ad coercendam receptionem monetæ detonsæ, monetæ dictæ *℥ Kelys money*, aliorumque illicitorum et reprobatorum nummorum: vectigal etiam 12 denariorum impositum est cuilibet unciae vasorum argenteorum, argenti fracti, et massæ argenti,

exportandæ, exceptis vasis argenteis Nobilium et Nunciorum in Angliam transfretantium, circa ardua Hiberniæ negotia. Mense Febuario 1459, officinæ monetariæ stabilitæ sunt in castris Dublinii et Trimmæ, ac sub eodem tempore, regis mandato cusi sunt non solum nummi argentei, sed etiam ærei. De valore eorum, vid. Rot. patent. an. 39 Hen. 6, nam deest valor in excerptis meis.

Anno 5 Edwardi 4, hoc est 1465, in Parlamento Trimmæ inchoato coram Thoma comite Desmonia, Deputato Georgii Duci Clarentiæ, Hiberniæ Locum-tenentis auctus est valor nummorum aureorum, ab initio regni Edwardi III, usq; ad exitum Henrici VI, cusorum, Nobilis scil. ad decem solidos, cum antea non valeret nisi sex solidos et octo denarios, et sic aliarum summarum, juxta eandem regulam et proportionem. *Jim in le mcnet* (inquit Johannes Davisius equ. aur. in relationibus suis) *tum in Hibernia, tum pro Hibernicâ cusa, minoris fuit valoris quàm mcnet Angliæ, plerumque ex quarta parte, ita ut deinceps solidus Hiberniæ valeret tantum 9 denarios monetæ Anglicæ.* Sed hæc res plenius meretur scrutinium: nam quartæ illius partis differentia ad recentiora tempora est referenda, ut infra patebit.

Anno 1467, Parlamentariâ item autoritate, data est cusoribus potestas signandi pecuniam in civitatibus Waterfordiensi et Limericensi, in oppidis Pontanensi, Galviensi et Carlingfordiensi, necnon in castris Dubliniensi et Trimmensi.

Octavo anno postea, mense nimirum Julio 1475, in Parlamento Dublinii coacto, coram Gulielmo Shyrwood Episcopo Midensi, Deputato jam dicti Locum-tenentis, lata est lex, quâ auctus est argenti valor, ita ut nummus argenteus (non detonsus) quatuor denariorum, temporibus regum supra memoratorum signatus deinceps valeret sex denarios, et ut secundum eam regulam, minores etiam argenti summæ reciperentur. Eademque lege officinæ monetariæ stabilitæ fuerunt Dublinii, Pontanæ et Waterfordiæ, et pecuniam cudendi potestas aliis urbibus prohibita. Tunc porro lege cautum erat, ne quis monetam vel metallum in officinam monetariam inferret, sine permissione Præfecti cusorum, sub pœna amissionis monetæ vel metalli, sic sine permissu illati.

Anno sequenti, in alio Parlamento, coram eodem Deputato habito, lata est lex ut nummus aureus dictus *Regalis* valeret 13 solidos et 4 denarios, et antiquus *Nobilis* aureus, 12 solidos.

Biennio postea (anno sc. 18 Edwardi iv) in comitiis, coram Giraldo comite Kildariæ, Hiberniæ Justitiario, habitis, data est potestas cusorum Præfecto cudendi nummos trium denariorum, duorum denariorum et unius denarii. De Pondere aut *Standardo*, nihil traditum reperi. Notandum verò in nummis, illis temporibus procusis, expressas fuisse tres coronas, tria regna denotantes, Angliam, Franciam et Hiberniam, ipsamque monetam probam illis ipsis temporibus in Hibernia procusam, minoris adhuc fuisse valoris, ex tertia parte, quàm moneta Anglica.

Sub exitum anni 1483, in Parlamento Dublinii incepto, coram dicto Giraldo comite Kildariæ, Deputato Edwardi, filii Richardi tertii, Hiberniæ Locum-tenentis lata est lex de nummis adulteratis frangendis: contra quos nummos, prodiit etiam edictum Henrici 7, Aprilis die 15, An. 1491. Atque hæc, de re nummaria, dicta sufficiant.

Ad veterum Hibernorum mensuras et pondera quod attinet, ea aliis, necessariis ad opus subsidiis, instructoribus, relinquimus. Pergamus nunc ad alia.

CAP. XXVI.

Monasteriologia Hibernica, sive diatriba de Hiberniæ cœnobiis, in qua origines eorum et aliæ antiquitates aperiuntur.

DE sedibus Episcopalibus Hiberniæ, suprà diximus, capite 16. Sequitur jam cœnobiorum ejusdem insulæ catalogus, in quo non pauca ad rem historicam et antiquariam pertinentia describuntur. Ea tamen cœnobia consultò prætermisimus, quæ in primis surgentis Hibernicæ ecclesiæ temporibus erecta in ecclesias parochiales erant posterioribus seculis conversa. Hic præmonendus est L. Lector, M. Monasterium significare, P. Prioratum, H. Hospitalium, Pr. Præceptoriam, C. Cellam, MC. Monalium cœnobium, et FC. Fratrum mendicantium cœnobium.

PROVINCIA LAGENLÆ.

DUBLIN.

Loca et tituli dedi-
cationum.

*Fundatores, ordines et alie
antiquitates.*

*Dublin. P. et Eccle-
sia cathedralis
S. Trinitatis.*

Sitricus, filius Amblavi, rex Ostman-
norum Dublinii et Donatus Episcopus
Dubliniensis Canonicis secularibus insti-
tuerunt, circa annum Dom. 1038. Hos
Laurentius Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis
in Canonicos mutavit regulares Ordinis
Aroacensis, circa ann. 1163. Tandem
verò rex Henricus 8 Priorem et Con-
ventum, in decanum et capitulum mu-
tavit, anno 1541, et Robertum Castel-
lum al. *Painswick* ultimum loci Priorem,
primum instituit decanum. Hæc ædes
sacra vulgò Ecclesia Christi dicitur.

*Juxta Dublin. M.
B. Mariæ Virginis.*

Hujus cœnobii Regestum majus nar-
rationem habet parùm fidam, de funda-
tione à Malachia aliàs *Melachlino* rege
et quodam *Gille-moholmoc*, quam è libro
Hibernicè scripto, publicè legisse fertur
Prior S. Johannis de Randoun Elphi-
nensis diœcesis. Sunt qui à Danis sive
Ostmannis fundatum volunt anno 948,
et alii, qui à Donaldo *Gille-moholmoc*
vel erectum vel restauratum. Abbas et
Monachi hujus cœnobii, ex Tyronen-
sibus facti sunt Cistertienses an. 1139.
Ecclesiam ibidem plumbo obduxit Felix
O-Ruadan Archiepiscopus Tuamensis,
in qua ipse sepultus est anno 1238, *ad
gradum altaris, in sinistra parte*, trien-
nio postquàm Archiepiscopatum abdi-
casset. De jure *filiationis* hujus cœnobii,
magna olim erat contentio inter Abba-
tem Saviniacensem in Gallia, et Abba-

tem Bildewasensem in Anglia, sed anno 1301, in capitulo generali, operâ Gulielmi de Ashburn tùm monachi, et procuratoris cœnobii *de Bildewas*, postea Abbatis cœnobii B. Mariæ juxta Dublin, jus filiationis adjudicatum est cœnobio Bildewasensi.

Juxta Dublin. MC. Dermitius Murchardi filius, rex *La-B. Mariæ de Hoggis.* geniæ, fundavit ibi cœnobium Monialium ordinis Aroacensis, circa an. Dom. 1146. *Cui supposuit* (anno 1151,) *cellas duas, unam juxta Waterford,* (Killelehin dictam) *Ossoriensis diocesis, alteram dictam Athadah, fortè Leghlinensis Diocesis.* Sic Regestum Johannis Alani Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, sub Hen. 8.

Juxta Dublin. P. Idem Dermitius canonicis ordinis *omnium Sanctorum.* Aroacensis posuit, circa ann. 1166. Ibi demùm Elizabetha Regina Collegium erexit, anno Dom. 1591, SS. Trinitati dedicatum, et Academicis ornavit privilegiis.

Juxta Dublin. M. Gulielmus filius Aldelmi, vice et mandato Henrici secundi regis Angliæ, *S. Thomæ Martyris.* cœnobium ibi fundavit Canonicis ordinis Victoriensis, præsentibus Viviano tituli S. Stephani in Cœlio monte presbytero cardinale, Laurentio Dubliniensi Archiepiscopo, &c. Anno Dom. 1177. Deinde amplissimis redditibus alii locupletârunt.

Juxta Dublin. extra Aluredus *le Palmer* Ostmannus *fun-*
novam portam, P. dator fuit et primus Prior circa annum
S. Johannis Baptistæ. 1188. Alii redditibus et latifundiis ditârunt. Hic Prioratus fuit etiam *Hospitale* infirmorum, quod, regnante Edwardo 3, 155 infirmos et pauperes simul sustentabat, *præter Capellanos et Con-*

- versos*, ut ex Archivis liquet. Quando primùm Cruciferi (sub regula S. Augustini) ibi fuerint locati, me latet.
- Juxta Dublin. FC. S. Salvatoris.* Conventus Dominicanorum introductus est anno 1224. Ecclesiam eorum (S. Salvatori dicatam) kalendis Maii 1238 fundatam produnt annales cœnobii B. Mariæ juxta Dublin.
- Juxta Dublin. FC.* Cœnobium ordinis Minorum exstructum est circa annum 1236, Henrico 3 rege Angliæ structuram promovente. Aream domus contulit Radulphus *le Porter*.
- Juxta Dublin. FC.* Sedem hîc primò fixerunt fratres ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, circa annum 1259. Hujus ordinis quamplurimos, Dublinii *doctrinâ præfulgisse* notat Johannes Alanus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis in Regesto suo.
- Juxta Dublin. FC. B. Mariæ.* Robertus Bagot, equ. aur. erexit fratribus ordinis B. Mariæ de monte Carmel, anno 1274, in fundo quem à cœnobio Vallis Salutis comparaverat.
- Clontarf. Pr. S. Congalli.* Primùm sedes fuit Militum Templariorum, aliàs fratrum militiæ Templi, sub Henrico 2. Sed ejectis demùm Templariis, sub Edwardo secundo anno 1313, facta est Præceptoría Militum Hospitalariorum. Sedet ad Liffii æstuarium. Hujus loci Henricus VIII, Junii 20, 1541, Vicecomitem creavit (durante vita) Johannem Rausonum Priorem Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani, in Hibernia, eique concessit annuam 500 marcarum pensionem ex prædiis et redditibus dicti Prioratus solvendam.
- Grace-dieu, al. de Gratia Dei, MC. B. Mariæ.* Johannes Cominus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis monialibus fundavit et prædiis ditavit circa annum 1190.

Holm. Patric, al. de Sitricus filius Murchardi construxit Insula S. Patricii, P. Canonicis Augustinianis, ante Anglorum ingressum. Henricus *Loundres* Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis ad locum commodiorem transtulit ann. 1220.

Kilmainan, ad Lif-flum flu. P. S. Johannis Baptistæ. Hunc Prioratum fundavit Militibus ordinis S. Johannis Baptistæ de Hierusalem vulgò dictis Militibus Hospitalariis, Richardus cognomento *Strongbow*, comes Penbrochiæ, vel Striguliæ, circa annum 1174. Dotationem confirmavit Henricus secundus. Ex aliorum postea donis, mirum in modum hic ordo crevit et floruit: at præcipuè ex quo sub Edwardo secundo, possessiones ordinis Militum Templariorum (tùm nuper damnati) huic ordini concessæ fuerunt, Waltero *del Ewe* sive de Aquâ, tunc Militum Hospitalarium Priore. Hic Prioratus erat etiam Hospitale sive Xenodochium, pro peregrinis et hospitibus recipiendis. Locus nomen habet à S. Maignano Episcopo, qui ibi vixit sub initium seculi 7, et cujus festum agitur 18 Decembris.

E regione Saltus Salmonum, P. S. Catharinæ.

Warisius de Pech fundavit ibi cœnobium Canonicis Regularibus anno 1219. Alexander Bicknorus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, consensu Gulielmi Hausted loci patroni, annexuit cœnobio S. Thomæ juxta Dublin. anno 1327.

COMITATUS KILDARENSIS.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Kildaræ, MC. S. Brigidæ.

S. Brigida virgo monialibus posuit circa annum Domini 480, ubi ipsa Abbatissa

Kildaræ, FC.

Kildaræ, FC.

B. Mariæ.

*Athyæ, ad Baroum
flu. FC.*

*Juxta Athyam, P.
S. Johannis, aliis,
S. Thomæ.*

*Clanæ, ad Liffium
flu. FC.*

*Cloncurry, FC.
B. Mariæ.*

*Conal, ad Liffium
flu. P. B. Mariæ.*

batissa præfuit. *Kildara Cellam Roboris* sonat.

Conventum ordinis fratrum. Minorum posuit Geraldus filius Mauriti, circa annum 1260. Alii Gulielmum de Vescy fundatorem asserunt.

Dictus Gulielmus de Vescy cœnobium ordinis Carmelitarum ibidem extruxit.

Sedem hic (cis pontem) primò fixerunt Dominicani, anno 1257, ubi etiam capitula illius ordinis habita sunt annis 1288, 1295 et 1305.

Hoc cœnobium (ultra pontem) extruxit Cruciferis, Richardus de S. Michaele Rhebanæ dominus, regnante Johanne.

In cœnobio ordinis Minorum ibidem (secundùm annales cœnobii Hailesensis) sepultus est anno 1287 Geraldus filius Mauriti, fortè loci fundator. Alii sepultum volunt in cœnobio fratrum minorum Kildaræ. Hi fratres, à panno coloris *Grisei* seu cineritii, quo vestiti, (ut hoc semel obiter adnotem) nobis vulgò *Grey-fryers* dicti.

Johannes Roch Carmelitis conventum ibi fundavit anno 1347, licentia Edwardi 3 impetrata; et hi à veste alba, ~~White~~ *fryers* vocati, uti Dominicani, sive fratres Prædicatores, à veste nigra, ~~Black~~ *fryers*.

Milerus, filius Henrici, Hiberniæ Justitiarius fundavit an. 1202, et Canonicis Regularibus ordinis S. Augustini implevit, ex cœnobio Lhanthoniensi. Hic ille tumultus est an. 1220. Patrem habuit Henricum filium nothum Henrici primi, regis Angliæ.

Graney, MC.
B. Mariæ.

Gualterus de Ridelesford monialibus ordinis S. Augustini ædificavit, circa annum Dom. 1200. Possessiones confirmavit Johannes rex Angliæ.

*Juxta pontem de
Kilcullen, vulgò
Néw Abbeg, FC.*

Hunc conventum ord. Minorum de observantia, an. 1486, Dominus Rolandus Fitz Eustace Baro de Portlester et summus Hiberniæ Quæstor fundavit ad Liffium flu. prope dictum pontem. Ibi ille tumulatus est anno 1496. Monumentum tamen speciosum sibi et Margaretæ *Jenico* uxori suæ extruxerat Dublinii, in ecclesia S. Audoëni, in capella nempè B. Mariæ.

*Killbegs, Kilheel,
Tully, Pr.*

Tres Præceptorie Equitum Hospitaliorum, è quibus penultima donum fuit Mauritii filii Geraldii.

Kilrush, C.

Gulielmus *Marescallus*, comes Penbrochiæ, Canonicis Regularibus fundavit, et cellam fecit Prioratus de Carthmel, apud Lancastrienses, in Anglia.

*Monaster-Evin, al.
Rosglas, et de Roseâ
valle, M. B. Mariæ.*

Dermitius Demæus, Ofaliæ Dynasta, monachis Cisterciensibus fundavit, anno 1178, aliis 1189. Hoc cœnobium nomen habet à S. Evino qui claruit sub initium seculi 7, in monasterio suo de *Ros-mac-Treom*. Sedet ad Baroum flu.

Nasæ FC.

Fratres ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini.

*Juxta Nasam, P.
S. Joh. Baptistæ.
Juxta Nasam, FC.*

Fundatur à Nasæ Barone, Canonicis Augustiniansis.

Fundatur fratribus ordinis Prædicatorum, ad collis rotundi radicem, circa annum 1356, licentiâ regis Edwardi 3 impetratâ. Eustacii patroni fuerunt.

*Timolinbeg, MC.
B. Mariæ.*

Robertus, filius Richardi, Norrachæ Dominus velatis virginibus ord. Aroacensis, monasterium posuit, et ibi Lece-

linam neptim abdidit, sub initium regni Johannis.

Tristle-dermot, vulgò Gualterus de Ridelesford loci Dominus fratribus Cruciferis posuit, regnante Johanne. Oppidum nomen habet à S. Diarmitio, qui vitam illic solitariam egit, unde olim Desertum Diarmitii appellabatur.

Tristle-dermot, al. Sedem ibi fixerunt fratres ordinis Minorum, regnante Edwardo primo.

Castle-dermot, P. et H.S. Johannis Baptistæ. Richardus, primus loci Prior et Adamus de Hereford hoc cœnobium fundârunt Canonicis ordinis Victoriensis, circa annum Dom. 1205, in memoriam Wolstani Episcopi Wigorniensis, tum nuper ab Innocentio 3, inter sanctos relati. Prima pars structuræ ibidem vulgò appellabatur *Scala Cœli*. Sedet amœnissimè ad dextram ripam Liffii fluvii.

COMITATUS WICKLO.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Wickloæ, FC.

Conventus ordinis Minorum ibi fundatur, regnante Henrico 3, ad Devum sive *De flu.* Wickloa Hibernis *Kilman-tan* vocatur, sed Wickloa (ab Ostmanis olim possessa) exoticam sapit originem : nam Wick Germanicè fluminis sinum significat, vel ut Hadrianus Junius habet, stationem securam, ubi conjunctioribus ædificiis habitatur.

Archloæ, Hibernis Iniver-more, FC.

Theobaldus Pincerna anno Dom. 1264 conventum ibi posuit fratribus ordinis Prædicatorum. In ecclesia ibidem ipse

sepultus est cum statua superimposita. Arckloa recentius est nomen, ab Ostmannis impositum.

Baltinglas, al. de Valle Salutis, M. B. Mariæ.

Dermitus Murchardi filius rex Lageniæ, anno 1148, aliis 1151, monachis ordinis Cistertiensis construxit et prædiis dotavit. Slano fluvio adsidet.

COMITATUS WEXFORD.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Wexfordiæ, Hibernis Gulielmus Marescallus Comes Pen-
Logh-Garmon, P. S. brochix Hospitalariis Militibus con-
Johannis et S. Brigidæ. struxit.

Wexfordiæ, FC.

Sedem ibi fixerunt Minoritæ, regnante Henrico 3. In hoc cœnobio Mauritium Geraldii filium (à quo stemma ducit Geraldinorum familia) sepultum asserit Joh. Hookerus, at falsò proculdubio: nam Mauritius ille obiit 1177, diù ante institutionem ordinis fratrum Minorum.

Juxta Wexford, P.
SS. Petri et Pauli *de Selsker.*

Ibi Canonici fuerunt Regulares ord. S. Augustini. Rochei patroni fuerunt, sed quis primus fuerit conditor, non comperi. Fama tenet Ostmannos fundasse.

Clomin, FC.

Sedes ibi fuit fratrum ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini, quam Nicolaus filius Nicolai *Clericus* auxit et ornavit an. 1385. Sunt qui asserunt sedem postea factam fratrum Prædicatorum. Vid. Inquis. Scaccarii, anno 31 Hen. 8.

Donbrody, al. de Portu S. Mariæ, M.

Hervæus de monte Marisco *Marescallus Dom. Regis* (Hen. 2) et *Senescallus de tota terra Richardi comitis*

*Penbrochiæ dedit Ardifthēn, Crosgormoc, &c., Deo et S. Mariæ et S. Benedicto, et monachis de Bildewas, apud Salopien-
ses in Anglia, ad Abbatiam constru-
endam de ordine Cistertii, circa annum
1175. Cæterum ipsum cœnobium Don-
brodiense non fundatum fuit ante an.
1182, quo Abbas et conventus domus
Beatæ Mariæ de Bildewas concesserunt
Abbati et conventui Domus B. Mariæ
juxta Dublin. totum jus et clameum quæ
habuerunt in terris, et tenementis præ-
dictis: ut è Regesto dicti cœnobii B.
Mariæ juxta Dublin, intelligimus. Paulò
postea, Hervæus fundator cucullum
induit Cantuariæ, in Ecclesia Christi.
In hoc cœnobio sepultus est anno 1217,
Herlewinus Episcopus Leghlinensis, cu-
jus ecclesiæ magnam partem construx-
erat. Sedet prope confluentes Baroi et
Suiri.*

Dunum. M.

Hoc cœnobium Canonicorum ord. S. Augustini, ante adventum Anglorum in Hiberniam fundatum, sedet ad *Derrihy* amniculum qui non procul hinc Slano consociatur.

Fernæ, M. B. Mariæ.

Dermitius, filius Murchardi, rex Lageniæ, fundavit ibi cœnobium Canonicis Augustinianis, circa annum 1158, ad Bannium fluviolum, qui ad tertium hinc milliare Slano se committit.

*Glascarig, aliàs, de
Viridi rupe, P.
B. Mariæ.*

Griffinus Condon, David Roch aliàs de Rupe, et alii hoc cœnobium monachis Benedictinis posuerunt, ad oram maritimam, prædiis dotârunt, et cellam fecerunt cœnobii S. Dogmaëlis apud Penbrochienses in Wallia.

- Horton parva, FC.* Fundatur Carmelitis à familia Furlongorum.
- B. Mariæ.*
- Iniscorthy, FC.* Donaldus cognomento Fuscus posuit ibi cœnobium ord. Fratrum Minorum de observantia anno 1460.
- Juxta Iniscorthy, ad* Giraldus de Prendergast loci patronus
Slanum flu. P. et Johannes de S. Johanne episcopus
S. Johannis Euan- Fernensis cellam fecerunt cœnobii
gelistæ. Canonicorum S. Thomæ juxta Dublin. circa annum Dom. 1240, ut ex chartis eorum liquet, Regesto dicti cœnobii S. Thomæ insertis.
- Kiclogan, Pr.* Templarii milites hîc sedem fixerunt, circa tempus Johannis regis, sed suppressis Templariis, sub Edwardo 2, facta est Præceptoría militum Hospitalariorum. Sedet non procul à Surio flu. à cujus ostio vix 2 miliaribus abest.
- Rossæ, al. Ross-* Johannes Devereux miles fundavit
Pontis, FC. conventum ord. Minorum in loco ubi aliquando domus erat Cruciferorum, ad Baroi flu. ripam, regnante Edwardo primo.
- Rossæ, FC.* Conventus ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini fundatur ibidem regnante Edwardo 3.
- Tintern, al. de Voto,* Gulielmus *Marescallus* senior comes
M. B. Mariæ. Penbrochiæ an. Dom. 1200, cùm effratam tempestatem evasisset, ex voto hoc cœnobium construxit, sinuoso in litore, prædiis ditavit et monachis implevit Cistertiensibus, ex cœnobio Tinternensi, apud Monumethenses in Wallia, quibus Abbatem præfecit Johannem Torrell. Hoc cœnobium, à Chrysostomo Henriques, in fasciculo Sanctorum ordinis Cistertiensis, appellatur *Minor Tinterna*.

KILKENNY.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

*Fundatores, ordines et aliæ
antiquitates.*

Kilkennia P. seu H. S. Gulielmus *Marescallus* senior comes
Johannis Euangelistæ. Penbrochiæ Canonicis Augustinianis po-
suit an. 1211, ad ortum urbis, quam à S.
Canico, cujus nomen fert, Canicopolim
vocare licet.

Kilkennia, FC. Gulielmus *Marescallus* junior comes
Penbrochiæ fratribus ordinis Prædica-
torum excitavit anno 1225.

Kilkennia, FC. Conventus fratrum Minorum con-
struitur Kilkennia, circa an. 1240, si
non quod aliqui tradunt ante an. 1234,
juxta ripam Neori flu.

Calanæ, FC. Cœnobium ibi Fratribus ordinis
Eremitarum S. Augustini construxit
Jacobus Butlerus, in cujus ecclesia ipse
sepultus est anno 1487. Is pater fuit
Petri comitis Ormonia, sub Henrico 8.
Sunt qui foundationem ascribunt Hugoni
de Mapilton episcopo Ossoriensi, reg-
nante Henr. 3. Sed perperam opinor.

Dousk al. M. de Gulielmus *Marescallus* senior comes
Valle S. Salvatoris. Penbrochiæ construxit an. 1207, aliis
1204, et monachis Cisterciensibus re-
plevit, ex cœnobio de Stanleia, apud
Wiltonienses in Anglia. Monachos
verò post eorum adventum in Hiber-
niam sedem sæpè mutasse, antequàm
Douskæ fixerunt, docet loci Regestum.
Monasterium de Killenny, aliàs de Valle
Dei (quod Dermitius O-Rian fundaverat,
assensu Dermitii, Murchardi filii, regis
Lageniæ) huic cœnobio conjunctum est
anno 1227.

Fert-ne-gerah, P.

Canonici ordinis S. Augustini.

S. Kiarani.

*Jeripont, al. Geripont,
M. B. Mariæ.*

Hoc cœnobium monachis Cistertiensibus posuit, vel ab alio loco, in Ossoria, hûc transtulit Donaldus, regulus Ossoriæ, anno Dom. 1180. Inter sepulchra ecclesiæ ibidem, memoranda inprimis sunt ea Donaldi conditoris et Felicis O-Dul-lani episcopi Ossoriensis, qui Aghavoa relictâ, cathedram episcopalem Kilkenniam transtulit, circa finem seculi 12.

*Inistiock, P.
S. Columbæ.*

Thomas, filius Antonii, Senescallus Lageniæ Canonicis Augustinianis construxit, circa annum 1206, suâ Hugonis Rufi, aliâs *le Rou*, episcopi Ossoriensis.

*Kentis, al. Kells,
P. B. Mariæ.*

Galfridus, filius Roberti, (Lageniæ Senescallus ante jam dictum Thomam) fundavit hoc cœnobium, regnante Richardo primo, ac in eo collocavit 4 Canonicos ordinis S. Augustini, ex cœnobio Bodminensi, apud Cornubienses in Angliâ, deductos, nimirum Reginaldum de Acland, primum loci Priorem, Hugonem Rufum, Reginaldi successorem in Prioratu et demum episcopum Ossoriensem, Aluredum, factum postea primum cœnobii Inistiokensis Priorem, et Algarum, qui Romam postea missus, ob cœnobii sui negotia, episcopatum quandam obtinuisse fertur in Lombardia. Huic cœnobio annexus est postea Prioratus *de Tullales*, quem in agro Corcagiensi extruxerat Matthæus filius Griffini.

*Kilclehin, al. de Bello
portu. MC. S. Kil-
linni.*

Dermotus, Murchardi filius, rex Lageniæ cellam fecit monialium B. Mariæ *de Hoggis* juxta Dublin, anno Dom. 1151. Prædiis post adventum Anglorum ditâ-

runt Johannes comes Moretoni Dom. Hiberniæ et David filius Milonis. Sedet ad Surium flu. è regione Waterfordiæ.

Knocktogher. FC.

Jacobus, secundus comes Ormonniæ, Carmelitis posuit, anno Dom. 1356.

B. Mariæ.

Ross-Ibercan, FC.

Conventus fratrum ord. Prædicatorum introductus est anno 1267, 13 Kalend. Nov. Sedet ad Baroum flu. è regione Ross-pontis.

COMITATUS CATHERLAGH.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Leghlinæ. P.

S. Stephani.

De ordine, nihil traditum reperi, Prioratum vero dissolutum fuisse Eugenii 4 Papæ autoritate, an. 1432, et terras Decanatu Leghlinensi tunc annexas, ad rogatum Nicolai Cloal Decani, prodit in annalibus suis Thaddæus Doulingus, qui porro asserit Burchardum, quendam Norwegum, Gurmundi filium, Prioratum fundâsse, vel potiùs dotâsse, eúmque in choro ecclesiæ Cathedralis Leghlinensis, sub marmore conditum, cum statua ejus superimposita, et epitaphio sequenti,

HIC JACET HUMATUS DUX FUNDATOR LENIÆ, EN GOR MONDI BURCARDUS, VIR GRATUS ECCLESIAE.
--

Juxta pontem Leghlin, FC. B. Mariæ.

Cœnobium hoc Carmelitis exstructum est ad orientalem Baroi ripam, sub exitum Henrici 3 regis. Carewum quendam fundatorem fuisse tradit Johannes Hookerus in Scholiis ad cap. 23 lib. 2

Giraldi Cambrensis, de expugnatione Hiberniæ. Sed perperam ibi conventum appellat fratrum Minorum.

Athaddy, MC.

Dermitius, filius Murchardi, rex Lageniæ cellam fecit domus monialium B. Mariæ de Hoggis juxta Dublin. Hanc Præceptoriam, regnante Johanne, Militibus Templariis condidit Gilbertus de Borard Sed sub Edwardo 2, equitibus Hospitaliis assignata est.

*Killergy. Pr. S. Jo-
hannis Baptistæ.*

*Tulli-Felim, al. Fe-
lagh, FC.*

Simon Lombard et Hugo Talun fratribus ord. Eremitar. S. Augustini fundaverunt an. 1414, ad ripam Slani flu.

COMITATUS REGIS.

Loca et tituli dedi-
cationum.

*Fundatores, ordines et aliæ
antiquitates.*

*Durrogh, antiquitus
Dermagh, seu Cam-
pus Roboris. M. B.
Mariæ et S. Columbæ.*

Sanctus Columba fundavit circa annum 550. Vid. Bed. Ecclesiastic. Historiæ gentis Anglorum lib. 3, cap. 4, et Adamnan. vit. Columbæ lib. 1, cap. 3. Extat etiamnum, (qui asservabatur olim in hoc cœnobio) liber 4 Euangeliorum, ex versione D. Hieronymi, laminis argenteis ornatus, quem, inscriptio præfixa, manu S. Columbæ, *per 12 dierum spatium* exaratum refert. Canonicos hujus cœnobii, tempore suppressionis et diù antea, ordinis fuisse Augustiniani constat, quanquam confitendum etiam S. Columbam monachis suis, ibi primò dispositis, propriam condidisse regulam. Consimilem habuerunt eventum (obiter adnoto) regulæ à SS. Brendano, Congallo, &c. institutæ, ut infra patebit.

- Gallen al Galin. P.* S. Canocus al. Mochonocus Abbas Canonici Augustinianis construxit, circa annum 492. Consul. Joh. Colgani Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 11 Februarii. Sedet ad Brassinogh flu. in regiuncula Mac-Coghlani, quæ pars est Comitatus Regis.
- Killeighæ, in Ofalia, P. S. Crucis.* S. Sincellum Mac Cenenain Abbatem Killeach obiisse ann. 548, produnt Annales Ultonienses. Fortè primus fuit Abbas et fundator loci de quo hic agimus. Hic Canonici fuerunt Augustiniani.
- Killeighæ, FC.* Fundatur Minoritis, regnante Edwardo primo.
- Killeighæ M.C. Kilcarmic, FC. B. Mariæ.* Moniales ordinis S. Augustini. Cœnobium Carmelitis hic construxit ad Brassinogh flu. Odo filius Nellani Mulloy, in cujus ecclesiâ ipse sepultus est anno 1454.
- Monaster-Feoris, al. Totmoy, FC.* Johannes de Bermingham, comes Lovidiæ, cœnobium illud Minoritis posuit, anno 1325, in ea parte hujus agri quæ Ofalia dicitur.
- Seir, al. Saiger-Kiaran. P.S. Kiarani.* Sanctus Kiaranus vel Ciaranus senior construxit ibi cœnobium in primâ ecclesiæ Hibernicæ infantia, quod magno olim honore floruit. Situm est in ea parte Comitatus Regis, quæ appellatur *Elia Carolina*. Canonici hujus cœnobii ordinis fuerunt S. Augustini.

COMITATUS REGINÆ.

- Loca et tituli dedicationum. *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.*
- Aghavoxæ, in Ossoria superiore, FC.* Cœnobium ibi Dominicanis construxerunt majores Baronis superioris Ossoriæ

soriæ. Atqui Aghavoa (i.e. si interpretis, *Campus Bovis*, sicut Boëtia Græciæ à Bobus) olim celebris inprimis erat, ob S. Canicum Abbatem, qui obiit ibidem 5 Idus Octobris anno 600.

Aghmacart, P.

Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum.

S. Tigernaci.

Leix. al. de Lege Dei, Fundatum anno Dom. 1183, et monachis impletum Cistertiensibus, ex cœnobio Baltinglassensi. Thaddæus Doulingus erectum asserit à Cocheerio O-Moro, ibique eum postea tumulatum.

M. B. Mariæ.

Situm est ad Neorum flu. in ea parte comitatus Reginæ, quæ *Leasia*, vulgò appellatur.

Stradbally, in Leasia, Fundatur Minoritis ab O-Moro. FC.

Hunc conventum eundem esse existimo cum eo cujus meminit Pisanus, sub nomine *Luasice*.

MIDIA, SIVE MIDIA ORIENTALIS.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Trimmæ, M.

B. Mariæ.

De primo fundatore hujus cœnobii, non habeo quod dicam. Extructum fuisse diù ante Anglorum adventum liquet. In Annalibus Ultoniensibus ad an. 820, vel 821, fit mentio mortis Cenfealæ, filii Rumaini, scribæ, episcopi, anachoretæ et abbatis Trimmensis. Lacæi vel restaurârunt, vel de novo extruxerunt. Hic Canonici fuerunt Regulares ord. S. Augustini.

Trimmæ, FC.

Conventus Dominicanorum introductus est an. 1263. In hoc conventu habitum ordinis Prædicatorum suscepit

Trimmæ, FC.

Juxta, Trim. P.

*SS. Petri et Pauli
de Newton.*

*Juxta Trim, P. seu
H.S. Joh. Baptistæ
de Newton.*

Athboyæ, FC.

B. Mariæ.

*Ballibogan, al. de
Laudē Dei, P.*

S. Trinitatis.

*Beaubec, seu de Bello
becco, C. B. Mariæ.*

*Bectif, al. de Beatitu-
dine, M. B. Mariæ.*

an. 1308, Galfridus de Genevil Midiaë Dominus.

Ord. Minorum.

Simon de Rupe-forti episcopus Miodensis fundavit Canonicis Augustinianis circa annum 1286, et Clonardâ relictâ, hûc cathedram episcopalem transtulit. Mortem obiit 1224, et in ecclesia ibidem sepultus est.

Ord. Cruciferorum. Episcopi Miodenses vel Fundatores fuerunt vel benefactores.

Gulielmus de Loundres loci Dominus ann. 1317 fundavit ibi conventum fr. Carmelitarum. Capitulum illius ord. ibi habitum est anno 1467.

Ord. Canonicorum Regularium. De vetustate hujus cœnobii, quod dicam nihil certi occurrit. Fama tenet Jordanum Comin fundâsse. Sedet ad Boinum flu.

Cella fuit monasterii B. Mariæ de Becco in Normannia, ordinis S. Benedicti, ex dono Walteri de Lacy, Midiaë Domini, sub Johanne rege. Atqui postea cella facta est cœnobii Furnesensis, apud Lancastrienses in Anglia, ord. Cisterciensis. Nam Abbas Becensis, impetratâ vendendi licentiâ ab Edwardo 3 rege Angliæ, cellam eam vendidit Abbati Furnesii. *Bec* Gallis significat et avis rostrum, et terræ extremitatem ubi duo confluunt flumina.

Ord. Cisterciensis. De tempore fundationis hujus cœnobii variant Chronographi ordinis Cisterciensis: sunt qui fundatum tradunt anno 1146 14 Januarii, alii, anno 1148, et alii anno 1151.

- Clonardæ antiquitus* Ord. Canonicorum S. Augustini, S.
Cluainirard, P. Finianum Clonardæ splendorem singu-
S. Petri. larem cœnobium ibi construxisse non
 diù post seculi sexti initium constat.
 Atqui cœnobium, de quo jam loquimur
 (nescio an antiquioris proles) à Lacæis
 fundatum est, in S. Petri memoriam.
 Sedet ad sinistram ripam Boini flu.
- Clonardæ MC.* Moniales ord. S. Augustini. *O-Me-*
B Mariæ. *laghlin* Midix regulus dotavit ante An-
 glorum adventum. Cœlestinus 3 con-
 firmavit possessiones an. Dom. 1195.
 Atqui hæc domus ad tantam postea
 redacta est paupertatem, ut facta fuerit
 demùm cella cœnobii Monialium S.
 Brigidæ de Odra, vulgò *Odder*.
- Colp. C.* Ord. Canonicorum Regularium S.
 Augustini. Hugo de Lacy, Dominus
 Midix, cellam fecit Prioratus Lanthoniæ
 primæ apud Monumethenses in Wallia,
 circa annum 1182.
- Dulekæ, olim Dam-* Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum.
liag, M. B. Mariæ. Hoc cœnobium à Kellæo quodam diù
 ante Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam,
 fundatum fuisse, ex Rotulo clauso anni
 29 Edw. 3, intelligimus.
- Dulekæ, C. S. Cia-* Ord. Canonicorum S. Augustini.
nani. Hugo de Lacy, Dominus Midix, cellam
 fecit Prioratus Lanthoniæ juxta Gloces-
 triam in Anglia, circa annum 1180, cele-
 bris ibi olim memoria S. Cianani (vulgò
 Kenani) qui obiit anno 489, vel 488, ad
 quem. An sic Annales Ulton. *Quies S.*
Cianani, cui S. Patricius Euangelium
largitus est.

Kenlisæ, vulgò *Kells*, S. Columba fundavit ibi insigne olim antiquitùs, *Cenanus*, monasterium, circa an. 550. Locum seu *Kenanus*, M. donavit Dermitius, filius Cerballi, rex B. Mariæ. Hiberniæ. Restauravit postea Cellacus Abbas Jonæ sive Hu insulæ anno 806. Qua de re, vide Annales Ultonienses, ad ann. 806 et 813. Oppidum Aquæ nigræ al. Manæ fluvio adsidet, non obscuræ olim famæ, inter alia, S. Cuthberti natalibus nobilitatum.

Juxta Kenlisam, P. Ordinis Cruciferorum, ex fundatione
seu H. S. Johannis Walteri de Lacy Midie Domini.
Baptistæ.

Kilmainan-beg, juxta Hanc præceptoriam dictus Walterus
Nobir. Pr. de Lacy Dominus Midie, regnante
 Richardo primo, equitibus Hospitalariis
 concessit. *Kilmainan-beg* significat ec-
 clesiam sive cellam parvam Maighani.

Kilmainan-wood, Pr. Ord. Militum Hospitaliorum.
Lismullen, MC. Avicia de la Corner, soror Richardi de
S. Trinitatis. la Corner, episcopi Midensis Monialibus
 ord. S. Augustini fundavit circa an-
 num 1240. Huic cœnobio Richardus
 ille concessit manneria de Dunsink et
 Bally-godman.

Navanæ, M. B. Mariæ. Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum,
 sub exitum seculi 12, à Jocelino Nan-
 gle, aliàs de Angulo fundatum vel res-
 tauratum. Inter Abbates eminuit Jo-
 hannes *Bole*, qui mense Junio 1457 con-
 secratus est Archiepiscopus Armachanus.
 Sedet ad confluentes Aquæ nigræ et
 Boini.

Odder, MC. S. Bridæ. Possessiones confirmavit Cœlestinus 3
 anno 1195. Huic cœnobio annexæ sunt
 postea cellulæ aliquot monialium in
 Midia.

Scrinx, FC.

Franciscus de Feipo, loci Dominus, regnante Edwardo 3, conventum ibi posuit fratribus ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini.

Slancæ, ad Boinum flu. FC.

Christophorus Flemingus, Baro de Slane et Elizabetha Stukleia uxor ejus fratribus tertii ord. S. Francisci fundarunt anno 1512, in loco *Hermitorii S. Erci*, ut ex chartâ foundationis intelligimus. Christophorus ille anno sequenti (obiter adnoto) ab Henrico 8, Summus Hiberniæ Quæstor constitutus est.

MIDIA OCCIDENTALIS.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Molingaræ, P. B. Mariæ.

Ord. Canonorum Regularium. Radulphus Parvus aliàs *Petit* episcopus Midensis, fundavit circa annum 1227. Hic Prioratus olim vulgò nomine *Domus Dei de Molingare* innotuit.

Molingaræ, FC.

Conventus fratrum ord. Prædicatorum introductus est anno 1237. Postea annis 1278, 1292, 1308 et 1310, capitula illius ordinis ibi sunt habita.

Ardnecran, FC.

Ord B. Mariæ de monte Carmel.

In ea parte Athlonæ quæ agri censetur Westmidensis, FC.

Conventus fratrum ord. Minorum ibi collocatus dicitur à quodam è familia Dillonorum. Albertus patriâ Coloniensis Archiepiscopus Armachanus ecclesiam eorum consecravit anno 1242. Sedet ad sinistram ripam Shenani fluvii.

Ballymore Loghseudy, al. Plary, M. B. Mariæ.

Hoc cœnobium in antiquo codice Statutorum, &c., ordinis Cisterciensis in Hibernia, inter illius ordinis cœnobia numeratur. Atqui ordinis fuit (ut

puto) Gilbertini sive *de Sempringham* in quo Canonici fuerunt ordinis Præmonstratensis, et moniales ord. Cisterciensis, separatis tamen ædificiis utrique gregi assignatis. Lacæos fundatores agnoscit.

Fouræ, al. Favoriæ, P. SS. Taurini et Fechini.

Hic S. Fechinus cœnobium instituit Canonorum Regularium, cui ipse præfuit Abbas, usque ad annum 665, quo mortem obiit. Anno verò 1218, Walterus de Lacy, Dominus Midix, cellam fecit cœnobii S. Taurini Ebroidi (vulgò dicti *Evereux*) in Normannia, unde monachis Benedictinis replevit. An demùm 27 Henrica IV, Parlamentariâ auctoritate, abrogatum est jus Abbatis S. Taurini Ebroidensis, et data est monachis Fourensibus potestas suum deinceps Priorem eligendi. Hic locus (sicut *Kiriath-sepher* apud Judæis) olim etiam Hibernicè appellabatur *Balle-leabair*, id est, *Urbs Librorum*.

Kilbegain, al. de Flumine Dei, M. Fundatum anno 1200 et monachis Cisterciensibus impletum è cœnobio Mellifontis.

Kilkenny-west, P. seu Ord. Cruciferorum, ni fallor.

H. S. Joh. Bap.

FF. Tertii ord. S. Francisci.

Kilmachael, FC.

Fundatur à Gulielmo Delamaro, sub Henrico 3. vid. Luc Waddingi tom. 1. Annalium Minorum, ubi etiam conventus translatus dicitur à patribus conventualibus, ad observantiæ regularis professores, anno 1460.

Tristernagh, P.

Dominus Galfridus de Constantin fundavit ordini Canonorum Augustinianorum, et dotavit, circa annum, 1200, ut ex Regesto loci intelligimus.

B. Mariæ.

LONGFORD.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

*Fundatores, ordines et aliæ
antiquitates.*

Longfordæ, FC.

In hoc cœnobio Dominicanorum sepultus est anno 1424 Cornelius O'Ferrall episcopus Ardachadensis, vir ob liberalitatem erga pauperes celebratus, nescio an fundator domus.

*Balline-sagard, FC.
Derg, P. S. Petri.*

FF. Tertiæ ord. S. Francisci.
Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum.
Sunt qui fundatum asserunt (quàm verè nescio) à Gormgallo O-Quin, regnante Johanne. In hoc cœnobio sepultus est Brendanus *Magodaig* episcopus Ardachadensis, anno 1255.

*Granard, al. Lerha
juxta Granard, M.
B. Mariæ.*

Richardus Tuit miles, loci Dominus fundavit circa annum 1210, et Cisterciensibus monachis implevit, è cœnobio B. Mariæ juxta Dublin. Is anno sequente Athlonæ *turre cadente* obrutus periit.

*Inis-more, in lacu
Gawna, P.*

S. Columba ibi fundavit cœnobiolum Canonicis Regularibus, sub medium seculi quinti.

*Inis-bo-find, in She-
nani flu. lacu Lough-
Rie dicto, M.*

In hac insula amnica, S. Riochus Abbas S. Patricii è Darerca sorore nepos Canonicis cœnobiolum fundavit. Sunt et duæ insulæ ejusdem nominis mari circumfluæ, altera in agra Maionensi, in qua diù postea vixit S. Colmannus episcopus aliquando Lindisfarnensis, altera in Tirconallia.

*Inis-Cloghran, in
eodem lacu, M.*

S. Diarmitius Abbas fuit et fundator cœnobii Canonicorum ibidem, in primis surgentis ecclesiæ Hibernicæ temporibus.

Insula omnium Sanc-

S. Kiaranus cœnobiolum Canonicorum
Regularium

torum, al. Insula sacra, Regularium condidit in insula quadam in dicto lacu, P.

lacus Riensis dicta *Inis-Aingen*, aliàs *Oilean Aingin*. Aut me fallo, aut idem est cum eo de quo nunc loquimur. Sed de hac re quærant alii.

Shrowl, ad Enium flu. M. B. Mariæ.

Chronographi ord. Cistertiensis Monasterium de Benedictione Dei fundatum tradunt anno 1150, vel 1152. Fortè idem cum eo de quo loquimur: sed de hac re quærant etiam alii.

COMITATUS LOUTH, ANTIQUITUS PARS URIELIS, SIVE

ERGALLIÆ.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Droghedæ, sive Pontanæ, FC.

Ibi Lucas de Nettervil Archiepiscopus Armachanus cœnobium ord. Prædicatorum fundavit an. 1224. In hoc cœnobio sepultus est anno 1270, Patricius O-Scanlain ejusdem ecclesiæ Armachanæ Archiepiscopus.

Droghedæ, FC.

Conventus ord. Minorum Pontanæ initium sumpsit circa annum 1240, juxta ripam borealem flu. Boini.

Droghedæ, FC.

Conventus fratrum ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini introductus est, sub Edwardo primo.

Juxta Droghedam, P. sive H. S. Mariæ, de Urso.

Ursus de *Suamel* posuit extra portam occidentalem, circa annum Dom. 1206, ad sustentationem Hospitalitatis miserorum et infirmorum languentium, &c. Quando postea introducti fuerint fratres Cruciferi, sub regula S. Augustini, non reperi. primus loci præfectus, à fundatore dicebatur Custos, non Prior.

Juxta Droghedam, P.

Ord. (ni fallor) Cruciferorum. Prætor

S. Laurentii. tor et oppidani Pontanæ fundarunt, ut
ex *Inquisitione Scaccarii* intelligimus.

Juxta Droghedam, Conventus Carmelitarum Pontanæ
FC. B. Mariæ. initium sumpsit, Edwardo primo reg-
nante, ex largitione oppidanorum.

Juxta Droghedam, P. Ord. Cruciferorum. Walterus de
sive H. S. Johannis Baptistæ. Lacy, si non fundator, saltem primarius
fuit benefactor, sub Johanne rege.

Admonendus est lector Droghedam partim in agro Louth-
ensi positam esse, partim in Midensi, neutrius tamen censen-
dam, quòd Comitatus sit distinctus et per se incorporatus, item
omnia dicta cœnobia sita esse in ea parte urbis (ultra pontem)
quæ olim ad Louthensem comitatum spectabat, exceptis Hos-
pitali S. Johannis Baptistæ et cœnobio fratrum B. Mariæ de
Monte Carmel, quæ (cis Pontem) ad Midiam olim spectabant,
Oppidum nomen habet à ponte et vado: pontem enim *Droched*,
vadum *Ah* nuncupant Hiberni.

Atherdeæ, al. de Ord. Cruciferorum, sub regula S.
Atrio Dei, P. Augustini, Rogerus Pipard, loci Dom-
S. Johannis Baptistæ. inus posuit, circa annum 1207.

Atherdeæ, FC. Ordinis Carmelitarum. Radulphus
B. Mariæ. Pipard construxi tregnante Edwardo
primo.

Carlingfordiæ, FC. Ordinis Prædicatorum. Comites Ul-
toniæ patroni fuerunt.

Dundalkæ, FC. Ad ortum oppidi, cœnobium erat
fratrum Minorum, à Domino Johanne de
Verdon, sub Henrico 3, exstructum Fen-
estra ejus orientalis, ob opus eximium,
per universam Hiberniam, magno olim
habebatur in pretio.

Juxta Dundalkam, Ordinis Cruciferorum, sub regula S.
P.S. Leonardi. Augustini. Bertramus de Verdon, loci
dominus, fundavit sub exitum Henrici II.
Oppidum, Richardi filii Radulphi, Arma-
chani Archiepiscopi natalibus illustratum,
qui inde dictus est vulgò S. Richardus
de *Dundalk*.

Kilsaran, Pr.

Primùm sedes fuit Militum Templariorum, ex largitione Matildæ de Lacy, postea sub Edwardo 2, Præceptorum Equitum Hospitalariorum.

Louthæ, P.C. Mariæ,

Monasterium Louthæ, (antiquitùs Lughæ) à S. Moctæo primo ibi episcopo, vivente S. Patricio, constructum tradit scriptor vitæ ejus, à Johanne Colgano editus, è codice Salmanticensi, anno 1645. Quàm diù illud cœnobium duraverit non reperi. Cæterum Donatus O-Caroll rex Ergalliæ et Edanus O-Kelly episcopus Clochorensis novum fundârunt cœnobium Canonicorum Regularium Louthæ, anno 1148, in quo ipse Edanus sepultus est anno 1182, eùm sedi Clochorensi præfuisset annos circiter 42.

Knock juxta Loutham al. M. de Monte Apostolorum SS. Petri et Pauli.

Hoc cœnobium Canonicis Augustinianis fundavit jam dictus Donatus O-Caroll. Possessionibus deinde dotavit Edanus O-Kelly, de quo supra, quas sibi contulerat Donatus, ut è Regesto Clochorensi liquet. Locus olim appellabatur *Knock-na-sengan*, i.e. Collis formicarum.

Mellifons, filia Clarævallis, M.B. Mariæ.

Mellifons insigne olim monasterium ordinis Cisterciensis (è quo educta sunt plurima ejusdem ordinis cœnobìa, per universam Hiberniam) fundatur à Donato O-Caroll regulo Ergalliæ sive Urielis, anno 1142. Monachis illud implevit Divus Bernardus, è cœnobio suo Clarævallensi in Gallia, Abbate illis præposito Christiano O-Conarchy, postea Lismorensi episcopo. In ecclesia ibidem plura fuerunt sepulchra, episcoporum et aliorum, memoranda tamen imprimis videntur illa Donati conditoris, necnon Thomæ O-Conner et Lucæ Net-

Termon-Fechan
MC. B. Mariæ.

tervil ecclesiæ Armachanæ Archiepiscoporum. Situm loci valdè assimilem ferunt Clarævallensi.

Ord. S. Augustini. Cælestinus 3 possessiones hujus cœnobii monialium confirmavit 4 Calend. Martii 1195. Sed quàm diù antea erectum fuerit, non reperi.

PROVINCIA ULTONIÆ.

ARMACH.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Armachæ, M.
SS. Petri et Pauli.

S. Patricius primus dicitur fundator, secundus Imarus O-Hedagain Præceptor Malachiæ O-Morgair postea Archiepiscopi Armachani. Canonici hujus cœnobii ordinis fuerunt S. Augustini.

Armachæ, FC.

Patricius O-Scanlain (ex ordine Prædicatorum) Archiepiscopus Armachanus Minoritis cœnobiū extruxit ibidem anno 1263 vel 1264.

Armachæ, MC.

Hic porro duo extracta fuerunt cœnobiola monialium, alterum dictum Templum Brigidæ, alterum *Temple-na-ferta*, sive Templum miraculorum, in quo S. Lupita S. Patricii soror sepulta est. De primo conditore non possum aliquid pro certo affirmare. Jocelinus in vit. S. Patricii cap. 165, fundata innuit à S. Patricio. Ad hanc rem vid. porro vit. S. Patricii, quam ex codice, MS. cœnobii Alnensis, edidit Johannes Colganus.

Kilsleve, al. Kilaleve-cuilin, MC.

Darerca, quæ et Moninne monialibus construxit, ubi ipsa Abbatissa præfuit, et decessit 6 Julii anno 518.

Down.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

*Fundatores, ordines et alia
antiquitates.*

*Duni, vulgò Down,
Hibernicè Dunda-
lethglas, P. et Eccle-
sia cathedralis
S. Patricii.*

Johannes de Curcy Ultoniæ expug-
nator, secularibus Canonicis expulsis,
Monachis Benedictinis implevit ex cœ-
nobio S. Werburgæ Cestriæ, anno 1183,
è quibus Gulielmus de Etleshall factus
est primus Prior loci: et sub eodem
tempore, Curcæi suasu, ecclesia ea ca-
thedralis, quamquam antea S. Trini-
tatis nomini consecrata, in honorem S.
Patricii dicata est. Priori et monachis
ibidem paulò postea Malachias, ejus no-
minis tertius episcopus Dunensis, multa
prædia contulit, reservato sibi *Custodis
et Abbatis titulo, sicut fit* (uti verba
sunt Chartæ) *in ecclesia Wintoniensi,
vel Coventrensi. Retenta etiam ad hono-
rem et reverentiam episcopatus sui, me-
dietate oblationum in his quinque festis
anni et non ampliùs, sc. in Natali
Domini, in Purificatione S. Mariæ, in
festo S. Patricii, in Pascha et Pente-
coste.*

*Duni, P. S. Johannis
Baptistæ Anglicorum.*

Ord. Cruciferorum, sub regula S. Au-
gustini. Jam dictus Johannes de Curci
fundavit.

*Duni, P. S. Johannis
Baptistæ Hibernico-
rum.*

Malachias O-Morgair, episcopus Du-
nensis, Canonicis Augustinianis posuit
anno 1138.

Duni, MC.

Ord. Cisterciensis.

Duni, FC.

Hugo de Lacy, comes Ultoniæ, fun-
davit conventum ord. Minorum circa
annum 1240. Is dignitatem eam comi-
tis à Johanne rege (obiter adnoto) obti-
nuit

Prioratus niger

S. Andreae, in territorio de Ardes.

nuit anno 1209, cum ceremonia cincturæ gladii, ut ex archivis turris Londinensis liquet.

Dictus Hugo de Lacy cellam fecit cœnobii de Lonley (diœcesis Cenomannensis) in Gallia, circa annum 1218, monachisque replevit Benedictinis. Sed primus hujus cœnobii fundator fuit Johannes Curcæus, qui in charta foundationis, monasterium appellat *S. Andreae de Stokes*. Is prædiis etiam ditavit, *decem nimirum carucatis terræ, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in terra del Art, sc. in terra Mac Colloqua, &c.* Hoc cœnobium annexum fuit postea Archiepiscopatui Armachano, sub Edwardo 3 rege Angliæ, Richardo filio Radulphi Archiepiscopo illius sedis solvente. Abbati et conventui Lonleyensi 200 *libras sterlingorum*, pro confirmatione. Non desunt tamen qui Archiepiscopatui non plenè annexum asserunt, ante tempora Richardi 2, dùm Johan. Colton esset Archiepiscopus.

Pr. S. Joh. Bapt. in dicto territorio de Ardes.

Fundatur militibus Hospitalariis, à jam dicto Hugone de Lacy.

Ardicnise, FC.

Bangor, al. Vallis Angelorum, M.

Ordinis Minorum.

S. Congallus anno 555 cœnobium ibi instituit Canonicis regularibus, cui ipse præfuit Abbas. Hoc (Danicâ postea dilaceratum rabie) Malachias O-Morgair, ante insulas susceptas, restauravit anno 1120. Nomen habet à pulchro choro. Situm est in territorio quod olim appellabatur (ut in vita S. Congalli legimus) *Altitudo Ultorum, juxta mare Orientale*, nunc vulgò *The Ardes*.

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Fundatum

Comerer, al. Comber, M. B. Mariæ. Fundatum anno 1199, et monachis repletum Cistertiensibus, è cœnobio de Alba Landa.

Holy-wood, al. de S. bosco, FC. FF. Tertii ord. S. Francisci.

Inis, M. B. Mariæ. Johannes de Curcy fundavit anno 1188, aliis 1180, prædiis cœnobii de Carig ordinis Turonensis (à se diruti) ditavit, et monachis Cistertiensibus replevit ex cœnobio Furnessensi, apud Lancastrienses in Anglia. Inis verò (ut semel adnotem) Britannis et Hibernis insulam significat.

Leigh, al. de Jugo Dei, vulgò Curcy Abbey, M. B. Mariæ. Africa uxor Johannis de Curcy et filia Godredi regis Manniæ posuit 8 Kalend. Septembris an. 1193, ac monachis implevit Cistertiensibus, ex cœnobio de *Holmcultrain* in Cumbria. In hoc cœnobio ipsa Africa sepulta est, ut è chronico Manniæ constat.

Movilla, al. Maigeveile, M. S. Finiani. S. Finianus Abbas Canonicis Augustinianis posuit circa annum Dom. 550. Hunc eundem fuisse cum Fridiano episcopo Lucensi in Italia, asserit Johannes Colganus, vir doctus et industrius, in Actis Sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 18 Martii.

Neddrum, P. seu C. Johannes de Curcy monachis Benedictinis fundavit an. 1183, et cellam fecit cœnobii S. Begæ in Cumbria. Sed non diurnavit, neque causam reperi.

Newry, al. de Viridi ligno, M. B. Mariæ, et S. Patricii. Mauritius Mac-Loghlin, rex Hiberniæ, fundavit monachis Cistertiensibus, ut ex charta foundationis intelligimus. Chronographi ordinis Cistertiensis fundatum asserunt anno 1153, quinquennio sc. post obitum Malachiæ episcopi Dunensis, quem aliqui malè fundatorem

Newton, FC.

statuunt. Dotationem confirmavit Hugo de Lacy comes Ultoniæ, anno 1237.

Conventus ord. Prædicatorum introductus est anno 1244 et capitula ejusdem ordinis ibi habita sunt annis 1298, et 1312. Sedet in territorio *de Ardes*, prope litus maris.

Saballum, vulgò Saul, Sanctus Patricius construxit hoc cœnobium Canonicis regularibus, eique præfecit Abbatem S. Dunnium: ecclesiam verò adjecit, (juxta Jocelinum Furnessensem) contra morem receptum, non ab occidente in orientem, sed à septentrione in austrum protensam, Malachias O-Morgair Episcopus Dúnensis restauravit. Situm habet in ea parte hujus agri, quæ Lecalia appellatur.

ANTRIM, ANTIQUITUS ÆNDRUM.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

*Carrigfergus, al.
Knockfergus, FC.*

Hugo de Lacy comes Ultoniæ cœnobium hîc posuit Minoritis circa annum 1232, in cujus ecclesia ipse sepultus est 1242. Introducti sunt fratres Minores de Observantia anno 1497.

Good-born, al. Wood-born, P. S. Crucis.

Ord. Canonicorum Præmonstratensium. Hoc cœnobium filia fuit monasterii de Driebourc in Scotia, à Scotis ut videtur extractum. Alanum de Galwia, Duncanum de Carrig et Bissettos è Scotia nobiles, terras in hoc tractu, Henrici 3 regis beneficio accepisse liquet. Prioratus non multùm abest à *Carrig-fergus*, sive Rupe Fergusii.

Inver, FC.
v 2

Ibi, necnon apud Bunamargy, Massin

serin et Limbeg, extracta sunt cœnobiola fratribus 3 ordinis S. Francisci de pœnitentia, seculo 15.

*Kells, al. Disert,
P. B. Mariæ.*

Ord. Canonicorum regularium S. Augustini.

Muckmor, P. B. Mariæ et S. Colmanelli.

S. Colmanellus al. Colmanus Ella Canonicis regularibus fundavit circa annum Dom. 580 Prædiis, post adventum Anglorum, ditârunt Gulielmus Mataland, Stephanus de Sandall, Robertus de Sandall et Gilbertus de Croft, ut ex Regestulo (quod habeo) loci constat. De hoc cœnobio et S. Colmanello fundatore, vid. prophetiam S. Patricii, apud Jocelinum Furnessensem, cap. 96.

LONDON-DERRY.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Deriæ, al. London-derry, antiquitùs Dairecargac, M. S. Columbæ.

S. Columba Canonicis regularibus fundavit anno 545. Hoc cœnobium olim vulgò appellabatur *Cella nigra*, et *Locus* erat *filialis* Monasterii SS. Petri et Pauli de *Armach*, ut è Regesto Johannis *Bole* aliquandò Archiepiscopi Armachani liquet.

Deriæ, FC.

Sedes fratribus Prædicatoribus assignata est anno 1274, ex parte aquilonari urbis.

Deriæ, MC.

Regestum *Honoris* Richmondia cœnobium *de Dere in Hibernia*, ord. Cisterciensis fundatum docet 6 Kalend. Martii 1218. Aut idem fuit cum cœnobio hoc monialium, aut cum cœnobio Moycoscanensi, de quo postea.

Juxta Coltranam, FC.

Sedem ibi primò fixerunt Dominicani
158 an. 1274,

Dungevin, P.

an. 1274, ad Bannium flu. unde in antiquo cœnobiorum illius ordinis Catalogo, appellatur Conventus de *Bannin*.

Paulum *O-Murey* Priorem cœnobii Canonicorum Regularium de Dungevin obiisse anno 1215, produnt Annales Ultonienses. Sed quàm diù ante erectum fuerit nondùm comperi.

*Moycoscain, al. de
Claro fonte, M.
B. Mariæ.*

Catalogus antiquus cœnobiorum Cisterciensium Hiberniæ cœnobium *Clari-fontis* fundatum asserit anno 1218. Regestum *Honoris* Richmondiæ ann. habet 1223.

DONAGALL.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Dunagallæ, FC.

Ord. Minorum de Observantiâ. Odo cognomento *Rufus* O-Donell fundare cœpit an. 1473. Hic conventus ob bibliothecam instructissimam olim celebris erat.

*Ashro, al. Esarua, al.
de Samario, M.
B. Mariæ.*

Hoc cœnobium fundatum est et monachis Cisterciensibus repletum anno 1179, aliis, 1184, à Roderico O-Cannan Tirconalliæ Dynasta, qui à Flacher-tacho successore occisus est 1188. Sunt qui fundatum asserunt à dicto Flacher-tacho. Sedet non procul ab Ostio Erni flu. quem Ptolemæus *Ravium* vocat, Giraldus Cambrensis, *Samarium*.

Kilmacrenan, FC.

Ordini Minorum ibi extructum est cœnobiolum ab O-Donello, eidemque ordini constructi sunt etiam Conventus de Bellaghan et Balli-mac-suine juxta *Doe* castrum, è quibus postremus Mac Sui-neum fundatorem agnoscit.

- Magheri-beg. i.e.* O-Donnellus extruxit ibi cœnobium
Planities parva, FC. fratribus tertii ordinis S. Francisci; cui
 ordini extructa sunt etiam cœnobiola
 apud Calebeg, Kil-O-Donel et Fane-
 garah.
- Rathmullian, FC. B.* Cœnobiolum ibi erectum est ordini
Mariæ. fratrum B. Mariæ de Monte Carmel,
 à *Mac-Suineo Fanagh*

TIR-OEN.

- Loca et tituli dedica- *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ*
 tionum. *antiquitates.*
- Clochoræ, M. B.* Ord. Canonicorum Regularium S.
Mariæ. Augustini. S. Macartinus episcopus
 Clochorensis cœnobium ibi jussu S. Pa-
 tricij construxit, *in platea* (nempe) *ante*
regalem sedem Ergalliensem, ut intel-
 ligimus ex Regesto Patricij Culin, or-
 dinis Eremitarum S. Augustini episcopi
 Clochorensis, sub Henrico 8.
- Dunganon, FC.* Ad austrum villæ de Dunganon,
 cœnobiolum fratribus tertii ordinis S.
 Francisci construxit Conus O-Neal, reg-
 nante Henrico 7. Cui ordini extructi
 sunt etiam, variis temporibus, in eodem
 comitatu, Conventus de Ballinesagart,
 Corock, Gervagh-Kerin, Puble et Omev.

FERMANAGH.

- Loca et tituli dedica- *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ*
 tionum. *antiquitates.*
- Dam-Inis, sive Insula* S. Laserianus, qui et Molasse, Abbas
Bovium, vulgò Deven- et fundator cœnobii de Dam-Inis in lacu
ish, P. B. Mariæ. Erneo, obiit ibidem anno 571, Septem-
 bris 12. Propriam eum condidisse re-
 gulam ferunt, constat tamen successores
 ejus tandem normam suscepisse S. Au-
 gustini.

gustini. In interpolationibus Annalium Ultoniensium, ad annum 1130, ita legimus, *Hoc anno fundatur Monasterium de Dam-Inis*. Intelligit author vel hujus cœnobii restaurationem, vel foundationem alterius Prioratus, in eadem insula, qui fuit *Colideorum*, sive Presbyterorum secularium; de quo ordine, suprâ diximus, cap. 17.

Lisgavail, vulgò Lisgool, M. B. Mariæ. Ord. Canonicorum Regularium. Fundatur (ut in supradictis interpolationibus legimus) anno 1106. Sedet ad dictum lacum Erneum.

Lisgavail, FC. Fundatur anno 1530, ord. S. Francisci.

Insula S. Dabeoci, al. Avogi, in lacu rubro, vulgò, Logh-derg, quondam Archiepiscopi Armachani appellatur *Locus filialis monasterii Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Armachæ*. S.

Dabeocum fundâsse ferunt seculo 5, vivente S. Patricio. Alii S. Patricium fundatorem volunt. Prior loci olim appellabatur Prior Purgatorii S. Patricii; sed antrum ipsum, vulgò *Purgatorium* dictum, cujus inventio à quibusdam ad Patricium Abbatem, qui floruit anno 850, ab aliis, ad S. Patricium refertur, in alia situm est insula ejusdem lacus, in qua plerumque unus duntaxat vel alius Canonicus cœnobii S. Dabeoci mansit, ad usum ecclesiæ et peregrinantium. De hoc antro, mira fidem superantia narrantur. Dirutum fuisse, utpotè supposititium, ipso die S. Patricii, anno Dom. 1497, Alexandri 6 Papæ autoritate, à *Gardiano* domus fratrum Minorum de Donegall et aliis, prodit ad eum annum, qui tum vixit, author Annalium Ultoniensium. Attamen restauratum postea, et peregrinationibus denuò frequentatum constat. Sunt qui ridiculè somniant Ulissem primùm hunc effodisse specum, cùm Inferos affaretur. Ulissem verò (quod obiter notare liceat) ab Homero vel historicè dictum vel poëtice fictum, Hiberniam, unam è Britannicis insulis, vel saltem

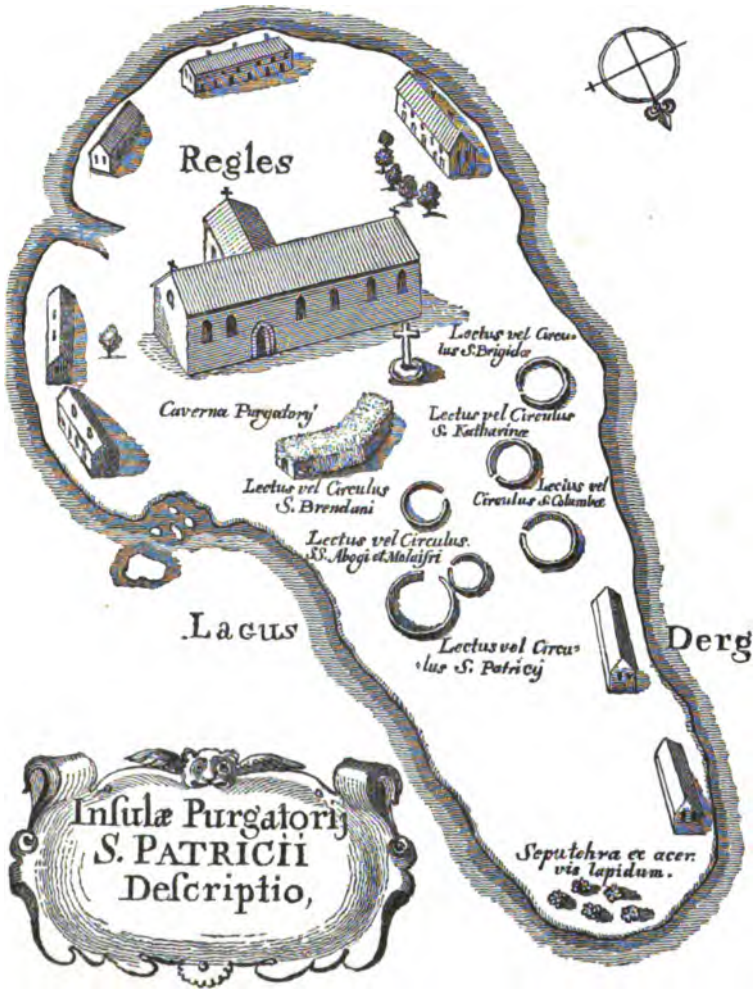
Britanniam ipsam adiisse, facillè inducor persuaderi. Hoc innuit Circe (apud Homerum) dùm Uliissem, in profectione ad Inferos, doceret, quis ventus secundus, quis cursus per Oceanum tenendus. Atque hûc spectare videtur Claudianus, in Rufinum, lib. 1,

*Est locus extremum pandit quâ Gallia litus,
Oceani prætentus aquis, quò fertur Uliis
Sanguine libato populum movisse silentûm.
Illic Umbrarum tenui stridore volantûm
Flebilis auditur questus, simulacra coloni
Pallida, defunctasque vident migrare figuras.
Hinc Dea prosiluit, Phœbique egressa serenos
Infecit radios, ululatuque æthera rupit
Terrifico, sensit ferele Britannia murmur,
Et Senonum quatit arva fragor, revolutaq; Tethys
Substitit, et Rhenus projecta torpuit unda.*

Quibus tetrastichon adjicimus, ex Johannis Garlandii lib. 3, de Triumphis Ecclesiæ, ubi de Johanne rege Angliæ loquens, ita canit,

*Evertit nemora variis Hibernica bellis,
Ad Stygis introitus Patricique lacus.
Purgant (ut dicunt) hûc Purgatoria vivos,
Si sint constanti pectora fixa fide.*

Liber MS. extat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana. Sed ne nimis excurrat oratio, pro coronide habe Iconismum insulæ Purgatorii (ut vocant) S. Patricii, cum adjunctis annotationibus quibusdam.



Notandum circulos suprâ memoratos vulgò dictos lectos, muris lapideis vix tres pedes altis cinctos, loca fuisse pœnis et pœnitentiis peregrinantium attributa. Ad antrum ipsum quod attinet, è saxo vivo constructum est, saxisque latis obtectum cum terra superimposita gramine vestita. Clauso ostio, lucem aliquam præbet unica fenestella, in angulo recurvatis. Continet in longitudine intra muros 16 pedes et dimidium, in latitudine plerûnque duos, et pollicem unum vel alterum. Atque ut specus est exigua, ita etiam et insula, quæ (uti suprâ diximus Cap. X) vix continet tres quartas partes unius acræ Hibernicæ. Ecclesiam hujus insulæ olim *Regles* vocatam tradunt Historia Jorvallensis, Henricus de Knighton et alii. An verò à reliquiis ibi olim asservatis ita dicta fuerit, vel quòd à Canonicis regularibus occupata, velim ut alii paulò diligentius secum perpendant.

MONACHAN.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Monachan, FC.

Felimus Mahonides ordini Minorum conventum posuit anno 1462.

Cluain-eois, vulgò

Ord. Canonicorum S. Augustini. S.

Clunes, M. SS. Petri et Pauli.

Tigernacus Episcopus et fundator cœnobii obiit anno 550 Aprilis.

CAVAN.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Cavan, FC.

Gelasius *Rufus* O-Rely fratribus Minoribus construxit ibi conventum anno 1300. Hunc locum Johannes Clynnus *Brefiniam* appellat. Conventus transiit ad fratres Minores de Observantia, anno 1502.

*Drumlahan, P. B.
Mariæ.*

Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum. Fundatur vel saltem restauratur à S. Edano, vulgò dicto Maidoco Archiepiscopo Fernensi, circa finem seculi 6. Subjiciebatur tandem cœnobio B. Mariæ *de Kenlis* in Midia.

In Insula S. Trinitatis de Lough-oughter, M. S. Trinitatis.

Clarus Mac-Mailin aliquandò Archidiaconus Elphinensis cœnobium ibi construxit ordini Canonicorum Præmonstratensium, anno Dom. 1249, quod Carolus O'Rely dotavit. Vel hoc cœnobium, vel cœnobium B. Mariæ de Ballimore, (de quo suprà dixi in Midia occidentali) idem est cum eo quod Johannes *Le Paige*, in Bibliotheca ordinis Præmonstratensis, edita Parisiis anno 1633, monasterium *Ballimenuale* in provincia Armachana appellat.

PROVINCIA MOMONLÆ.

WATERFORD.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

*Juxta Waterfordiam,
P. S. Catharinæ.*

Prædiis ditavit Elias filius Normanni. Innocentius III. confirmavit possessiones anno 1210. Canonici hujus cœnobii. Ordinis fuerunt Victoriensis. Ostmanni fundatores existimantur.

*Juxta Waterfordiam,
P. S. Johannis Evangelistæ.*

Johannes Comes Moretoniæ postea rex Angliæ fundavit, monachis Benedictinis replevit, et cellam fecit cœnobii SS. Petri et Pauli Bathoniæ in Anglia. Hoc cœnobium in chartis fuis ille *Domum* appellat *Eleemosynæ suæ*. Inter benefactores

tores primarios numeratur Petrus de Fonte.

Waterfordiæ, FC.

Fratres Prædicatores introducti sunt anno 1226, et novennio postea cœnobium iis à civibus fundari cœptum.

Waterfordiæ, FC.

Ord. Minorum. Hugo Purcellus eques fundavit circa annum Dom. 1240, et in ecclesia ejusdem Conventus sepultus est. Vid. plura in Lucæ Waddingi tomo 1 Annalium Minorum.

Carrig Parva, FC.

Jacobus I Comes Ormonia Minoritis posuit anno 1336. *Primus ibi fratrum ingressus fuit in festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, uti Johan. Clynnus habet, qui primus fuit loci *Gardianus*, sive custos.

Dungarvanæ, FC

Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini. Hic conventus olim patronos agnoscebat Comites Desmonia.

Kilbarry,

Killure,

Crooke,

Molanna, al. Insula

S. Molanfidi, M.

} *Pr.*

Sedes primùm Equitum Templariorum, postea Hospitaliariorum.

Hoc cœnobium Canonicorum Regularium *Dar-inis* olim dictum, S. Molanfidi primus ibidem Abbas fundavit, seculo 6. Præfuit ibi postea S. Fachnanus cognomento *Mongach* i. Crinitus, *quia cum cæsarie natus*. Consule Johannis Colgani Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 13 Martii. In hoc cœnobio sepultus dicitur Reimundus Crassus (sive *le Gros*) vir magni nominis sub Henrico 2, qui in expugnanda Hibernia operam navavit egregiam.

Mothil, M. SS. Coani et Brogani.

Cœnobium Mothilense originem suam debet S. Brogano, cui (ni fallor) successit in præfectura cœnobii, S. Coanus vel Cuanus, seculo Christi 6. Sunt qui

dicunt (qua autoritate nescio) hoc cœnobium tandem ordinis fuisse Cistertiensis: mihi arridet eorum opinio qui ordinis fuisse Augustiniani asserunt, usque ad ipsum tempus suppressionis, sub Hen. 8.

CORK.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et alia antiquitates.

Juxta Corcagiam, M. Cormacus, rex Momoniæ, allis Des-S. Barri, al. Finbarri. moniæ construxit Canonicis regularibus Ord. S. Augustini, circa annum 1134, in honorem S. Johannis Baptistæ. Estque (ni fallor) monasterium illud Ibracense, à Cormaco rege extructum, de quo loquitur S. Bernardus in vita Malachiae. Possessionibus ditavit (qui Cormaco successit) filius ejus Dermitius, circa ann. 1173. Hoc cœnobium, à multis annis, antiquitato priori nomine, Monasterium de Antro S. Finbarri et vulgò ~~Cille-Abbey~~ dicitur, à Gil-Æda nimirum magni ibi nominis Abbate, et postea Episcopo Corcagiensi, qui obiit anno Dom. 1173.

Juxta Corcagiam, FC.

Sedem hîc fixerunt fratres Dominicani anno 1229, ex dono Dom. Philippi Barrii. Statua ænea effigiem ejus equitantis præferens, in gratitudinis testimonium, pensilis olim asservabatur in ecclesia ibidem.

Juxta Corcagiam, FC.

Ord. Minorum. Dom. Philippus Prindergast fundavit, circa annum 1240. Sunt qui foundationem ascribunt Mauritio Prindergast, sed perperam.

*Juxta Corcagiam,
FC.*

Conventus ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini introductus est regnante Edwardo primo.

*Juxta Corcagiam,
P.S. Johannis Evangelistæ.*

Johannes Dominus Hiberniæ, et comes Moretoniæ monachis Benedictinis posuit, et cellam fecit cœnobii SS. Petri et Pauli Bathoniæ in Anglia.

*Ballibeg, juxta Butav-
vant, P. S. Thomæ.*

Hoc cœnobium Gulielmus de Barry Canonicis posuit Augustinianis. David filius ejus possessionibus auxit anno 1237.

*Balle-mac Edan,
MC. aliis FC.
Bantre, FC.*

Dermitius Sullivanus Minoritis cœnobium ibi ædificavit circa annum 1460, juxta litus maris.

*Butavant, Clyнно,
Botoniæ, FC.*

Hoc cœnobium ord. Minorum fundavit David Barrius loci Dominus sub Edwardo primo, ibique in chori medio tumultatus est. Oppidum olim appellabatur *Kilnemallagh*.

Castle-lehan, al. Castle-lyon, FC.

Minoritis cœnobium ibi construxit Johannes Barrius, anno 1307.

*Chore, al. de Choro
S. Benedicti, M. B.
Mariæ.*

Fundatum anno Dom. 1180, et monachis repletum Cistertiensibus ex cœnobio de Nenay, aliàs Magio, apud Limericenses.

*Fermoy, al. de Castro
Dei, M. B. Mariæ.*

Fundatum an. Dom. 1170, monachisque Cistertiensibus primò impletum è cœnobio Suriensi, postea verò novâ monachorum coloniâ, ex cœnobio Furnessensi, apud Lancastrienses in Anglia. Situm habet ad *Aven-more* flu.

Villa pontis Fermoiæ, al. Ballindroghed, P.B. Mariæ.

Alexander filius Hugonis regnante Johanne fundavit, et prædiis ditavit, ut ex charta foundationis liquet. Canonicis is replevit ex cœnobio S. Thomæ juxta Dublin.

Glanore, FC.

Inishircan, FC.

Kilcre, FC.

*Kinsalæ, FC.
B. Mariæ.*

*Maur, al. de Fonte
vivo. M. B. Mariæ.*

*Morn, al. Mora, al.
Balline-mony, Pr.
S. Johannis Baptistæ.*

*Ross, al. Ross-Car-
bry, P.*

Ord. Prædicatorum. Fundatur à familia de Rupe.

Insula est maris (in sinu Baltimorensi) duobus milliaribus à litore distans, in qua Florentius O-Driscoll cœnobium Fratribus Minoribus de Observantia posuit 1460. Sunt qui à Dermitio O-Driscoll fundatum asserunt anno 1470. Hæc ora (obiter adnoto) copiosâ hæcularum (quas ~~þilchard~~ vocant) piscaturâ admodum celebris est, unde in Hispaniam exportantur.

Cormacus filius Thaddæi mac Carty conventum ord. Minorum fundavit an. 1478, aliis 1465, ac in ecclesia ibidem ipse tumulatus est 1494.

Robertus filius Richardi Balrain cœnobium Carmelitæ ibi posuit, regnante Edwardo 3.

Fundatum ann. Dom. 1172, et monachis Cisterciensibus repletum ex cœnobio Baltinglassensi. Dermitium Cormaci filium (de quo suprâ fit mentio) fundatorem ferunt. Chrysostomus Henriques cœnobium *de Re in Hibernia*, inter cœnobîa Cisterciensia enumerat. *Inch-Rie* opinor intelligit, quæ postea cella fuit cœnobii Maurensis.

Ord. Militum Hospitaliorum. Alexand. de Sancta Helena vel fundator fuit vel primarius benefactor, regnante Johanne.

Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum. S. Fachnanus (de quo suprâ diximus) primus fuit Abbas et fundator cœnobii ibidem, sub finem seculi 6. Locus antiquitus appellabatur *Rossailitbri*, et magno florebat honore, ob antiquam ibi

Temolagi, FC.

Musarum sedem. Ad austrum, mare Vergivium propinquum cernitur.

Fundatur Minoritis à Dom. Gulielmo Barrio, sub Edwardo secundo, vel, ut alii habent, à Cartæis. Conventum à Cregana hûc translatum ferunt. Bibliothecam loci, Campanile, Dormitorium et Nosocomium construxit Edmundus Cursæus episcopus Rossensis, qui obiit 10 Martii 1518, et in ecclesia hujus cœnobii sepultus est.

Tracton, al. de Albo tractu, M. B. Mariæ.

Fundatum anno Dom. 1224, et monachis Cisterciensibus repletum ex cœnobio de Alba Landa, apud Maridunenses in Wallia. Possessiones confirmavit Edwardus III.

Juxta Youghal-lam, FC.

Mauritius filius Geraldii Minoritis cœnobium ad austrum oppidi extruxit, circa annum Dom. 1231. Obiit is 8 Maii 1257, habitu fratris Minoris suscepto, et in ecclesiâ ejusdem cœnobii tumulatus est. Is primus dicitur qui hunc ordinem in Hiberniam duxit.

Juxta Youghal-lam, FC.

Sedem hic fixerunt Fratres Prædicatorum ann. 1268, vel, secundum Clynnum, 5 Calend. Augusti 1271. Thomam filium Mauritiî fundatorem ferunt.

LIMERICK.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Limerici, P. B. Mariæ et S. Edwardi regis.

Simon Minor civis Limericensis Canonicis, ni fallor, Augustinianis posuit, regnante Johanne. Hujus loci Prior primam habuit vocem in electione annua Prætoris Limericensis.

Limerici, FC.

Donatus cognomento *Carbrac* O-Brien Fratribus ord. Prædicatorum fundavit anno 1227. In ecclesia ibidem ipse tumulo conditus est an. 1241, cum statuâ ejus superimpositâ.

Limerici, FC.

Ord. Minorum. Fundatur à quodam è familia de Burgo, regnante Henrico 3. Hic sepultus est anno 1287, Dom. Thomas de Clare è Comitum Gloverniæ stirpe. Item filius ejus Richardus, anno 1318.

Limerici, MC.

S. Petri.

Donaldus O-Brien, rex Limericensis, sub adventum Anglorum, construxit monialibus nigri ordinis S. Augustini.

Any, Pr. S. Johannis Baptistæ.

Galfridus de Mariscis fundavit, regnante Johanne, Militibus Hospitalariis. Æneas O-Hernan ultimus hujus loci Præceptor, ab Henrico 8 designatus est episcopus Imelacensis, anno 1543.

Any, FC.

Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini. Fundatur sub Edwardo 2, à Johanne filio Roberti et aliis.

*Athdaræ, al. Adaræ.
M. S. Trinitatis.*

Hoc cœnobium constructum est fratribus ordinis sanctæ Trinitatis de redemptione captivorum, pro fide Christiana, à Paganis incarceratorum, regnante Edwardo primo. Sedet ad Magium flu.

Athdaræ, FC.

Johannes, filius Thomæ, primus comes Kildarensis, sub Edwardo secundo, fundavit, cœnobium ibidem ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini.

Athdaræ, FC.

Thomas comes Kildarensis et Joh. uxor ejus, anno 1464, regnante Edwardo 4, excitârunt conventum ord. Minorum de Observantia, ad ortum villæ.

Asketina, FC.

Jacobus comes Desmonia Minoritis
172 construxit

- construxit an. 1420, (ad Delum flu.)
prope castrum suum de *Asketin*.
- Ballinebraher, FC.* Ord. S. Francisci.
- Ballinegall, FC.* Ord. Prædicatorum, ex fundatione (uti
ferunt) familia *de Rupe*.
- Inis-catte, al. Inis-* Sanctus Senanus episcopus cœnobium
cathaig, Insula She- ibi construxit Canonicis Regularibus,
naniflu. P. S. Senani. sub finem seculi 5. In eadem insula
erat etiam olim sedes episcopalis, quæ
post adventum Anglorum cathedræ
Limericensi unita est, ut suprâ diximus,
cap. 16. Spectabat nuper hæc insula
ad Tuemoniam, sive agrum Clarensem,
sed nunc pars censetur Limerici.
- Killochiæ, al Kilmal-* Sedem ibi fixerunt fratres Prædica-
lock, FC. tores, an. Dom. 1291.
- Kilshane, FC.* Ord. Minorum, vel, ut alii, tertii
ord. S. Francisci.
- Monaster-ne-Gallioch,* Hoc cœnobium constructum est mo-
M. C. S. Catharinæ. nialibus ordinis S. Augustini juxta
lacum dictum Loughgir.
- Nenay, al. de Magio,* Fundatum anno 1148, aliis 1151,
M. B. Mariæ. (ab O-Brieno ut putatur) ad Magium
flu. et monachis repletum Cistertiensibus
ex cœnobio Mellifontis. Possessiones
confirmavit Johannes rex Angliæ. Huic
cœnobio annexa est cella Fealensis, ad
Fealum flu. in hujus et Kerriensis agri
collimitio.
- Rathkele, P. B. Mariæ.* Ord. Canonicorum Aroacensium.
- Woney, al. Wetheny,* Theobaldus Walter Hiberniæ Pin-
M. B. Mariæ. cerna fundavit, paulò ante exitum
seculi xii, et monachis Cistertiensibus
implevit ex cœnobio Saviniacensi in
Gallia. Regestum *Honoris* Richmon-
diæ in Bibliotheca Cottoniana (sub
Faustina, B. 7.) fundatum vult 11.
Kalend. April. 1205.

TIPPERARY.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

*Fundatores, ordines et aliae
antiquitates.*

*Juxta Casseliam,
M. B. Mariæ.*

Hoc cœnobium ~~Hoc~~ *Abbey* vulgò dictum Cistertiensibus posuit David Mac-Carwill Archiepiscopus Casseliensis, an. 1272, et Benedictinorum prædiis, quos è cœnobio *de Rupe Cassel* (sito prope ecclesiam cathedralem S. Patricii Casseliæ) expulerat, ditavit. Ptocotrophium porrò, quod David le Latimer Miles leprosis Casseliæ construxerat, eidem cœnobio conjunxit.

Casseliæ, FC.

David Mac-Kelly Archiepiscopus Casseliensis fundavit Conventum ord. Prædicatorum anno 1243, Johannes Cantwell Archiepiscopus itidem Casseliensis, sub Henrico 6, restauravit.

Casseliæ, FC.

Cœnobium ord. Minorum Casseliæ vulgò appellatur *Hacketi cœnobium*, utpotè à Dom. Gulielmo Hacketo fundatum, regnante Henrico 3.

Ardfinan, FC.

Ord. S. Francisci.

Athassel, P. S.

*Edmundi regis et
martyris.*

Prioratum (circa annum 1200) canonicis Augustinianis extruxit Gulielmus de Burgo, è cujus posteris ibi sepulti sunt Walterus de Burgo, comes Ultoniæ et Walteri, filius Richardus, vulgò dictus *Comes Rufus*. Hic, anno 1326, ille, 1271. Johannes rex confirmavit possessiones 20 Aprilis 1205. Inter Priores clarus fuit Hubertus de Burgo, qui episcopus evasit Limericensis anno 1223.

*Cahir, al. Cahirdun-
nesk, P. B. Mariæ.*

Galfridus de Camvil fundavit Canonicis Augustinianis, regnante Johanne.

Carrigæ, P. seu H.

Gulielmus de Cantelo et Dyonsia
uxor

S. Johannis Evangelistæ.

uxor ejus filia Thomæ filii Antonii fundârunt Canonicis. Subjecta est postea hæc domus Hospitali S. Thomæ de Acon Londini, ut ex Regesto dicti Hospitalis, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub effigie Tiberii, C. V. intelligimus.

Clonaul, Pr.

Primum sedes Militum Templariorum, postea Hospitalariorum.

Clonmellæ, FC.

Sedem ibi fixerunt Minoricæ anno 1269. Sunt qui Othonem de Grandisono hujus conventus fundatorem asserunt, Alii qui fundationem ascribunt Oppidanis, et alii, qui Geraldinis.

M. S. Crucis, ad Surium flu. filia Magii.

Hoc cœnobium, in S. Crucis, honorem, monachis Cisterciensibus posuit Donaldus O'Brien, rex Limericensis, circa annum 1169, vel ut alii habent, 1181. Possessiones confirmavit Johannes Dominus Hiberniæ et comes Moretoniæ, postea rex Angliæ. Hoc cœnobium subjectum est postea in capitulo generali, per Abbatem Clarevallensem, cœnobio Furnessensi in Anglia.

Fetherdæ, FC.

Walterus Mulcot fundavit ibi conventum ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini, assensu Mauriti Mac-Carwill Archiepiscopi Casseliensis, an. 1306.

Galbally, FC.

Ord. Minorum, O'Brien fundavit, in hujus et Limericensis agri collimitio.

Inchinemeo, al.

Insula Viventium.

P. S. Hilarii, aliis,

B. Mariæ.

Prior et conventus loci sedem tandem fixerunt Corballiæ, quæ non longè distat à dicta Insula Viventium. Fuisse olim in ea insula, capellam cui pauci cœlibes, quos Cœlicolas vel Colideos vocant devotè deserviebant, tradit Giraldus Cambr. Topograph. Hiberniæ distinct 2, cap. 4. Sed postea sedes fuit Canoniorum Regularium.

*Inisslaunaght, al. de
Surio, Filia Magii,
M. B. Mariæ.*

Liber Statutorum ordinis Cistertiensium Hiberniæ monasterium de Surio fundatum asserit anno 1159, cui astipulatur antiquus cœnobiorum illius ordinis Catalogus. Sunt tamen qui diù postea monachis Cistertiensibus erectum volunt à Donaldo O-Brien rege Limericensi, ac ab eo et Malachia O-Felan Desiæ Dynasta prædiis ditatum. At qui probabilius videtur monachos Surienses, ab alia nescio qua sede eidem Surio fluvio apposita, huc migrasse, quàm sedem hic primò fixisse : nam in vitâ S. Malachiæ à Divo Bernardo (qui obiit anno 1153) descriptâ, monasterii Suriensis fit mentio. Hoc cœnobium novâ monachorum coloniâ, è cœnobio Furnessensi, in Lancastriâ, repletum est anno 1249.

*Kilcoul, al. de Arvī-
campo, filia Jeripon-
tis, M. B. Mariæ.*

Exemplar chartæ Henrici 3, qua confirmavit possessiones hujus cœnobii, Donaldum O-Brien monachis Cistertiensibus fundasse prodit. Donaldum illum fortasse intelligit, de quo suprâ fit mentio, et quem obiisse anno 1194 produnt Annales Hibernici. Contrâ autem, jam dictus liber Statutorum ord. Cistertiensis hoc cœnobium fundatum tradit anno 1200, sexennio scil. post mortem Donaldi, et Regestum *Honoris* Richmondiæ ann. habet 1209. De hac re, quid judicem nescio. Fortè quis suspicetur Donaldum, pro Donato ejus filio, qui floruit annis 1200 et 1209, transcriptoris incuriâ irrepsisse.

*Kilcumin, P. seu C.
SS. Philippi et Ja-*

Philippus de Wigornia Benedictinis fundavit et cellam fecit monasterii Glaroniensiensis

- cobi, et S. Cumini.* stoniensis in Anglia. Sed prædiis à vicinis spoliatis non diurnavit.
- Killinenallah, FC.* Conventus ord. Minorum introductus est regnante Henrico 6.
- Lurchoæ, al. Lothræ, P. S. Ruadani.* *Ord. Canonorum Augustinianorum.* S. Ruadanus primus Abbas et fundator loci obiit ibidem an. 584. Sunt qui asserunt manum ejus Cantuariæ, in ecclesia cathedrali, theca argentea deaurata asservatam fuisse, usq; ad tempora Hen. 8.
- Lurchoæ, FC.* Walterus de Burgo comes Ultoniæ fratribus Prædicatoribus cœnobium ibi instituit anno 1269.
- Moylagh, MC.* Moniales nigræ ordinis S. Augustini.
- S. Brigidæ.*
- Nenaghæ, FC.* *Ord. Minorum.* Fundator regnante Henrico 3, à Kennedæis, vel (ut alii putant) à Pincernis. Capitulum Provinciale ibi habitum est anno 1344.
- Juxta Nenagham, P. seu H. S. Johannis Baptistæ.* Theobaldus Walter Hiberniæ Pincerna fundavit et dotavit, circa annum 1200, ad sustentationem Canonorum (Augustinianorum) et Infirmorum *ibidem Deo servientium*, Hoc cœnobium à nomine S. Johannis cui dicatum vulgò appellatur *Teach-eon* i. Domus Johannis.
- Roscreæ, FC.* Bibiana vidua Mælrónii O-Caroll cœnobium ibidem fratribus Minoribus instituit.
- Thome, P. S. Donani, aliis, B. Mariæ.* Cella erat Prioratus Canonorum S. Hilarii de Insula Viventium, ubi S. Donanus ut patronus olim colebatur; fortè loci fundator.
- Tipperariæ, FC.* Conventus ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini introductus est regnante Henrico 3.
- Thurles, FC.* Ibi cœnobium erat fratrum ord. B. Mariæ

Mariæ de Monte Carmel. quod à Pincernarum sive Butlerorum familia extractum ferunt.

KERRY.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Aghamore, P.

Ord. (ut fertur) Canonicorum Augustinianorum,

Ardfertæ, al. Ardartæ, FC.

Fitz-Mauritii majores Baronis Kerriæ fundârunt ibi conventum ord. Minorum. Hi originem suam ad Reimundum *Crasum* referunt, de quo suprâ fit mentio.

Balli-ne-scelig, al. de Monte S. Michaëlis.

Ord. *Canonicorum Augustinianorum.* In una è Scelegis insulis (quæ hinc aliquot miliaribus distant) antiquum erat cœnobium S. Michaëli Archangelo dictum, cujus meminit Giraldus Cambrensis, Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 2. cap. 30. De primo conditore, non habeo quod dicam. Flanum *Mac Cellach*, Abbatem Scelichensem obiisse 885. docent Annales cœnobii Inisfallensis. Cœnobium verò translatum est postea ad locum in Continente commodiorem, prope stationem de *Balli-ne-scelig*.

Inisfallen, al. Inisfathlen, in lacu LeanP.

S. Finianus cognomento leprosus fundavit post medium seculi 6. De eo vid. Johan Colgani Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 16 Martii. Insula ipsa arbutis abundat. Fructus arboris ab incolis vulgò the *Cane Apple*, i. pomum Canomense dicitur, sed *Unedo Latine*, quòd unum tantum esse expediat, noxio et inutili ejus esu. Sic Had. Junius.

Irrialagh, juxta lacum

Donaldus filius Thaddæi Mac-Carty
178 Minoritis

Lean, FC. S. Trinitatis. Minoritis fundavit anno 1440 et restauravit 1468, ipso nimirum anno quo mortem obiit.

Killagha, al. de Bello loco, P. B. Mariæ. Ord. Canonicorum Regularium. Galfridus de Mariscis sub Johanne rege fundavit. Sedet prope Mangium flu.

Lislaghtin, FC. Johannes O-Conner fundavit ibidem anno 1478 conventum ord. Minorum de Observantia. Locus nomen habet à S. Lactino Abbate, qui decessit anno Dom. 622.

Odorney, al. Kirieleyson, filia Magii, M. Hoc cœnobium ordinis Cisterciensis initium sumpsit anno 1154. Hic sepultus est anno 1186, Christianus illustris ille episcopus Lismorensis, qui hûc se contulit, cum terrena aversatus, aliquot ante obitum annos, episcopatu se abdicasset.

Rath-toy, M. SS. Petri et Pauli. Primò Hospitale fuit S. Johanni Baptistæ dicatum, à *Fratre Gulielmo* constructum, et à Meilero filio Meilero confirmatum, regnante Johanne, postea in monasterium Canonicorum Regularium ord. Aroacensis conversum.

Traleiæ, FC. Johannes filius Thomæ (Geraldinus) fundavit ibi conventum ord. Prædicatorum anno Dom. 1243. In ecclesia hujus conventus ipse et Mauritius filius (à Mac-Cartæo occisi) sepulti sunt anno 1261.

CLARE, OLIM TUEMONIA.

Loca et tituli dedicationum. *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.*

Clare, al. Kilmony, al. de Forgio, M. SS. Petri et Pauli. Donaldus O-Brien rex Limericensis construxit ibi cœnobium Canonicis Augustinianis, ad Forgium flu. unde quandoque dictum Monasterium *de Forgio*.

Corcumro, al. de Pe- Donaldus antedictus fundavit mona-
tra fertili, M. B. Ma- chis Cistertiensibus anno 1194, vel, se-
riæ. cundum alios, filius ejus Donatus *Car-*
brac anno 1200. Filia fuit monasterii

Suriensis. Hoc cœnobium subjectum
 est postea cœnobio Furnessensi apud
 Lancastrienses in Anglia. Huic etiam
 monasterio annexa est cella de Kilconna
 al. Kilsane.

Inis, al. Inis-Cluan- Donatus *Carbrac* O-Brien, circa an-
ruada, FC. num 1240, Minoritis, magnâ elegantîâ,
 excitavit, ad Forgium flu.

Inis-catte, P. De hujus cœnobii Origine, vid. quæ
S. Senani. suprâ dicta sunt in Limerico.

Inis-negananagh, i. Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum.
Insula Canonicorum, Donaldus O-Brien rex Limericensis vel
P. fundator fuit vel restaurator cœnobii
 ibidem. Insula ipsa Shenano flu. jam in
 immensum aucto circumfunditur.

Kil-Oen, MC. S. Jo- Idem Donaldus, cœnobium ibi con-
hannis Baptistæ. struxit monialibus Ord. S. Augustini.

Quinchy, FC. Hunc conventum ord. Minorum fun-
 davit Maconus *Mac-Nemarra*, anno 1433.

PROVINCIA CONATLÆ.

GALVVAY.

Loca et tituli dedica- *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ*
 tionum. *antiquitates.*

Juxta Galviam, FC. Gulielmus de Burgo Minoritis fun-
 davit anno Dom. 1296, in insula S.
 Stephani, extra muros urbis. In Eccle-
 sia hujus conventus, sub uno eodémque
 marmore, humati jacent duo Archiepis-
 copi Tuamenses, Mauritius de Portu,
 (cujus nomen ob eruditionem celebre
 180 est)

est) ejusque successor Thomas Lalæus, uterque ejusdem ordinis.

Juxta Galviam, FC. Ord. Prædicatorum, filia conventus Athenriensis. Locum concessisse dicuntur Canonici ordinis Præmonstratensis Tuamæ.

Juxta Galviam, FC. Conventus Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini Galviæ initium sumpsit ex largitione oppidanorum. Hunc locum conventum *Calviensem* perperam appellat Nicolaus Crusenius, in monastico Augustiniano edito 1623. Sed de cæteris hujus provinciæ cœnobiis Augustinianis, crassius plerumque errat, uti postea patebit, quando de conventu Ardnariensi agemus.

*Aghrim, vel Each-
raim, P.S. Catharinæ.* De vetustate hujus cœnobii, nihil certi quod dicam occurrit. Sunt qui à Butlerorum familia fundatum asserunt: at quàm verè nescio. Hic Canonici fuerunt Augustiniani.

*Aran. al. Arn-na-
næmh, i. Aran Sanc-
torum, M.* Hæc insula, quæ jacet in Oceano inter extremos Conatiæ et Momoniæ fines, olim ad Momoniam spectabat; sed hodiè vulgò pars censetur agri Galviensis. Hic S. Endeus Abbas circa an. Dom. 480, monasterium Canoniorum Regularium construxit, Ængusa Natfraici filio rege Momoniæ, insulam concedente.

Athenriæ, FC. Milerus de Bermingham loci dominus cœnobium ibi fundavit fratribus Prædicatoribus anno Dom. 1241. Obiit is in Momonia, non procul à Casselia, unde corpus Athenriam deportatum, ibi in ecclesia dictorum fratrum tumultatum est. In eadem ecclesia plura sunt etiam sepulchra episcoporum Duacensium et aliorum, Sed memorandum imprimis illud

illud Gulielmi Berminghami Archiepiscopi Tuamensis filii dicti Mileri, parieti inditum, ab aquilonali parte summi altaris.

Ballinehinch, FC.

Fundatur ibi à Flaghartæis cœnobium ordinis (ni fallor) Carmelitani.

*Clare, al. Clare-
yndowl, FC.*

Johannes de Cogan magnis expensis Minoritis extruxit, circa annum Dom. 1290, ad 4 à Galvia lapidem.

*Clonfertæ, ad She-
nanum flu. M. B.*

Mariæ de Portu puro.

S. Brendanus Abbas Finlogæ filius posuit anno 558. In hoc et in aliis à se fundatis cœnobiis, tribus monachorum millibus præfuisse dicitur, qui manuum suarum laboribus, victum sibi comparabant. Propriam is condidit regulam quanquàm successores ejus demùm normam susceperint S. Augustini.

*Clonkeen-Kerril, FC.
S. Trinitatis.*

Thomas O-Kelley Episcopus Clonfertensis (postea Archiepiscopus Tuamensis) Ecclesiam parochialem ibidem concessit fratribus tertii ordinis S. Francisci de pœnitentia, ad rogatum Davidis et Johannis Mulkerrill illius ordinis Professorum, circa annum 1435. Eugenius 4 confirmavit donationem anno 1441. Huic ordini constructa sunt etiam postea cœnobia apud Cowlevernoge, Templemoyle-Killtullagh et Beagh.

Clontuoskirt, P.

Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum. *Boadanum de Cloantuaiscert* obiisse anno 808 (qui nobis 809) produnt Annales Ultonienses. Hujus cœnobii is Abbas fuit (opinor) et conditor.

*Crevabane, FC.
Dunmore, FC.*

Ordinis Carmelitarum, ni fallor.

Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini. Fundatur à Berminghamis Athenriæ Dominis.

Enaghduonæ, al.

S. Brendanum Monialibus ibi cœnobium

Enaghcoin, MC.
B. Mariæ.

bium instituisse liquet, iisque Abbatis-
sam præfuisse sororem suam Brigam,
monialibus ordinis Aroacensis Ecclesiam
ibidem, *cum villa de Kelgel*, confirmavit
Cœlestinus III, 4 Calend. Martii anno
1195. Sedet prope lacum *Curb*.

Enaghdunæ, M.
B. Mariæ de Portu
patrum.

Hoc cœnobium forte idem est cum eo
Ord. Præmonstratensis, quod Johannes
le Paige appellat monasterium *Kilvaine-*
nasense filiam Tuamensis, Enechtunen-
sis diœcesis. Sed à quo erectum non re-
peri.

Kaltragh-ne-Pallice,
FC.

Ord. Fratrum B. Mariæ de monte
Carmel.

Kilbought, FC.

Fundatur à familia Walæorum. Sunt
qui fratres tertii ordinis S. Francisci
ibi sedem fixisse asserunt.

Kilconnell, FC.

Gulielmus Kellæus Minoritis con-
struxit an. 1414.

Kilcarbain, FC.
B. Mariæ.

Thomas de Burgo episcopus Clon-
fertensis (Capituli sui assensu) concessit
fratribus tertii ordinis S. Dominici ca-
pellam B. Mariæ de Kilcarbain, ad ro-
gatum Johannis Fitz Rery et confratrum
dicti ordinis. Eugenius 4 confirmavit 4
Idus Martii 1444.

Kilcreunata, al. de
Casta silva, MC.

Carolus O-Conner, à manu rubra,
vulgò *Crowderg* cognominatus moniali-
bus S. Benedicti instituit, circa annum
1200. Huic cœnobio annexæ sunt pos-
teà cellæ de Inchmean et Ardcar, hæc
in agro Roscomanensi sita, illa, in Maio-
nensi.

Kil-mac-duac, al. de
Petra Duacensi M.

Ord. Canonicorum Regularium. Sunt
qui originem ascribunt S. Colmano filio
Duaci primo episcopo Duacensi, seculo
6, alii, qui Mauritio cuidam ejusdem
sedis episcopo. Situm habet prope la-
cum

cum qui mensibus æstivis plerâsque aquas suas exsorbet, hybernis verò, evomit. Harum ideoque voragines itinerantibus periculosæ sunt, dùm compendia in æstate sectantur.

Kinalekin, Pr.

Ord. Militum Hospitalariorum.

S. Johannis Baptiste.

Kinalekin, FC.

Ord. Minorum.

Knoc-moy, al. de Colle

Supradictus Carolus *Crowderg* fundavit monachis Cistertiensibus anno 1189, aliis 1190, in victoriæ memoriam, quæ eo loci feliciter ei cessit. Obiit is 5 Calend. Junii anno 1224, in hoc cœnobio tumulatus, habitu Cistertiensis monachi prius suscepto. Huic cœnobio annexa est postea cella de Cleary, in insula maris ejusdem nominis, apud Maionenses.

M. B. Mariæ.

Ad Lough-reogh, FC.

Richardus de Burgo comes Ultoniæ Carmelitis posuit circa annum 1300.

B. Mariæ.

Milick, FC.

Ord. Minorum. Fundatur ab O-Maddeno, ad ripam Shenani flu. quo hybernis mensibus circumfunditur.

Monaster-O-Gormogan, al. de Via nova,

Hoc cœnobium Canonicis Augustinianis fundavit quidam è familia O-Gormoganorum.

M. B. Mariæ.

Portumna, FC.

Cœnobium Dominicanis ibi construxit O-Maddenus, ad Shenanum fluvium.

Rosserelly, FC.

Cœnobium ibidem quidam ex familia Gannardorum construxit anno 1498. ord. Minorum de Observantia.

Slewshancogh, FC.

Ord. Minorum.

Tea-Sasson, juxta

Cœnobiolum fratribus tertii ordinis S. Francisci de pœnitentia ibi extructum est, circa tempus Henrici 7. *Tea-Sasson* i.e. Domus Saxonum (ita Hiberni Anglos vocant) Britannicam sapit originem, *Tuy* Britannis domum significat, sic Menevia illis, Tuy Dewi, i. Do-

Athenriam, FC.

Tuamæ, MS. Trinitatis.

mus Devi, sive Davidis dicitur, à S. Davide sc. qui sedem Archiepiscopalem, ab Isca Legionis, illuc transtulerat. Aubertus Miræus in chronico ordinis Præmonstratensis cœnobium S. Trinitatis diœcesis Tuamensis filiam appellat Steinfeldiæ in Podolia, et perperam postea factam asserit *Ecclesiam Cathedralē*. Johannes le Paige in Bibliotheca ejusdem ordinis, filiam vocat ipsius cœnobii Præmonstratensis. Christianus O-Lachnan Abbas loci naufragio periit, in mari Hibernico, anno 1251. Cœnobium erectum videtur sub exitum Johannis regis, vel sub initium Henrici 3.

Tuamæ P. seu H.

S. Johannis Baptiste.

Tirdelvacus O-Coner rex Hiberniæ posuit circa annum 1140. De ordine, nihil traditum reperi.

MAYO.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Mayo, al Magio, M. S. Colmani.

S. Colmanus episcopus Lindisfarnensis, abdicato episcopatu, in Hiberniam rediit anno 665, ubi in monasterio Magionensi, à se constructo, Anglos (inter quos fuit S. Geraldus) collocavit, unde locus olim dicebatur *Magio-na-Sasson*, id est, *Magio* Saxonum. Canonici hujus cœnobii ordinis fuerunt Augustiniani.

Annagh, C.

Walterus filius Thomæ de Burgo fundavit cellam quandam ibidem, sed cujus fuerit ordinis non certò constat. Sunt qui putent ordinis fuisse S. Francisci, alii qui ord. Canonicorum regularium S. Augustini et cellam fuisse cœnobii de Cong. His ego assentior.

Ballinrobæ, FC.

Ord. Eremitarum S. Aug. Meminit conventus

conventus de *Roba* Regestum cœnobii Prædicatorum Athenriæ, ad annum 1337, Sed à quo vel quando fundatus fuerit, non traditur. Ejusdem ordinis fuerunt conventus de Belahaunes et Borriscarra, de quibus nihil prætereà comperi, nisi quòd fama tenet quendam è familia de Angulo fuisse fundatorem cœnobii de Belahaunes.

Ballinsmale, FC.

B. Mariæ.

Ballintobber, al. de
Fonte S. Patricii,
M. S. Trinitatis.

Cœnobium ordinis Carmelitarum fundatum à familia Prendergastorum.

Carolus O-Coner cognomento *Crovdery* fundavit et dotavit, ac Canonicis Regularibus ord. S. Augustini implevit, quibus Abbatem præfecit Brictium Imakin, anno 1216. Hujus cœnobii proles fuit et cella Prioratus de Cross, de quo ita Regestum Ballintobberense, *Notandum quod Abbas de Fonte creari Priorem facit in filiali ecclesia quæ Cross dicitur in cantreda de Irris: ad cujus creationem, dicta filialis ecclesia, post receptum Rosetum, tenetur Matrìci ecclesiæ de Fonte, ad ipsius fabricam, ad 20 solidos et 12 denarios, et anno quovis postea, ad 3 uncias.*

Boghmoynen, FC.

Borisoole, FC.

Tertii ordinis S. Francisci.

Cœnobiolum ordinis Prædicatorum fundatum à Pincernarum sive Butlerorum familia.

Cong, M. B. Mariæ.

Hoc cœnobium Canonicis Augustinianis posuit Donaldus Ædi sive Hugonis filius, Amirachi nepos, rex Hiberniæ, anno 624, prope *Curbum* lacum. Ibi S. Fechinus aliquandiù Abbas præfuisse dicitur.

Cross, al. de Cruce,
C. B. Mariæ.

De hâc cellâ, vid. quæ suprâ dicta sunt, ad monasterium de Ballintobber.

Moyen, FC.

Nehemias O-Donachou ord. Minorum de Observantia hoc cœnobium suo ordini instituit anno 1460; cujus ordinis is fuit postea Vicarius Provincialis in Hibernia. Sedet ad Moyum fl. Adamnano, Modam, Girald. Cambrensi, Moadum.

Murisk, FC.

Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini fundatur ad radicem montis vulgò dicti *Cruach-Patric* (Jocelino *Cruachanaigle*) à familiâ (ut ferunt) O-Maliorum. *Cruc* Britannis collem vel montem significat, ut è Nennio liquet, et idem denotat hic *Cruac*.

Orlare, FC.

Ibi conditum ferunt à quodam è familiâ de Angulo aliàs *Nangle* Conventum ord. Prædicatorum.

*Rathbran, prope
Mare, FC.*

Sedem hîc primò fixerunt fratres Prædicatores anno 1274, ut è chronico illius ordinis liquet. Sunt qui cœnobium conditum asserunt à familia de Exonia.

*Rosserick, FC.
Strade, juxta
Athlethan, FC.*

Tertii ord. S. Francisci.

Jordanus de Exonia Athlethanæ Dominus, vel (ut alii habent) Jordani filius, ad rogatum Basilie uxoris suæ filie Domini Mileri de Bermingham locum dedit fratribus Prædicatoribus, in quo antea habitabant fratres Minores, ut ex Regesto domus fratrum Prædicatorum Athenriæ intelligimus. Dominicanos hîc sedem primò fixisse anno 1252, docet chronicon illius ordinis. Ex Anglica hac familia de Exonia (obiter annoto) quæ magni olim fuit nominis in hoc tractu, multi nunc, Hibernico more, *Mac-Jordan*, id est, Jordani filii appellantur.

ROSCOMAN.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

*Fundatores, ordines et aliæ
antiquitates.*

*Ross-comani, vulgò
Roscoman, M. S.
Comani.*

Ut monasterium Canoniorum Regu-
larium sic ipsum oppidum nomen et
originem debet S. Comano, qui claruit
anno Christi 550. Edwardus primus
rex Angliæ terram *de Rathbrenin* cum
Priore et conventu S. Comani permutavit,
pro *Lisnenerny*, &c. anno 1282.

Roscomani, FC.

Felimus al. Fedlimidus O-Conner
construxit ibi cœnobium fratribus ord.
Prædicatorum anno 1253, et in ecclesia
ejusdem conventus sepultus est 1265.
Huic cœnobio cellulæ quædam ejusdem
ordinis annexæ fuerunt. Sunt qui as-
serunt Fratres Minores sedem etiam
Roscomani fixisse anno 1269. Oppidum
(obiter adnoto) castrum firmavit Robertus
de Ufford Hiberniæ Justitiarius, expen-
sis Henrici 3 regis Angliæ.

Athlonæ, P. S. Petri.

In ea parte Athlonæ quæ agri censetur
Roscomanensis, monasterium erat S. Pe-
tro, aliis, SS. Petro et Benedicto dicatum,
quod in *Tabula Procurationum et Nox-
alium* ecclesiæ Elphinensis, appellatur
monasterium *de Innocentia*, ordinis fuit
vel Benedictini, vel Cistertiensis, puto
quidem posterioris. In monachorum
fundo extractum est castrum Athlonæ,
sub Johanne rege, ideóque contulit iis
rex *decimas expensarum castri*, anno
1214, ut ex archivis Turris Londinensis
constat.

Bealaneny, FC.

Ord. Minorum.

Boyl, ad Buellium flu.

Ordinis Cistertiensis. Habitatio prima
188 monachis

*Filia Mellifontis,
M. B. Mariæ.*

monachis Buelliensibus assignata est Grellechdinæ anno 1148, 16 Augusti, ubi primus præfuit Abbas Petrus O-Morda, qui paulò postea episcopus evasit Clonfertensis, et tandem in Shenano flu. submersus est 6 Cal. Januarii 1171. Edanus O-Maccain Abbas secundus Dromconaidam, conventum transtulit, et successor ejus Mauritius O-Dubhai, cum biennio tantum Dromconaidæ præfuisset, monachos primùm Buinfiniam, deinde post duos annos et sex menses, Buellium transtulit, anno, secundum Annales Conatienses, 1161, secundum alios perperam, 1151, ac ibidem mortem obiit anno Dom. 1174. E successoribus ejus, non pauci ad episcopatus assumpti sunt. Sed instituti non est mei hic enumerare.

Clonrahan, FC.

Fundatum ferunt fratribus tertii ordinis S. Francisci, ab *O-Conner Roe*, sive Rufo, circa tempus Henrici 7.

Clonshanvill, FC.

Conditum ferunt fratribus Dominicis, à *Mac-Dermot Roe*, sive Rufo.

Clontuoskirt, al.

Hoc cœnobium Canonicorum Augustinianorum fundavit S. Faithlecus. Sedet non procul à Shenano flumine, in Baronia de Ballintobber.

Dorhan, P.

Canonici Augustiniani ibi primò collocati deducti sunt ex cœnobio Roscomanensi, O-Connoris locum concedentibus.

Elphinæ, FC.

S. Patricii.

Cornelius episcopus Elphinensis ecclesiam parochialem S. Patricii ibidem Fratribus Minoribus concessit, ante annum Dom. 1450.

Inchemacnerin P.

Hæc Insula sita est in lacu dicto *Loughke*, à quo Buellius flu. excipitur. In ea fundatum est olim cœnobium Canonicorum Regularium, fortè idem

cum eo quod scriptor vitæ S. Columbæ appellat *Eas-macneirc*, ad *Buellii fluminis ostium*, ubi dictus Columba monasterium extruxit, cui Dachonnam alias Mochannam abbatem præfecit. Sed de hac re quærant alii. Hoc cœnobium unico milliari distat à cœnobio Buelliensi.

Inchmore, in lacu Riensi, P.

Ord. Canonicorum Augustinianorum. Fortè S. Liberius filius Losseni, cujus memoria ibi celebris, fundator fuit.

Kilmore, P. B. Mariæ.

Conus O-Flanagan fundator fuit et primus Prior anno Dom. 1232. Præfuit ibidem usque ad an. 1249, quo obiit 7 Kalend. Maias. Hic Prioratus Canonicorum ord. S. Augustini situm habet prope Shenanum fluvium.

Kilaraght, MC.

Hoc cœnobium monialium idem est (ni fallor) cum eo quod S. Patricius construxisse et S. Athractæ virgini donasse fertur.

Knockvicar, FC.

Randon, al. Teaeon, vulgò S. Johns, P. S. Johannis Baptistæ.

Ordinis Militum Hospitalariorum, aliis, Cruciferorum. Fundatur regnante Johanne, ejusque uti creditur jussu, Philippus de Angulo magnus fuit benefactor, sub Henrico 3. Sedet ad lacum

Riensem, in Baronia de Athlone. Ibi olim oppidum erat cum castro munito, nunc cadaver duntaxat visitur, adeò verum est illud Rutilii,

*Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi,
Cerninus exemplis oppida posse mori.*

Towemona, FC.

In insula S. Trinitatis de Loughkea, M. S. Trinitatis.

Cœnobium ibi instituit Canonicis ordinis Præmonstratensis (vulgò dictis Canonicis albis) clarus Mac Mailin Archidiaconus

diaconus Elphinensis, circa annum 1215. Obiit is sabbatho Dominici Pentecostes 1251, et in ecclesia illius cœnobii sepultus est, ut ex Annalibus Conatiensibus intelligimus.

Tuilsk, FC.

Hoc cœnobium ord. Prædicatorum à Dowellorum familia fundatum fertur. Sunt verò qui ab O-Connoris positum asserunt.

SLIGO.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.

Sligoæ, FC.

Mauritius filius Geraldii construxit ibi cœnobium ordini Prædicatorum, an. 1252. Villam porrò castro firmavit.

Akeras, al. Kilmaltin, P.

Ordinis Canonicorum Augustinianorum, nescio an idem cum cœnobio *de Echrois*, cujus Abbas fuit et fundator S. *Molaisse*.

Ardnariæ, FC.

Hic conventus ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini situs est in hujus et Maiorensis agri collimitio. Nomina cœnobiorum hujus ordinis in provincia Conatiæ, mirè distorquet Nicolaus Crusenius, in Monastico Augustiniano: nam hunc locum appellat conventum *Arnacensem*, pro conventu Bealahaunesensi, habet *Belufamensem*, pro Ballinrobensi, *Valla-auronensem*, pro Benadensi, *Benejudiensem*, pro Borrisearrensi, *Burgesquerensem*, pro Donmorensi, *Dominensem*, pro Galviensi, *Calviensem*, et pro Muriskensi, *Morasquerensem*.

Balli-Assadara, al. Assadara, M.

S. Fechinus fundavit seculo Christi VII, Canonicis Augustinianis. Ibi non-

- S. Fechini.* nunquàm, sed plerúmque Fouræ præfuit Abbas, ubi et è vitâ migravit 20 Januarii anno 665.
- Juxta Ballimot, FC.* Ibi, necnon apud *Court*, extracta ferunt cœnobiola fratribus tertii ordinis S. Francisci, prius, à familia *de Mac-Donogh*, posterius, à familia *de O-Hara*.
- Ballindown, FC.* Ord. Prædicatorum, fundatur à familia *de Mac-Donogh*.
- Benada, FC.* Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini.
- Kilamoy, al. Athmoy, et Kilras, C. S. Trinitatis.* Has cellas cœnobii S. Trinitatis *de Loughkea* extruxit Canonicis Præmonstratensibus, clarus Mac-Mailin Archidiaconus Elphinensis (de quo suprâ diximus) circa an. 1233.
- Knockmore, FC.*
- Teach-Temple, i. Domus Templi, Pr.* Templarii milites hîc sedem fixerunt, regnante Henrico 3, sed eorum ordine suppresso, sub Edwardo 2, facta est Præceptoría Equitum Hierosolymitanorum.

LEITRIM.

- Loca et tituli dedicationum. *Fundatores, ordines et aliæ antiquitates.*
- Cruleagh, al Balliruark, FC.* Margareta uxor Eugenii Ruarki posuit anno 1509, ordini Minorum de Observantia.
- Moyhil, al. Moethel, P. B. Mariæ.* S. Manchenus Abbas fundavit seculo Christi septimo. Idem fuit opinor cum Manchino Abbate *de Menedrocaid*, cujus obitus ab Historicis Hibernicis ad annum refertur 651, vel 652. Canonici ejus cœnobii ordinis fuerunt S. Augustini.

Corollarii loco, adjecimus hîc Catalogum Abbatum et Priorum,

Priorum, qui ante tempus suppressionis cœnobiorum, sub Henrico 8, (quando summoniti) loca suffragiaque habuerunt inter proceres, in Comitibus Parlamentariis. Ad fixum verò eorum numerum quod attinet, longè minorem fuisse, ex Archivis liquet.

<i>Abbatēs</i>	Mellifontis.	<i>Priores</i>	S. Johannis Hierosolymitani.
	S. Thomæ juxta Dublin.		S. Trinitatis Dublin.
	B. Mariæ juxta Dublin.		S. Petri novæ villæ juxta.
	Baltinglassæ.		Trim.
	Jeripontis.		Conallæ.
	Tinternæ.		Kenlisæ, in Ossoria.
	Douskæ.		S. Patricii de Duno.
	Tractonæ.		Omnium Sanctorum Dublinii.
	Donbrodiæ.		S. Edmundi Athassel.
	Magii, al. Nenai.		Killaghæ.
	Wetheniæ.		B. Mariæ Lovidiæ, al. Louthæ.
	Rosglassæ, al. M.S.		
	Evini.		
	Bectissæ.		
	Rathtoæ.		

Hactenùs de cœnobiis Hiberniæ. Jamque ut caput hoc claudamus, notandum nos consultò hic prætermisisse, (ut quæ extra callem) collegia presbyterorum secularium, Cantarias, Nosocomia leprosororum, necnon Ptocotrophia pauperum et infirmorum, quibus non præfuerunt Priores, ex ordine aliquo monastico.

CAP. XXVII.

*De coloniis ex Anglia et Wallia in Hiberniam emissis,
tempore Henrici II. deque terris iis concessis.*

HIBERNIA Anglici juris factâ et declaratâ, rex Henricus II, provincias ibi et regiones peramplas distribuit, inter eos qui in ea subjuganda, fortiter se gesserant. Agmen ducit

ducit Richardus cognomento *Strong-bow*, quòd arcu intenso uteretur, Giraldo Cambrensi, comes Striguliæ dictus, aliis, Penbrochiæ; sed in chartâ quâ concessit Viviano *de Cursun* et hæredibus *terram de Ratheny* (prope Dublinium) *sicut eam Gilcolmus priùs habuit*, nominatur tantùm comes *Richardus filius comitis Gisleberti*, sine ulla alia adjectione. Is, ex pacto cum Dermotio rege Lageniæ, in cuius auxilium, Hiberniam copiis aggressus est anno 1170, Evam regis filiam et hæredem uxorem duxit. Nuptiis celebratis, comes ejusque uxor, (ut suprâ diximus cap. 24), Dermotii hæredes publicè Waterfordiæ fuerunt declarati. Non diù postea, quamprimum scil. Henrico regi Comitibus successus innotuit, metuens ille quonam hæc res tandem evaderet, omnes subditos suos, ex Hibernia, ad diem statutum, edicto revocavit, cæterosque prohibuit, nè commeatum aut milites in Hiberniam exportarent. Comes, de edicto certior factus, re popularibus communicatâ, eorum consilio, Reimundum cum literis officii plenis, ad regem, tùm in Aquitania agentem, misit, quibus quicquid in Hibernia habuit, regi se paratum resignare professus est. Anno sequenti, dùm victorias suas prosequeretur, Wexfordiæ obviam factus est Hervæo de Monte-Marisco, tum nuper ab Henrico rege, ad eum misso, cum mandato, ut sine ulla cunctatione, in Angliam ad regem proficisceretur. Comes, hoc nuncio accepto, quantâ potuit celeritate, navem conscendit, et in Angliam trajiciens, ad regem profectus est, tunc Newnhamæ agentem, in comitatu Glocestrensi, cum exercitu, quem ad expeditionem Hibernicam paraverat. Ibi postquàm omni submissione, quicquid vel uxoris jure, vel bello partum habuit, regi per chartam transcripsisset, in gratiam receptus, totam Lageniam ab eo, beneficiario jure tenendam recepit, civitate Dublinii et cantredis adjacentibus, cum villis maritimis et castellis quibusdam exceptis. Exemplar chartæ ab Henrico 2 ei concessæ, (quod sciam) non extat, sed apographum confirmationis chartæ à Johanne rege concessæ Gulielmo Mareschallo comiti Penbrochiæ, qui Isabellam filiam et hæredem Comitibus Richardi duxerat, habetur in Rot. chart. ann. 9 Johannis, penes custodem archivorum Arcis Londinensis.

Videamus jam distributionem, à Comite Richardo factam,

præter amplissimas eas possessiones quas sibi suisque hæredibus reservavit. Eamque hic apponemus ex Mauritio Regano, qui tum vixit, et de rebus sui temporis historiam conscripsit, unâ cum additis nonnullis ex archivis et authoribus fide dignis, *Dedit Comes (sic Reganus) Reimundo le Gros (sive Crasso qui Basileam sororem comitis duxerat) Fothert, Odrone et Glascarig, Hervæo de Monte-Marisco, Obarthy, Mauritio de Prendergast, Fernegenelan, quæ postea concessa est Mauritio filio Godeberti, sed quomodo obtinuerit. (ait Reganus) nescio, Meilero filio Henrici, dedit Carbriam, (Baroniam eam scil. quæ hodiè pars est agri Kildarensis) Mauritio filio Geraldî, Naasam O-Felin, à Mackelano antea occupatam, et Wicklo. Mauritio eo non diù postea Wexfordiæ defuncto, Johannes tunc dominus Hiberniæ et Comes Moretoniæ Guilielmo filio dicti Mauritiî confirmavit Cantredum terræ, quem Mackelanus tenuit, illum scil. in quo villa de Naas sita est, quem Comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipsius Willielmi. Ita charta. Habetur in rotulo Communium placitorum an. 10 Henrici 6, in turri Berminghamianâ Dublinii. Pergit Reganus, Waltero de Ridelesford dedit terras de Omorthy, Johanni de Clahul, Mareschalciam Lageniæ, et terras inter Aghavoam et Lechlinam, Roberto de Bermingham, Ofaly, et Adamo de Hereford, largas possessiones. Quæ fuerint illæ possessiones, docet Regestum antiquum cænobii S. Thomæ Dublinii, ubi de Comite et Herefordio sequentia traduntur, *Postea Lageniâ perquisitâ, erat quidam juvenis cum eo, (Comite sc.) quem multum dilexit, et dedit eidem, pro servitio suo, terras et tenementa subscripta, viz. Tenementum de Saltu Salmonis (unde Baronia de Salt in agro Kildarensi nomen accepit) Cloncoury, Kille, Houterard et Tenementum de Donning, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. Idem verò Adantus perpendens, quod non potuit solus dicta tenementa tenere et defendere, misit ad partes Angliæ, et fecit venire ad se duos fratres suos seniores, viz. Johannem et Richardum de Hereford, qui venientes ad ipsum, dedit Johanni fratri suo Tenementum de Kille, Kildroth, Clonshanbow et Mainay, cum omnibus pertinentiis, scil. Okey. Item dedit alteri fratri suo Richardo, Donning in Otyng, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. Idem in manu sua**

retinuit Saltum Salmonis, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis scil. Cloncoury, Oweterard, castrum munitum, cum cæteris. Sic Regestum. Vidi præterea chartam dicti Comitis, quâ concessit huic Adamo dimidiam villam de Achebo, et totum Cantredum terræ in quo villa sedet, &c. Miloni filio Davidis (sic iterum Reganus) uni è præcipuis amicis, dedit Overk in Ossoria, Thomæ le Fleming, Arde, Gilberto de Borard, Ofelmith, cuidam equiti dicto Reinando dedit 15 feoda militum mari contigua, et cuidam Roberto (filio Richardi) qui postea occisus est in Connatia, Norragh, Hactenus de Lagenia, tempore Henrici 2.

In Midiam jam ventum est, quam jam dictus Henricus his verbis concessit Hugoni de Lacy, Henricus Dei gratiâ rex Angliæ et dux Normanniæ, et Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis, Francis, Anglis et Hiberniensibus totius terræ suæ, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse, et præsentî chartâ meâ confirmâsse Hugoni de Lacy, pro servitio suo, terram de Midia, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, per servitium quinquaginta Militum, sibi et hæredibus suis, tenendam et habendam de me et hæredibus meis, sicut Murchardus Hu-Melachlin eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum, vel postea. Et de incremento dono illi omnia feoda, quæ præbuit vel præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium, apud Civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, ut ipse Hugo et hæredes sui post cum prædictam terram habeant, et teneant omnes libertates, et liberas consuetudines quas ibi habeo vel habere possum, per prænominatum servitium, à me et hæredibus meis, benè et in pace, liberè, et quietè et honorificè, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molendinis, in vivariis et staghis, et piscationibus et venationibus, in riis et semitis, et portubus maris, et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad eam pertinentibus, cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare possum, et hac mea charta confirmare. Teste Comite Richardo filio Gilberti, Willielmo de Braosa, &c. Apud Weisford. Hanc donationem confirmavit rex Johannes Waltero de Lacy, Hugonis illius filio, Februarii 4, Anno regni nono, per servitium suprâ memoratum, et præterea feoda sua in F'ingal,

in valle Dublin, per servitium septem Militum, jure hæreditario in perpetuum, ut è Rot. Chart. ejusdem anni, inter archiva turris Londinensis liquet.

Sequitur jam distributio ab Hugone Lacæo facta, non dico integra, nam in hoc desudent alii, sed ut à jam dicto Regano tradita reperitur, cum interjectis nonnullis, ex chartis ipsius Hugonis, et authoribus probatis, *Dedit is* (ait Reganus) *Hugoni Tirrell, intimo suo amico Castle-Knock, et Willielmo Petit, Castle-breck.* Vidi ego chartam antiquam, quâ Lacæus concessit huic *Willielmo Petit*, inter alia, *Matherithirnan*, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, exceptis lacu et villa quæ dicitur *Dissert*, &c. *Viro strenuo Meilero filio Henrici* (sic iterum Reganus) *dedit Magherneran, terras de Rathkenin et Cantredum de Athinorker, Gilberto de Angulo aliàs Nangle, totam Magherigallen, Jocelino filio Gilberti de Angulo, Navan et terras de Ardracchan, Richardo de Tuit, amplas possessiones, Roberto de Lacy, Rathwer, Richardo de la Chappelle multas terras, Galfrido de Constantin, Kilbisky et Rathmarthy.* Atqui in charta *Walteri Lacæi*, Hugonis filii, pleniùs, *Feoda 5 Militum in Theof de Kilbixi, cum castello, et Feoda 15 Militum in terra de Conemake* (i. Conmacne) *proxima prædicto castro, ultra aquam de Ethni, per servitium 4 Militum.* Iterùm Reganus, *Adamo de Feipo, Gilberto de Nugent, Willielmo de Misset, Hugoni de Hose, largas dedit possessiones.* Speciatim dedit dicto *Adamo de Feipo, Skrine, et prætereà feodum unius Militis circa Duveliniam, sc. Clontorht, et Santreff,* ut ex apographo chartæ ejus, in Regesto cœnobii B. Mariæ Virginis juxta Dublin, liquet. Item dedit *Gilberto de Nugent, Delvin, quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finellans, cum omnibus pertinentiis et villis quæ infra prædictam Delvin continentur, excepta quadam villa abbatis Fouræ, nomine Torrechelash, pro servitio 5 Militum.* Ita verba chartæ Lacæi, quam integram vidi, cum impressione Equitis armati in sigillo, chartæ affixo. *Misseto dedit etiam terram de Luin, et Hosæo, aliàs Hussæo, totam terram del Dies, quam Schaclinus tenuit.* Pergit Reganus, *Adamo Dullard dedit terras de Dullenvarthy, cui-dam Thomæ dedit Cranly, Timlath-began, ad ortum hybernum*
197 à Kenilsa,

à *Kenlisa, Lathrakalim, et Senderonath, et Richardo Flan-*
drensi, sire le Fleming dedit Crandon, pro 20 feodis Militum.
 In hac Midiae et partis Fingalliae distributione, nihil dictum
 de terris quas Lacæus sibi suisque hæredibus reservavit, quæ
 sanè amplissimæ fuerunt.

De Momonia jam loquendum: atque hîc primò se nobis
 offert charta Henrici 2, quâ concessit Roberto filio Stephani
 et Miloni de Cogan regnum de Cork (quod Desmoniam etiam
 olim complectabatur) civitate Corcagia et Ostmannorum Can-
 tredo exceptis. Sed en tibi ipsissima chartæ verba, *Henricus*
Dei gratia rex Angliæ et dux Normanniæ et Aquitanix et
Comes Andegariæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comi-
tibus, baronibus, Justitiariis et omnibus ministris et fidelibus
suis Francis, et Anglis, et Hiberniensibus, salutem. Sciatis
me concessisse et præsentî chartâ meâ confirmâsse Roberto
filio Stephani et Miloni de Cogan, custodiam civitatis meæ
de Cork, cum Cantredo quod erat Hostmannorum ejusdem
civitatis, quod retineo in manu mea. Ac habenda et tenenda
ea simul, quamdiù mihi placuerit, et benè mihi servient: præ-
terea dono iis et concedo, et præsentî charta confirmo totum
regnum de Cork, exceptis dicta civitate et cantredo prænomi-
nato, quæ in manu mea retineo, ipsis et hæredibus suis, tenenda
de me et Johanne filio meo et hæredibus nostris, per rectas
divisas, versùs Cap. S. Brendani, super maritima, et versùs Li-
mericum et alias partes, et usque aquam proximam de Lismore,
quæ fluit inter Lismore et Cork, et descendit in mare, per servi-
tium 60 Militum, inde mihi et Johanni filio meo et hæredibus
nostris faciendum, a præfato Roberto et hæredibus suis servi-
tium 30 militum faciendum, et à præfato Milone et hæredibus
suis, 30. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio quodd prænominati
Robertus et Milo custodiam supradictæ civitatis et cantredi
prædicti habeant et teneant, sicut suprâ dictum est. Et quod
iidem et hæredes eorum post ipsos, totum regnum prædictum,
exceptis supradicta civitate et præfato cantredo, quæ in manu
mea retineo, habeant et teneant, de me et Johanne filio meo,
et hæredibus nostris, per rectas divisas, sicut suprâ determi-
natum est, benè et in pace, liberè et quietè, integrè, plenariè,
et honorificè in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et

*molendinis, in vicariis et stagnis et piscariis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad illud pertinentibus, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis: ita quod à predicto flumine, quod fluit inter Lismore et Cork, remaneat in manu mea, tota terra usque ad Waterford, cum ipsa civitate de Lismore, ad custodiam de Waterford. Testibus Johanne Norwicensi, Adamo de Sancto Asapho, et Augustino Waterford. episcopis, Richardo de Lacy, Willielmo filio Aldelmi Dapifero, Hugone de Lacy, Hugone de Burid, Rogero filio Remsy, Mauricio de Prendergast, Roberto Dene, Roberto filio Elioderi, Galfrido Poër, Hervæo de Monte-Marisco. Apud Oxoniam. Hæc charta concessa videtur anno Dom. 1177. Tunc enim (secundum Hovedenum, in Henrico 2) venit rex Oxenford, et in generali concilio ibidem celebrato, constituit Johannem filium regem in Hibernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis. Veruntamen, Johannes ille deinceps, in omnibus chartis suis, tam tempore patris, quam fratris Richardi primi, confectis, dictus est Dominus (non autem rex) Hiberniæ et comes Moretoniæ. biennio postea, inter Stephanidem et Coganum facta est divisio septem cantredorum, quam ita denotat Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. 2, de expugnatione Hiberniæ, cap. 18, *Pacificatis itaque continuò tam Dermotio Desmonia, quam aliis quoque partis illius præpotentibus viris, Stephanides et Milo VII cantredos urbi propinquiores, quos majori in pace tunc possidebant, inter se deviserunt: Stephanidi tribus, ab oriente, Miloni verò quatuor, ab occidente, sorte venientibus, illi paucioribus, quia potiores erant cantredi, huic pluribus, quia deteriores, in divisione constitutis. Urbis existente custodiâ communi, et aliorum cantredorum 24 qui restabant, tributo, cum obvenerint, inter ipsos æqualiter dividendo. De terris quas Stephanides et Coganus concesserunt aliis, admodum pauca traduntur à dicto Giraldo Cambrensi, illius ævi scriptore, Cogani interitu, qui anno accidit 1184 (non 1189, ut aliqui volunt) opus impediens. Atqui lucem aliquam præbent chartæ Confirmationum Johannis regis, quas regni sui anno IX concessit. Tunc enim confirmavit Willielmo de Barry donationem quam Robertus filius Stephani fecit Philippo de Barry (ejus è sorore nepoti)**

patri ejusdem Willielmi, cujus hæres ipse fuit, de tribus cantredis, in terra sua de Corcaia, scil. Olethan, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et aliis duobus, scil. Muscherie-Dunegan et cantredo de Killede, per servitium decem Militum, sicut charta prædicti Roberti, quam inde habebat testabatur. Ita charta confirmationis. Item concessit Adæ de Rupe Cantredum de Rosselahir, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, salvo dominico episcopi ejusdem loci; per servitium quinque militum. Item Richardo de Cogan cantredum cum pertinentiis suis, qui vocatur Muscrie-O-Millane, per servitium quinque militum, cum pertinentiis, inter portum de Cork et portum de Insovenach, et feoda 25 militum, quæ alibi præcepit ei assideri, per consilium Meileri filii Henrici Justitiarum Hiberniæ et Johannis Mareschalli; per servitium 4 Militum, salvis regi et hæredibus suis prædictis portibus et dominicis suis. Item Roberto filio Martini, in Cantredo de Insovenach, feoda 20 militum, et alibi 20 feoda militum, quæ ei per consilium Meileri filii Henrici Justitiarum Hiberniæ et Johannis Mareschalli et Philippi de Prindergast, præcepit ei assideri, per servitium 4 militum, pro omni servitio, denique Henrico filio Philippi et Mauritio filio Philippi fratribus, unum cantredum terræ, in quo Dunalahoth sita est, per servitium 5 Militum. Huc usque de regno Corcagiæ. Sequitur regnum Limerici, sive Momoniæ Borealis, quod regnum Henricus II concessit Philippo de Breusa, aliàs Braos, exceptis civitate Limerici et Ostmannorum cantredo. Atqui in charta confirmationis, à Johanne rege concessa Gulielmo de Braos Philippi nepoti, dedit ei rex tantum honorem de Limerick; retentis in domino nostro (sunt verba chartæ) civitate de Limerick, et donationibus episcopatum et abbatiarum, et retentis in manu nostra cantredo Ostmannorum et S. Insula. Inter alios viros primarios, qui sedes etiam ibi fixerunt, numerantur Hamo de Valois, Philippus de Wigornia, Theobaldus Walter, Gulielmus filius Aldelmi, et Thomas filius Mauriti. Ad Waterfordiam quod attinet, quæ pars etiam est Momoniæ, asserit Benedictus abbas, qui tum vixit, et Henrici secundi historiam descripsit, regem dedisse Roberto Puher (aliàs le Poër) in custodia, civitatem Waterford, cum tota circumjacente provincia. His

porrò adicere visum ex eodem Benedicto, servitia Wexfordiæ, Waterfordiæ et Dublinio, ab ipso rege, assignata. *Tradidit autem Dom. Rex.* (ait ille) *Willielmo filio Aldelmi Dapifero suo civitatem Wexfordiæ, in custodia, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et statuit ut subscripta in posterum pertinerent ad servitium Wexfordiæ, Arkelow cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium Wexfordiæ; Glascarrig cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, Terra Gilberti de Bisrohard (al. Borard) ad servitium ejusdem, Fernregwinal, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, Fernes cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, tota terra Hervæi, inter Wexford et aquam de Waterford, ad servitium ejusdem, servitium Reimundi de Druna ad servitium ejusdem, servitium de Fordonelan ad servitium ejusdem, servitium Uthmorthi et Leghlin, ad servitium ejusdem, tenementum de Machtalo, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, Leis, terra Galfridi de Costentin, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem. Tradidit autem ibidem Dom. rex Roberto le Poër in custodiam civitatem Waterfordiæ, cum omnibus pertinentiis, et statuit ut hæc subscripta in posterum pertinerent ad servitium Waterfordiæ, tota terra quæ est inter Waterfordiam et aquam quæ est ultra Lismoram, ad servitium ejusdem, tota terra de Ossoria cum pertinentiis suis ad servitium ejusdem. Tradiditque ibidem Dom. Rex Hugoni de Lascy civitatem Duveliniæ in custodia, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et statuit ut hæc subscripta in posterum pertinerent ad servitium Duveliniæ, tota terra de O-Felana, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, tota terra de Offalia, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, Kildara cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, Wichelou, cum pertinentiis suis, ad servitium ejusdem, servitium de Mida, ad servitium ejusdem, servitium 4 militum quod Robertus Poër debet de castello suo de Dunavet, ad servitium ejusdem. Postquam autem Dom. rex apud Oxenford, in prædicto modo, terras Hiberniæ et earum servitia divisisset, fecit omnes quibus custodias commiserat, homines suos et Johannis filii sui devenire, et jurare iis legeantias et fidelitates, de terris Hiberniæ. Hactenùs Benedictus abbas, qui porrò (nè quid lectorem celemus) asserit Henricum 2, sub eodem tempore; dedisse*

Heberto (fortè *Huberto*) *filio Heberti et Willielmo fratri Comitis Reginaldi, et Joëllano de la Pummai nepoti eorum, regnum de Limeric, pro servitio 60 militum, tenendum de ipso et Johanne filio suo, excepta civitate de Limeric, cum uno cantredo, quæ Dom. rex retinuit in manu sua, ad opus suum et heredum suorum.* Ut ut fuerit, constare videtur eos in Hiberniam non profectos, ad regnum illud Limericense subjugandum. De donatione verò facta Philippo de Breusa, de qua suprà fit mentio, Vid. Roger. Hoveden. in Henrico 2, et de confirmatione regis Johannis concessa Gulielmo de Braos Philippi nepoti, vid. rot. chart. an. 2 Johannis in arce Londinensi.

Ad Conatiam quod attinet; de incursione in eam facta à Milone de Cogan, anno 1178, et de alia, decennio postea, à Johanne de Curcy, in annalibus Hibernicis fit mentio: sed de colonia aliqua Anglica ibidem fixa, tempore Henrici 2, nihil traditum reperi.

Ultonia jam adeunda, quam primus aggressus est Johannes Curcæus, al. de Curcy, anno 1177, Ulidiam Hibernicè *Ullagh* (ubi hodiè comitatus Dunensis) is brevi postea, à Rogero Poër, Almarico de S. Laurentio, Adamo Camerario et aliis adjutus, debellavit, deinde anno 1182, *Dabriatam*, cujus pars est Routa, territorium hodiè in agro Antrimensi; unde (ni fallor) exierunt olim Dalreudini illi, de quibus Beda mentionem facit, *qui duce Reuda, de Hibernia egressi, vel amicitia vel ferro, inter Pictos sedes, quas hactenus (ait ille) habent vindicârunt.* Curcæi habitatio primaria erat Duni, in Lecalia, ubi anno 1183, ex ecclesia Cathedrali, seculares Canonicos expulit, quorum vice, introduxit monachos Benedictinos, è cœnobio S. Werburgæ Cestriæ desumptos. Vita ejus, quam è Latino Anglicè reddidit Georgius Doudallus archiepiscopus Armachanus, sub Henrico 8, MS. extat. Curcæi tempore, Anglicæ gentis plurimi, sedes suas in Ultonia fixerunt, inter quos fuerunt Savagii, Whiti, Ridelli, Mandevilli, Jordani, Stantonii, Logani, Sandalli, Poëri, Camerarii, Stokæi, Passelevi, Russelli, Audlæi, Coplandi et Martelli. Ultoniæ porrò pars erat Ergallia, sive Uriel, quæ antiquitùs complectabatur totam eam regionem quæ postea divisa est in agros Louthensem,

Monaghanensem et Armachanum. Sub exitum Henrici 2, filius ejus Johannes tūm Hiberniæ dictus Dominus et Comes Moretoniæ, dedit Bertramo de Verdun, Hiberniæ seneschallo (qui in Palestinâ postea obiit anno 1192) *quatuor Cantredas terræ in Uriele prædicta, et dimidium Cantredæ terræ in Lura* (al Loutha) *illud scil. quod est versùs mare, pro servitio 20 Militum.* Hujus generis sunt alia non pauca, ex archivis plerumque petenda, quæ aliorum penitiori indagini relinquimus. Mitto hic varias Johannis Curcæi expeditiones et incursiones in alias Ultoniæ partes, necnon prælia inter eum et Hibernos commissa, ut quæ ad hunc locum non pertinent. Satis erit hic indicare, ob Ulidiam debellatam, et sedes quas ille et commilitones in eâ potissimum fixerant, à Jocelino monacho Furnessensi (qui tūm vixit) in *Prologo* ad vitam Sancti Patricii, appellatam *Ulidie Principem.*

CAP. XXVIII.

De insulis minoribus quæ per mare Hibernicum sparguntur.

DE mari Hibernico suprâ diximus, Cap. III et XXIII. De commoditatibus quas præstat, Cap. VII. Locus jam postulare videtur, ut de insulis mari Hibernico circumfluis, aliquid adjungam, et adjungam sanè, idque primò ex veteribus generatim. Hiberniam *habere insulas insignes* VI, tradit Marcianus Heracleota, in periplo suo, sed nomina non ascribit. Habe etiam fabulosam Demetrii Grammatici narrationem de insulis Britanniæ adjacentibus, è Plutarchi libro de oraculorum defectu, *Demetrius narravit insulas circa Britanniam esse multas hinc inde sparsas, (quales ex eo Sporades Græcis dicuntur) easque desertas, quarum nonnullæ geniorum et heroum dicantur. Se quoque mittente Imperatore, cognoscendi ac perlustrandi gratiâ, profectum in eam quæ desertis proxima, à paucis tenebatur incolis, sed quos omnes Britanni sacros inriolabilesque haberent: statim verò post illius adventum, magnam in aëre confusionem extitisse, et portenta multa ventosque in procellas erupisse et ignitos vortices in terram*

delatos fuisse, sub horum finem insulares dixisse aliquem eorum qui præstantioris humanâ sunt naturæ, esse desiisse: Et addit paulò pòst, ibi quandam esse insulam, in quâ Saturnus captivus detineatur à Briareo, dormiens, (hoc enim vinculum adversus eum fuisse excogitatum) et adesse Saturno multos genios, comites ipsius ac famulos. Ita Plutarchus. Neque desunt qui, ex Orpheo, Jasonem, cum Argonautis, in Hiberniam vel appulisse, vel saltem litora Hibernica legisse colligunt, unde Hadrianus Junius ita Hiberniam loquentem inducit,

*Illa ego sum Gratiis olim glacialis Iërne
Dicta, et Jasonicæ puppis benè cognita nautis.*

Hûc usque generatim. Quæ ad rem habent Plinius, Ptolemæus et alii nonnulli tam è veterum quàm mediorum temporum scriptoribus, suis postea patebunt locis.

Jam verò ut meliore ordine in instituto cursu progrediar, è sinu *Carigfergusii* solvam, et inde litora legens, insulas orientales primùm invisam, postea australes, deinde occidentales, ac demùm aquilonaes. In hac navigatione, se nobis primùm ostendunt *Coplandæ*, duæ insulæ, ita fortassè dictæ à *Coplandorum* familia, quæ in vicina *Ulidia* olim florebat. Tum *Berry* insula, à qua si oram legamus usque ad litus agri *Dublinsiensis*, nullæ apparent insulæ memoratu dignæ: nam insulas quæ sunt in lacu *Cone* et unam vel alteram exiguam insulam, intra ostium portus *Carlingfordiensi*, uti et scopulos hinc inde per mare sparsos, consultò prætermisi, ut quæ ad rem, de qua nunc agimus, non pertinent. In agri *Dublinsiensis* litore est *Holm-Patrick*, sive insula S. *Patricii*, quæ ita denominata est in memoriam S. *Patricii*, qui ibi appulit anno ccccxxxii, et inde in continentem trajecit, ad Hiberniam Christianæ religionis radiis illuminandam. Huic proximæ sunt *Skerres*, insulæ scopulosæ, Eodem inde litore *Lambey* eminent, quæ à Plinio (ni fallor) *Limnus*, et à Ptolemæo *Limni* appellatur. Proxima huic est insula exigua dicta *Irlandæ eye*, i. *Oculus Hiberniæ*, ubi (ut notavit Johannes Alanus Archiepiscopus *Dublinsiensis*, sub Henrico viii, in Regesto suo nigro) *S. Nessanus* olim insistebat crebris orationibus, jejuniis et vigiliis

Tribus hinc miliaribus, ad austrum, abest *Dalky*, in chartis nonnullis Hydrographicis, *insula S. Benedicti* vocata, à qua, ut oram legimus, postquàm loca ea vadosa à nautis dicta *The North, Middle and South grounds*, prætervecti sumus insula *Beg-eri*, i. si interpreteris, *Parva Hibernia* conspicitur, ad agrum Wexfordiensem spectans, fortassè eadem quæ à Plinio, *Edros*, à Ptolemæo, *Edri* dicitur, olim S. Ibari scholâ celebris, qui ibi (ut in vita ejus legimus) *celebre condidit cœnobium, et sacras literas aliàsque artes optimas docuit maximam multitudinem Hibernorum et aliorum*. Huic proximæ sunt duæ *Saltes* insulæ, quæ ejusdem comitatus censentur partes.

Ad his, usque ad *Capel* insulam modicam, quæ 3 vel 4 miliaribus à portu Youghallensi abest, nullæ memoratu dignæ sunt insulæ: post eam verò, in eodem litore *Cotton-Island*, *Lesteren*, *Lacallan*, *Cray et Loughin*, cum aliis minoris notæ conspiciuntur. Magis ad occasum in alto eminet *Clera* Insula, nautis *Cape Clert*, cui maximum fuit decus S. Kiaranus senior episcopus Saigerensis, qui hic (ut refert vitæ ejus scriptor) natus est et educatus. Interius in sinu Baltimorensi confertissimæ jacent insulæ, inter quas sunt *Inistirkan* aliàs *Inisshirkan*, *Aughra*, *Insula longa*, Insula dicta *the Horse*, sive *Equus*, et interius in sinu *Bantriensi*, *Ughdy*.

In alto tùm comparent tres Insulæ *Dorses*, quarum maxima appellatur, *The Cow*, i. *Vacca*; Secunda, *The Bull*, sive *Taurus*, tertia, *The Calf*, sive *Vitulus*. Sub ostium deinde *Kilmari*, vel *Kinmari* fluvii, sunt insulæ quædam exiguæ, sed inprimis memorandæ sunt margaritæ, quas in hoc fluvio et in ora vicina conchæ pariunt. Hoc obiter. In alto eminent tres *Scelegæ*, insulæ scopulosæ, in quarum una erat olim cœnobium S. Michaëli Archangelo dicatum, quod postea (uti suprâ diximus Cap. xxvi) ad continentem translatum est. His proxima est *Valentia* aliàs *Dariry* insula, quæ per aliquot millia *Kerriæ* litori objecta jacet, tenui freto à continente divisa. Magis ad Arctum sunt *Blaskes* Insulæ, cum scopulis adjacentibus. Neque prætermittenda est *Inis-catte* sive *Inis-cathaig* (licèt intra ostium *Shenani* flu.) olim sedes episcopalis, ubi S. Senanus præfuit episcopus. Nomen insulæ Scholiastes *Æneæ filii Oengabhan*, à *Cathaic bestia* fera deduxit, quæ ibi,

et in Regionibus vicinis (ut ille habet) multos occidebat. Proximæ melioris notæ sunt tres Aranæ insulæ, scilicet Inis-ier, Inis-mane et Aran-more, quæ nunc ad agrum Galviensem spectant, olim verò ad Momoniam pertinebant. Harum præcipua est, Aran-More, id est, Aran-Magna, dicta etiam Arn-na-næmh, sive Aran Sanctorum, ob sanctos ibi sepultos. De hac insula et S. Enna, aliàs Endeo, primo ibidem Abbate, ita scriptor vitæ S. Albei, Cùm S. Albeus reverteretur de Cassell, occurrit ei Enna abbas dicens: revertere mecum ad regem (Ængusam) et quære mihi ab eo illam Insulam, i.e. Arn, ut in nomine Domini faciam ibi monasterium. Tunc reversus Sanctus Albeus ad regem salutavit eum dicens: illam insulam positam in Oceano maris, da nobis ut ædificemus ibi monasterium. Rex ait non vidi nec audivi qualis et quanta sit illa insula, et ideo nemini illam dabo, ut prius sciam quomodò sit. Tunc virtus divina fecit regem videre totam eam insulam per longa spatia terrarum, et scivit qualis et quanta fuit. Tradidit autem rex Sanctis insulam Arn, et sub S. Albeo, S. Enna construxit ibi egregium monasterium, et sub uno nomine nominatur etiam insula, i. Arn. Et magna est illa insula, et est terra Sanctorum, quia nemo scit numerum sanctorum, qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solus Deus. Hæc ille: cui astipulatur scriptor vitæ S. Endei, qui asserit etiam Dariniam, Endei sororem, Ængusæ regis fuisse uxorem. Sed audi porrò fabulosam relationem de hac insula, ex Giraldi Cambrensis Topograph. Hiberniæ Distinct. II, Cap. VII, Est insula quædam in occidentali Conactiæ solo posita cui nomen Aren, à S. Brendano, ut aiunt, consecrata. In hac, hominum corpora nec humantur nec putrescunt, sed sub dio posita et exposita, permanent incorrupta. Hic homines avos, atavos et tritaros longamque stirpis suæ retrò seriem, mirando conspiciunt et cognoscunt. Est et aliud ibi notabile, quia cùm per totam Hiberniam copiosè nimis mures abundant, hæc tamen insula mure caret: mus enim non nascitur hic, nec vivit inrectus, &c. Nescio an hic operæ pretium sit memorare incolas nonnullos qui fide digni videri volunt, affirmare se, ex his insulis, fasci-*

* Salo meliùs.

natam insulam quam *O-Brasil* vocant interdum sudo cœlo prospexisse. In hujus insulæ scrutinio, nonnulli nuper oleum et operam perdidērunt. At situm confidentiùs designant chartæ quædam hydrographicæ. De perdita hac insula, sive insula Brendani, vide, si placet, quæ habet Ortelius, in thesauro suo Geographico. Prætereo hic fabellam de insula quadam maris Hibernici *quam fantasticam vocant, instabili primò, tandem per ignem stabili facta*, Talium cupidus petat jam dicti Giraldi Cambrensis Topogr. Hib. Distinct. II. Cap. XII. Ad rem redeo. Inter *Aranas* et continentem, non paucæ jacent insulæ exiguæ. Magis verò ad Arctum, (inter alias minoris notæ) jacent *Ardillan, Ilanemraher, Inissharke, Insula Cuniculorum et Inis-bo-find*, id est, *Insula vaccæ albæ*, in quam ingentes massæ ambræ, (nos ~~Ambergteest~~ dicimus) aliquoties sunt ejectæ. Hic S. Colmanus Lindisfarnensis episcopus cœnobium olim construxit. Sic enim Beda, Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ lib. 4, cap. 4, *Interea Colmanus, qui de Scotia erat episcopus, relinquens Britanniam tulit secum omnes quos in Lindisfarnensi insula congregaverat Scotos: sed et de gente Anglorum viros circiter triginta, qui utrique monachicæ conversationis erant studiis imbuti. Et relictis in ecclesia sua aliquot fratribus, primò venit ad insulam Hu, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Dei, Anglorum genti destinatus. Deinde secessit ad insulam quandam parvam, quæ ad occidentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta, sermone Scotico Inis-bo-find, id est, insula vitulæ albæ nuncupatur. In hanc ergò perveniens construxit monasterium et monachos inibi, quos de utraque natione collectos adduxerat, collocavit, &c. Navigatio Colmani ad insulam vaccæ albæ, in Annalibus Tigernaci, (qui floruit seculo XI) ad annum refertur DCLXXVI. Ibi Colmannus ille naturæ cessit novennio postea, die 8. Augusti. Eodem inde litore eminent *Inisturk* et *Clerey*, in qua erat olim cella cœnobii Knockmoyensis. Inter has et continentem (in sinu Borisolensi) confertissimæ jacent insulæ exiguæ. Tum utraque *Akil*, major et minor, cum noto nautis scopulo magis ad occasum, dicto *the Black Rock*, deinde *Iniskea* et *Darilan*.*

Insulæ *Ultoniæ* jam invisendæ, atq; illæ, primum quæ
 207 partes

partes censentur Tirconalliæ, sive ut nunc loquimur, agri Donegallensis. Atque hic, post insulas quasdam perexiguas, quæ ostiis Erni flu. Et portuum Donegalliæ et Calebegæ præjacent, in alto comparent insulæ dictæ *Arana Aquilonales*, ad Aranarum suprâ memoratarum differentiam, prope quas sunt scopuli à nautis vocati *The Staggs*, sive Cervi. Tum *Cladagh* conspicitur, et magis ad orientem *Torre*, ad 8 milliare à continente, terra satis fertilis. *Inis-oën* verò, (sive insula Eugeni) licet insula dicta, reverà peninsula est, et isthmo, continenti Hiberniæ annectitur. Huic maximum est ornamentum *London-derry* civitas, antiquitus *Deria* et *Dair-culgaic*. Proximæ sunt *Glassedy et Strahul*, al. *Inis-strahul*, Insulæ scopulosæ ad quas Phocæ se conferunt, ut dormiant et fœtum edant. Tum *Skerres*, deinde *Raghlín*, quæ pars est agri Antrimensis et una leuca à continente abest, Plinio *Ricnea*, Ptolemæo *Ricina*, Antonino *Riduna*. Cæterùm Historici Hibernici *Recarn*, et *Reccrain* vocant. *Segeium Abbatem Jæ Ecclesiam de Recarn fundasse anno DCXXXIV*, vel *DCXXXV*, prodit Tigernacus; et in Annalibus Ultoniensibus ad an. DCCXCIV, (qui nobis est DCCXCV) fit mentio *Combustionis et vastationis Reccrain per Gentes*. Danos hic intelligi docet Caradocus Lhancarvanensis, in Cambriæ chronico: nam *Dani circa hæc tempora* (ut ille habet) *maximam Hiberniæ partem populati, Reccrain quoque vastarunt*. Johannes rex Angliæ donavit hanc insulam (inter alia) *Alano de Galway*, ut ex archivis constat. Inter eam et continentem jacent exiguæ nonnullæ insulæ, et magis ad austrum, comparent novem insulæ scopulosæ dictæ *The nine Glades*, non procul à peninsula *Magie*. His proximæ sunt insulæ Coplandicæ, à quibus exorsi sumus, et cum quibus finem huic capiti imponemus.

CAP. XXIX.

Diatriba de Basilicis, sive ecclesiis Cathedralibus Hiberniæ, in qua origines earum et aliæ antiquitates aperiuntur.

IN PROVINCIA ARMACHANA.

Loca et tituli dedicationum. *Origines et aliæ antiquitates.*

Armachæ, Ecclesia S. Patricii.

TEMPLUM erexit cathedrâque ibi fixit S. Patricius Hibernorum Apostolus, anno Domini 445, vel secundùm annales Ultonienses, 444, ad quem annum, in iisdem annalibus ita annotatum invenimus, *Ardmacha fundatu est. Ab urbe condita, usque ad hanc civitatem fundatam, 1194 anni sunt.* Locum (prope Calin flu.) à salicibus quibus consitus fuerat, *Druim-Sailec* primùm dictum concessit Dairus quidam, vir divitiis affluens, et inter suos magni nominis. Ab editiori verò situ, postea factum est nomen Armacha sive Ardmacha, id est, *Editus Campus.* De Sede à S. Patricio hic collocatâ, ita Jocelinus monachus Furnessensis, in vita ejusdem Patricii, cap. 165, *Cathedram Archiepiscopalem in eadem urbe collocavit (S. Patricius) et ut sedes illa totius Hiberniæ esset Primaria, Metropolis, et Magistra, animo statuit.* De antiqua hujus sedis dignitate, nihil prætereà dicam, nisi quod amplissima habebat olim privilegia, ad Ecclesiasticæ libertatis firmamentum indulta. Sed redeamus ad propositum. Ecclesia hæc cathedralis, sicut sæpè devastata fuit et incendio deformata, ita iterùm atque iterùm restaurata et amplificata ab Archiepiscopis Armachanis; sed præcipuè à Patricio Scanlano, circa annum Salutis 1262, tum nuper à sede Rapotensi Armacham translato. Proximus ejus successor Fr. Nicolaus *Molissæ* filius, præter libros, vestimenta Ecclesiastica pretiosa et alia quæ Ecclesiæ suæ Armachanæ dederat, annuam etiam 20 marcarum pensionem ejusdem Ecclesiæ fabricæ, ex Mannerio suo de *Termon-Feichan* pendendam contulit. Sedi prætereà suæ appropriari curavit Mannerium de *Dromyskin.* Obiit 10 Maii 1303, vir ob facundiam et prudentiam celebris, cum Ecclesiam Armachanam rexisset annos 31.

*Clonardæ E. S.
Finiani.*

In Midia multæ erant olim sedes episcopales, Clonardensis nempe, Damleagensis, Kenlisensis, Trimmensis, Ardbraconensis, Don-shaghlinensis et Slanensis, præter alias minoris notæ: quæ omnes, exceptis Damleagensi et Kenlisiensi sive Cenanuensi, coaluerunt, iisque communis sedes Clonardæ constituta est, ante annum Dom. 1152, quo facta est divisio Episcopatum Hiberniæ, à Johanne Paparone Presbytero cardinale tituli S. Laurentii in Damaso, Eugenii III tunc apud Hibernos legato, in synodo inchoata pridie Nonas Martii, vel in cœnobio Mellifontis, vel, ut aliis placet, Kenlisæ. Cæterum duæ illæ Sedes (Damleagensis nempe et Kenlisensis) eandem postea aleam subierunt. De his compendio sigillatim: ac primò de Clonarda.

Clonardæ primus præfuit Episcopus S. Finianus, sive Finanus, philosophus et theologus insignis. Is nobili ortus prosapiâ, sed pietate nobilior, apud S. Davidem Menevensem in Cambria episcopum aliquandiù commoratus est, eique ob egregias animi dotes valdè charus fuit. In patriam reversus, factusque episcopus, sedem suam Clonardæ in Midia, prope Boinum fluvium, collocavit, ubi porrò Gymnasium instituit, quod illius curâ et laboribus, multos progeniuit viros sanctitate et doctrinâ celebres: inter quos fuerunt uterque Kiaranus, uterque Brendanus, uterque Columba (nempe Columba-cille et Columba filius Crimthani) Laserianus filius Nathfraci, Cainecus, Movæus et Ruadanus. Et sicut schola S. Finiani fuit quasi quoddam totius Sapientiæ Sacrarium, ut loquitur vitæ ejus Descriptor, ita et ipse Finianus Sapientis cognomen adeptus est. Obiit is Decembris 12, anno Salutis 552, et in Ecclesia sua sepultus est. Episcoporum hujus diœceseos, qui Clonardæ sederunt postremus fuit Simon de Rupeforti al. *Rochfort*, Anglus, qui sicut prædecessor ejus Eugenius, ultimis consecrationis suæ annis, stylo à Midiâ regione amplissimâ, mutuato, episcopus Midensis dictus est; quo titulo omnes etiam deinceps successores constanter usi sunt. Non tamen hic prætermittendum Idumanum unum è prædecessoribus Eugenii, diù ante eum Midiæ episcopum fuisse dictum, et eo usum stylo, inter testes Epistolæ Waterfordiensium ad Anselmum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, in gratiam Malchi

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electi

electi Waterfordiensis, an. 1096 conscriptæ. Sed ad Simonem redeamus. Is circa annum Christi 1206, Clonardâ relictâ, cathedram suam episcopalem ad cœnobium SS. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum novæ villæ juxta Trimmam transtulit, quod tum nuper Canonicis Augustinianis condiderat. Constat porrò Henricum VIII regem (qui monachos ubique exturbavit) ecclesiam cœnobii B. Mariæ de *Ballemore* juxta *Logh-feudy* apud West-Midenses, in Cathedralem hujus diœceseos convertisse. Sed quàm diù ita duraverit, nescio.

Damleagæ, sive ut hodiè, Dulekæ, sedes episcopalis primum constituta est à S. Kenano, aliàs Cianano, cui ipse præfuit episcopus primis Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ surgentis temporibus. S. Kenanum *Ecclesiam ibi construxisse lapideam, et inde Damleag nomen accepisse* refert Officium ejus, cujus exemplar, è codice MS. Bibliothecæ publicæ Cantabrigiensis transcriptum, impertivit mihi amicissimus M. Gulielmus Morus. *Ecclesiarum etenim antea* (sic idem Officium) *de virgis et tabulis structuræ fiebant in Hibernia.* Nec facilè quidem reperiemus aliam structuram, è saxo, ab Hibernis factam, ante tempus S. Malachiae Archiepiscopi Armachani, S. Bernardi æqualis et dilecti, licèt in morte paulò prioris. Sed de veterum Hibernorum ædificiis, vide, si placet, quæ suprâ diximus cap. 22. Sanctus hic Kenanus regio Momoniensium ortus sanguine, et ad tempus in Gallia, sub S. Martino episcopo Turonensi educatus obiit 24 die Novembris anno 489 vel 488.

Sequitur *Cenanus*, postea contractiùs Kenlis, et deinde (sicut hodiè vulgò) *Kells*, antiquitùs inter insigniores Hiberniæ urbes numerata, sed posterioribus temporibus postquàm nimirum in opidulum decrevit, dicta ob situm et munimentum *Clavis earum partium Midiæ.* Memoranda porrò hoc nomine, quòd S. Columba, qui et *Columb-cille, composito* (inquit Beda) *à Cella et Columba nomine*, cœnobium insigne ibi fundavit, circa annum Dom. 550, locum concedente Dornitio filio Cervalli rege Hiberniæ. Sedem etiam episcopalem ibi postea erectam fuisse liquet, sed quandò primum constituta fuerit, ignoratur. Hoc tamen constat eum seculo XIII, cathedræ Midensi fuisse conjunctam. Kenlisæ huic magnum olim decus fuit S. Cuthbertus Lindisfarnensis Episcopus (obiter adnoto)

qui hîc in lucem editus est, uti vitæ ejus Descriptor demonstrat *ex Historiis Hiberniensium*. Liber habetur in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub effigie Vitellii, D. xiv. 8. Non desunt tamen qui natum eum in loco dicto *Kilmacudrick*, ad quartum à Dublinio lapidem, contendunt.

Ad cæteras quod attinet, satis erit vel verbo memorare Ecclesias Trimmensem et Don-shaghlinensem à S. Patricii nepotibus erectas fuisse, hanc à S. Secundino, al. Sechnallo, illam à S. Lumano: deinde Slanensem à S. Erco, qui obiit anno 512, et Ard-bracanensem à S. Ultano, qui anno decessit 657. Hique omnes ut fundatores, ita primi fuerunt harum Ecclesiarum Episcopi. Atque hæc de sedibus hisce, unitis tandem et conjunctis episcopatui Midensi compendio dicto sufficiant.

*Duni, Eccles.
S. Patricii.*

Sanctus Cailanus S. Macnisii episcopi Connerensis æqualis, sed in Episcopatu posterior, ex Nendrumensi Abbate, factus est Dunensis ecclesiæ episcopus, sub exitum seculi post Christum natum quinti. Ecclesiam hanc refecit S. Malachias Morgairus, episcopus primùm Connerensis, dein Armachanus Archiepiscopus, ac demùm Archiepiscopatu abdicato, Antistes Dunensis, anno 1137. Tum post annos circiter 40, Malachias tertius ejusdem nominis Episcopus Dunensis, à Johanne Curcæo Ultoniæ dicto expugnatore adjutus, auxit eam et ornavit. Johannes ille prætereà, Canonicis secularibus expulsis, eorum loco, monachos Benedictinos, è cœnobio S. Werburgæ Cestriæ, substituit anno 1183. Et sub eodem tempore, ejusdem Curcæi suasu, ecclesia ea Cathedralis, quanquàm antea S. Trinitatis nomini consecrata, in S. Patricii honorem dicata est. Non paucos autem credidisse Iliadem malorum Curcæum inde sibi postea attraxisse, author est Christophorus Pembrigijs, in annalibus suis. Utcunque, maximam olim claritatem loco proculdubiò conciliavit S. Patricii sepultura, cui etiam corpora SS. Columbæ et Brigidæ postea translata fuerunt. Postremus hujus sedis episcopus, ante realem (ut loquimur) unionem Ecclesiarum Dunensis et Connerensis, fuit Johannes *Sely*, monachus Benedictinus. Eo verò exauthorato anno 1441,

Johannes Episcopus Connerensis unionem utriusque sedis, ab Eugenio iv Pontifice obtinuit. Et jam inde unus idemque episcopus Dunensis et Connerensis appellatur. Locus, antiquiori nomine *Aras-Cealtair* prorsus deperdito, Dunum dictus est, unde et regioni nomen. Dunum autem priscis Gallis, Britannis et Saxonibus, collem vel situm acclivem denotabat: atque hinc Lugdunum et Juliodunum in Gallia, Dunelmum, Camalodunum, Sorbiodunum et similia in Anglia manarunt: neque aliam habebat significationem apud Hibernos. Nam hæc sedes in Regesto censuum Cameralium Centii Camerarii appellatur *Dun-da-leghlas*, quam vocem Hiberni interpretantur *Collem binorum mediorum catenæ*: et Jocelinus, cap. 38, à *catenis confractis*, Dunum nomen sortitum fuisse asserit. Sic porrò à collino situ in Hibernia, nomina deducunt *Dun-amaus*, *Dun-keran*, *Dun-gannon* et *Dun-garvan*. Exempla alia satis obvia sunt: sed in re tam nota, hæc sufficiant.

Conneræ, E. S. Mac-nisii. Ængus Macnisius primus fuit hujus ecclesiæ episcopus et fundator. Is cognomentum à matre, more insolito, trahens, vulgò *S. Mac-Nisæ* vel Mac-nisius, sine aliqua alia additione, dictus est. Patris autem nomen *Fobrec* fuit, ut tam è Tigernaci Annalibus, quàm ex antiquo Ængusiani Martyrologii Scholiaste, ad diem 3 Septembris, intelligimus. E vivis hic cessit *senex venerabilis*, 3 Septembris, an. Dom. 507, vel secundum alios, 514. Hujus ecclesiæ benefactor dicitur Isaacus de Novo castro ad Tinam, episcopus creatus Connerensis an. 1245, ubi præfuit annos 12. Quid autem contulerit traditum non reperi. Celebritatem hujus loci maximam aliqui adscribunt S. Malachiæ suprà memorato, qui hic præfuit ad tempus episcopus, et cujus vitam descripsit S. Bernardus Abbas Claravallensis celeberrimus; è quo plura petas.

Clochoræ, E. S.
Maccartini.

Hanc Ecclesiam fundavit S. Patricius eamq; postea contulit dilecto suo discipulo et in verbi Dei prædicatione adjutori indefesso, S. Maccartino, Jocelino, Kerteno, è nobili Aradensium prosapiâ orto, sed moribus nobiliori. Sedit ibi

Maccartinus usq; ad an. Dom. 506, quo placidè ex hac vita senex migravit, ix Calend. Aprilis, vel ut alii habent, vi Octobris, et in Ecclesiæ suæ cœmeterio sepultus est. Post aliquot deinde secula, an. nempe 1041, hæc ecclesia de novo ædificata est, et S. Maccartini memoriæ dicata. Circa annum verò 1295, eam restauravit Matthæus *Mac-Catasaid* episcopus Clochorensis. Is capellam porrò condidit supra sepulchrum S. Maccartini, et cœmeterium muro circumdedit. Anno demùm pòst centesimo, Aprilis 28, dum Arthurus *Mac-Camèil* loci episcopus capellam Maccartini de novo erigi curaret, ecclesia ipsa cathedralis, et duæ capellæ, et monasterium B. Mariæ, necnon Curia Episcopi unà cum 32 aliis ædificiis, &c. incendio conflagrârunt. Ad ecclesiæ et Curie suæ structuram, Arthurus hic omni studio postea incubuit. Decessit autem admodum senex, die S. Laurentii 1432, cùm hanc ecclesiam rexisset annos 42. *Extant* ordinationes ejus (obiter adnoto) an. 1395 et 1430 editæ. Clochora (ad Lau-num flu. sita) nomen habet à Lapide aureo, quo ethnicismi temporibus, Dæmon responsa præstigialia, quasi Apollinis Pythii oracula, dare solebat; ut è Regesto Clochorensi intelligimus. Inter hujus loci episcopos secundum Macartinum maximè celebratur Christianus O-Morgair, frater unicus S. Malachiæ Armachani. Eum S. Bernardus in vita Malachiæ *virum bonum appellat plenum gratiæ et virtutis Germano quidem suo secundum in celebri opinione, sed vite sanctimonia, et justitiæ zelo fortè non imparem*. Obiit 1139, et Armachæ in cœnobio SS. Petri et Pauli sepultus est.

Ardachæ, E. S. Meli. Ecclesia cathedralis Ardachadensis meritò inter antiquissimas totius Hibernia numerata, à S. Melo Britanno, primo loci episcopo fundata est. Fuit is S. Patricii è Darerca sorore nepos, et ab ipso S. Patricio (cujus etiam discipulus fuit) episcopus consecratus. Hunc *ex proprio labore manuum more Pauli*, victum sibi comparasse asserit Jocelinus, in vita S. Patricii, cap. 102. Obiit S. Melus anno salutis 488, Februarii die 6, quadriennio ante avunculum, et in ecclesia sua Ardachadensi sepultus est. Ardachæ nominis ratio ab editiori situ deducitur. Atque

hujus nominis libentiùs hîc memini, quia *Ard* generali vocabulo loca editiora Hibernicè vocantur.

Raphoæ, E. S.
Eunani.

Cœnobium ibi loci fundavit S. Columba-cille, vir regio sanguine, ad virtutem et literas natus: antea quidem Crimthanus dictus; Columbæ verò nomen secundum Adamnanum, (qui vitam ejus descripsit) *ob innocentiam*, secundum veterem Ængusiani Martyrologii Scholiasten, eodem sensu, *ob simplicitatem* candidam obtinuit, allusione fortassè factâ ad præceptum Servatoris nostri, (Matth. x.) *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ*. Hanc structuram restauravit postea jam dictus Adamnanus, celebris ille cœnobii Hyensis Abbas, cujus magno cum honore meminit Beda venerabilis, Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ gentis Anglorum lib. 5, cap. 16, ubi *virum bonum* appellat, *et sapientem, et scientiâ Scripturarum nobilissimè instructum*. Hujus cœnobii templum in ecclesiam cathedralem erexit (ut videtur) S. Eunanus qui primus existimatur hujus sedis Antistes. Quo tempore autem vixerit nullâ potui indagine invenire. Ostendebatur Raphoæ, sive (ut olim) Rathbothæ, non ita pridem lectus ejus. Ibi porrò turris erat, sive pyramis, ut aliqui vocant, colli imposita, in qua episcopi Rapotenses Musæum olim habebant. Hujus ecclesiæ benefactor fuit egregius Patricius *Magonail* episcopus Rapotensis, circa annum Dom. 1360, qui porrò ædes episcopales, in tribus Manneriis ad sedem suam pertinentibus, construxit. Locus nomen habet partim ab Hibernico *Rath*, quod sepimentum militare denotat. Sed in residui nominis rationem inquirent alii.

Deria, E. S.
Columbæ.

De cœnobio à supradicto S. Columba Deriæ extracto, anno 545, jam antè egimus. Cæterum ecclesia cathedralis Derensis opus est multò recentioris temporis. Nam illius Dioceseos episcopus Ardsrathæ ad Dergum, flu. primum cathedram habuit constitutam, ubi primus præfuit episcopus S. Eugenius, quem aliqui S. Patricii discipulum, et ab eo episcopum consecratum tradunt: alii verò SS. Canici et Congalli

æqualem faciunt. Tempora certè parùm cohærent: nisi fortè S. Eugenio (inter Macrobios illius seculi) istam tantam longævitatẽ adscribamus. Fuit is Prædicator eximius et assiduus. Natus porrò dicitur regio Lageniensium sanguine. Decessisse ferunt 23 die Augusti an. 618, et in ecclesiæ suæ cœmeterio sepultus est, suprà cujus sepulchrum, sacellum postea ædificatum est. Ab Ardsratha sedes episcopalis Magheram translata est, quæ S. Lurocho dicata, cujus festum agitur 17 Februarii: unde (ut opinor) episcopi illius sedis Rathlurienses dicti sunt. Circa annum tandem 1150, Mauritius, Hibernis appellatus Mureachus *O-Coffy* al. *Cobthaig* episcopus mutavit sedem in Deriam. Is ex Canonico Augustiniano episcopus factus dictus est etiam episcopus de *Kenel-eogain* sive *Tir-oen*, et Hovedeno impresso, ad. an. 1172, corruptè Charensis. Vir ob eruditionem, humilitatem et erga egenos liberalitatem, ab Historicis plurimùm laudatus. Vixit usque ad an. Dom. 1173, vel 1174, quo defunctus 10 Februarii, in cœnobio S. Columbæ Deriæ, quod olim *Cellam nigram* vocabant, sepultus est. Eo sedente, an. 1164, Ecclesia cathedralis (ut ego intelligo) sive *ecclesia magna Derensis* (ut in Annalibus Ultoniensibus appellatur) constructa est, Mauritio *Mac-Lochlin* rege Hiberniæ et Flano *O-Brolchan* Abbate cœnobii S. Columbæ Derensis opus promoventibus. Non negandum tamen ante Mauritium nonnullos ex Abbatibus Derensibus dictos etiam simul episcopos. Huic diœcesi, circa an. 1266, adjunxit Germanus aliis Gelasius *O-Cherballan* episcopus itidem Derensis, (ut è Regesto Clochorensi didici) *per potentiam nationis suæ de Kenel-eogain, ecclesiam de Ardsratha, cum pluribus aliis ecclesiis de Opheacrach*. Has à sede Clochorensi eripuisse dicitur, dum David O-Brogan episcopus Clochorensis jaceret paraliticus in cœnobio Mellifontis, cujus monachus aliquando fuerat, et in quo defunctus sepultus est an. Dom. 1267. Dicitur porrò partem aliquam diœcesis Rapotensis à Carbraco *O-Scoba* ordinis Prædicatorum et episcopo Rapotensi, circa idem tempus subtractam, diœcesi suæ adjecisse. Sedis hujus episcopus an. 1420 fuit Gulielmus Quaplodus Carmelita, Bertrami *Fitz-Allen* Carmelitæ itidem et viri eruditi Mæccenas, ut è Lelando liquet, in libro de

Scriptoribus Britanniae, id quod eo libentius hic obiter annotavi, ut Balæi errorem patefacerem, qui episcopum Darensem eum facit, unum sc. è suffraganeis Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis. Urbs ipsa à colonia, è Londino deducta *London-Dery* hodiè dicta, *Daire-Calgac* olim appellabatur, i.e. *Roboretum Calgachi*, aliquando etiam *Daire Columb-kill* et *de Luco*, et in antiquo Provinciali Romano, *Darrich*.

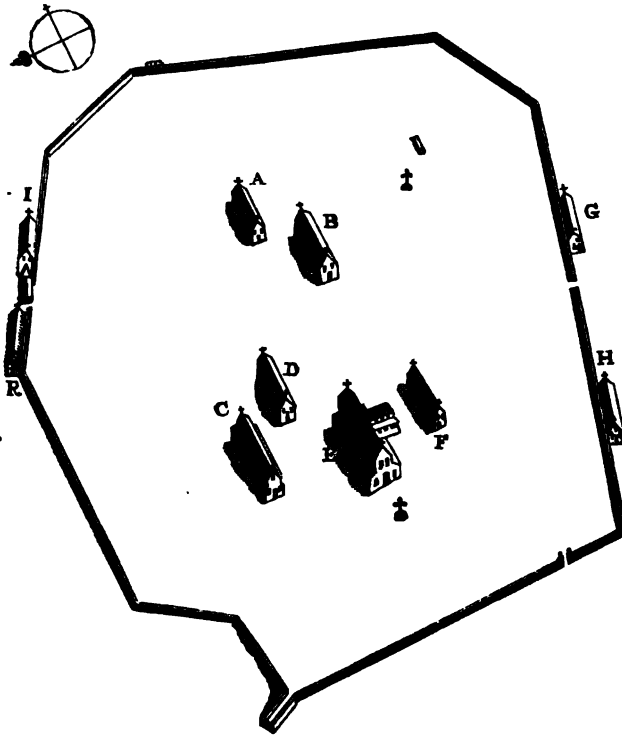
Clonæ, sive Clon-
macnoisæ, E. S.
Kiarani.

Cænobium Clonmacnoisæ, priùs *Tip-raic* dictæ, prope Shenanum flu. in ipso quasi Hiberniæ umbilico sive meditullio construxit S. Kiaranus, sive Ciaranus junior, ex Aradensium familia ortus, sed Boëtii al. Beonandi fabri lignarii filius, unde et vulgò dictus est *Mac-iteir*, sive *filius Artifeis*, locum concedente Dermatio Cervalli filio rege Hiberniæ. Huic cænobio secundum plurimos, Kiaranus unico solùm anno, secundum nonnullos verò (perperam opinor) annis septem præfuit Abbas, morte ibi ereptus 5 Idus Septembris, anno Salutis per Christum 549, in ipso ætatis flore, cùm annos vixisset solùm 33. Exequiis ejus tertiâ nocte insequenti interfuit S. Coëmgénus. Hymnum in ejus laudem paulò postea composuit S. Columba amicus ejus. Hujus cænobii Ecclesia postea, sed quo tempore planè me latet, in ecclesiam cathedralē commutata est. Non desunt quidem qui S. Kiaranum episcopum fuisse Clonmacnoisensem disertè tradant. Hoc si verum, de ecclesiæ cathedralis initio, non est cur ulteriùs disquiramus. Ut ut fuerit, posteriora tempora ix alias ecclesias, in uno quasi eodemque cœmeterio, duo plùs minùs jugera Hibernica ambitu colligente, ei subjecerunt. Ad occasum hujus loci Præsules ædes Episcopales ædificârunt.

Ecclesia ipsa cathedralis multis certè olim possessionibus ditata fuit: magnatum præterea ac episcoporum sepulturâ, nec non monumentis aliquot et inscriptionibus, partim Hebraicè partim Hibernicè incisis, inprimis insignis. Paulatim attamen decrevit et ad pudendam tandem redacta est paupertatem. In synodo suprâ memoratâ, anno 1152 habitâ, dum Cardinalis Paparo Legati munus in Hibernia obiret, inter sedes episcopales provinciæ Tuamensi subjectas, numeratur *Cinani*, quæ

post longas contentiones, Romæ agitata, inter Archiepiscopos Armachanos et Tuamenses provinciæ Armachanæ tandem adjudicata est. Hanc sedem jampridem è nominis affinitate, eandem esse existimavi cum Cenanusensi, sive Kenlisensi. Sed dies diem docet: nunc non possum non existimare *Cinani* corruptè ibi legi pro *Cluana*, vulgò Clonmacnoisa, tum ob vicinitatis rationem, ut quæ à provincia Tuamensi, Shenano fluvio solùm disternatur, tum quia in divisione antedicta episcopatum Hiberniæ, inter sedes provinciæ Armachanæ subjectas, habetur *Connanas*, quæ eadem sine dubio est cum Cenansa: non enim verisimile est unam eandemque sedem in ea sedium distributione facta in synodo, cui tot Præsules Hibernici interfuerunt, fuisse his numeratam, et diversis Provinciis assignatam. Clona sive Cluaina *Latibulum* sonat. De residui nominis ratione, ita Annales cœnobii Inisfallensis, ad annum Dom. 547, vel 548; *Hoc anno fundata est Cluainmac-nois, id est, Nois-Muccaid rex Conatiæ, à quo nominatur Cluain.* Hactenus de Clona vetere: nunc veterem ejus faciem exhibemus.

ECCLESIARUM et
Cœmeterii Clonmacnoisæ
Descriptio.



W. Hollar, fecit.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| A. Temple Keran. | F. Temple Hurpan. |
| B. Temple Ri. | G. Temple Espic. |
| C. Temple Coner. | H. Temple Gauny. |
| D. Temple Kelley. | I. Temple Killin. |
| E. Temple M ^c Dermot. | K. Temple Finian. |

Kilmoræ, E. S.

Fedlimidi.

Post Clonmacnoisam, memorabitur
Kilmora, id est, si interpreteris, *Ecclesia magna*. Hujus diœcesis episcopi stylo

à Brefinia (regione ita dicta) mutuato, Brefinienses aliquandò dicti sunt, quandòque Triburnenses, quia consedissee dicuntur in viculo quodam obscuro Triburna dicto Cæterùm, anno tandem 1454, Andreas (Bradæus opinor) episcopus Triburnensis Ecclesiam parochialem S. Fedlemidi al. Felimii Kilmoræ, quam locum commodiorem invenerat, Nicolai v Papæ assensu, in cathedralem erexit, et in ea Canonicos XIII collocavit. Hanc erectionem confirmavit Calistus III, anno insequenti: et circa idem (ni fallor) tempus, Decanatus Kilmorensis constitutus est. Ad S. Fedlimidum quod attinet, vixit is seculo VI, et frater fuit, ut ferunt, S. Diarnitii Abbatis Inis-cloghranensis. Obiit 9 die Augusti. De anno non habeo quod certò dicam, Regestum ecclesiæ Clochorensis episcopum eum facit ecclesiæ Cluainensis, quam, ad lacum dictum *Lough-Ern* sitam, nos vulgò *Clunes* dicimus, et ibidem cum S. Tigernacho, primo loci episcopo, sepultum tradit. Sed redeamus. Jam inde à novæ hujusce foundationis initiis, ipse Andreas ejusque successores non episcopi Brefinienses nec Triburnenses, ut antea, sed Kilmorenses appellati sunt. Et videtur sanè ipsam sedem Brefiniensem vel Triburnensem non antiquæ fuisse memoriæ; nam de ea nulla fit mentio in suprâ memorata divisione episcopatum Hiberniæ, ut è codice censuum Cameralium Centii Camerarii, qui fuit postea Honorius III Papa, constat. Hâc novâ ecclesiæ cathedralis Kilmorensis fundacione non obstante, duos postea episcopos ad episcopatum Triburnensem fuisse promotos ostendit Lucas Waddingus, in tomo 8 Annalium Minorum, nempe Stephanum de Straboniza, et per ejus obitum, Fr. Bernardum 13 Junii 1509. Cæterum, cùm certum sit Thomam Bradæum tunc temporis Episcopum fuisse Kilmorensem, et è vita non migrasse ante annum 1511, admodum probabile videtur eos ne teruncium quidem ex Episcopatu percepisse.

Dromoræ, E. S.
Colmani.

Superest Dromora, quæ (ut à peritioribus accepi) *dorsum magnum collis*, sive *clivum magnum* denotat.

(*Conveniunt rebus nomina sæpè suis.*)

Hæc ecclesiæ originem suam debet S. Colmano, *Aradeorum gente oriundo*, primo cœnobii Muckmorensis apud Antrimenses Abbati, deinde primo hujus sedis episcopo. Hunc Jocelinus, cap. 96, *Colmanelum* vocat: sed *Mocolmoc* etiam dictum notat vetustus Ængusiani Martyrologii Scholiastes. Claruit Colmanus seculo vi. Quippe qui natus anno 516. Obiit 7 Idus Junii. Annum verò obitus ejus nondum invenimus. De hac sede, in libro supradicto Centii Camerarii, (quod miror) nulla habetur mentio. Ideoque credibile videtur aliquot seculis eam proprio caruisse Antistite. Et sunt qui opinentur toto eo tempore, Diœcesi Archiepiscopi Armachani fuisse inclusam. Neque comperi quidem episcopum ibi loci aliquem sedisse, post sæpè suprâ memoratam divisionem episcopatuum Hiberniæ factam anno 1152, ante Gerardum monachum Cistertiensem cœnobii Mellifontis, qui (ut ex archivis Arcis Londinensis didici) electus assensum regium obtinuit 25 Aprilis 1227. Ex hujus ecclesiæ episcopis, non pauci postea seculo xv, in Anglia plerumque degabant, et temporis in hac ecclesia, ob ejus (ut auguror) paupertatem, parum aut nihil absumebant. Speciatim, sub Henrico iv rege Angliæ, Richardus Mesinus Carmelita et ejus successor Johannes quidam. Item sub Henrico v, Nicolaus Wartre ordinis Minorum et David *de Chirbury* Carmelita, ac sub Henrico vi, Thomas Scropus al. *de Bradley* Carmelita itidem, et Thomas Radcliffus. Pristina episcopatus hujus Dromorensis paupertas ex epistola quadam Octaviani de Palatio Archiepiscopi Armachani ad Henricum vii regem, intelligi potest, in qua annuos ejusdem census tunc temporis non valuisse asserit, ultra 40 marcas monetæ Hibernicæ. Hæc porrò moneta minoris tunc fuit valoris (ut ille ibi asserit) ex tertia parte quàm nummus *Sterlingus* dictus. Atq; ut episcopatus erat tenuissimus, ita et parochiæ in eo perpaucæ, solum nempe 23. Sed de basilicis provinciæ Armachanæ hactenus. Ad eas provinciæ Dublinensis jam venio.

IN PROVINCIA DUBLINIENSI.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.*Origines et aliæ antiquitates.*

Dublinii Ecclesia S. Hanc ecclesiam, in civitatis mediotulio, Trinitatis, quæ vulgò Sitricus filius Amlavi rex Ostmannorum *Ecclesia Christi ap-* Dublinii et Donatus episcopus Dublini-
pellatur. ensis Canonicis secularibus construxerunt, circa, an. Salutis 1038. De hac

fundatione, ita Liber niger ejusdem ecclesiæ: *Sitricus rex Dublin. Filius Ableb comitis Dublin. dedit S. Trinitati et Donato primo episcopo Dublin. Locum ad ædificandam ecclesiam S. Trinitati, ubi fornices sive voltæ sunt fundatæ, cum terris subsequentibus, viz. Beal-dulek, Rechen, Portrahern, cum villanis, et vaccis, et bladis, necnon aurum et argentum sufficienter ad ædificandam ecclesiam, cum tota curia contulit.* Donatus hic, præter navem ecclesiæ et collaterales structuras, excitavit etiam à fundamentis Capellam S. Nicolai, in parte boreali, et Capellam S. Michaëlis, quam, qui illi, post aliquot secula, successit, Richardus Talbotus in ecclesiam erexit parochialem. Obiit tandem Donatus 6 Maii 1074, et in ecclesia sua sepultus est. Canonicos seculares hujus ecclesiæ Laurentius Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis in Canonicos mutavit regulares ordinis Aroacensis, circa annum Domini 1163. Laurentius hic, necnon Richardus cognomento *Strong-bow Comes Striguliensis*, Robertus filius Stephani et Reimundus Crassus, sive *le Gros*, ecclesiam amplificare aggressi, chorum suis sumptibus ædificârunt, cum campanili et duabus capellis, una S. Edmundo regi et Martyri, et S. Mariæ quæ dicitur alba, dicata, altera, S. Laudo. Inter benefactores primarios, numerantur etiam Laurentii tres proximi successores, Johannes Cominus scil. Henricus Loundres et Lucas quidam, qui ante insulas susceptas Decanus fuit S. Martini Londini et thesaurarius *Garderoba* sive à synthesis Henrico III regi Angliæ. Neque prætermitti debet Johannes de S. Paulo illius itidem sedis Archiepiscopus, qui paulò ante obitum, obiit autem 9 Septembris 1362, totum Presbyterium, unâ cum ipsa (quam hodiè cernimus) cathedra Archiepiscopali,

suis sumptibus extruxit. Saxo is coopertus marmoreo, æneis laminis ornato, tumulatus est, in secundo gradu, ante summum altare, sicut in testamento suo mandaverat. Hujus ecclesiæ Priorem et conventum Henricus VIII rex Angliæ in Decanum et Capitulum convertit, anno 1541.

*Dublinii, E. S.
Patricii.*

Johannes Cominus (de quo supra diximus) ecclesiam hanc speciosissimam S. Patricio dicatam in australi urbis suburbio, veteri parochiali ecclesiâ ibidem demolitâ, construxit et dotavit, circa annum Domini 1190, in qua XIII collocavit Præbendarios, qui numerus posterioribus temporibus auctus est ad XXII. Is bullam etiam à Lucio III pontifice obtinuit, datam *Velletri*, Idibus April. Indictione 15, 1182, in quâ, inter alia privilegia sedi Dubliniensi concessa, ita legimus; *Sacrorum quoque Canonum auctoritatem sequentes, statuimus ut nullus Archiepiscopus, vel Episcopus, absque assensu Dubliniensis Archiepiscopi, si in Episcopatu fuerit in Diocesi Dubliniensi, conventus celebrare, causas et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem diocesis, nisi per Romanum Pontificem, vel Legatum ejus, fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare præsumat.* Exemplar hujus Bullæ habetur in antiquo Regesto Dublin. vocato CREDE MIHI, fol. 8o. b. Atque ex hoc privilegio, initium sumpsit controversia illa, sive acris et diuturna concertatio inter Archiepiscopos Armachanos et Dublinienses. An Armachanus habuerit jus Primatiæ, Bajulationis Crucis, Appellationum et Visitationum in provincia Dubliniensi, quæ per aliquot annorum centurias postea duravit. Sed redeo. Collegiatam hanc ecclesiam Comini proximus successor Henricus Loundres sive Londinensis in cathedralem erexit, *unitam* (inquit Johannes Alanus Archiepiscopus Dublin. sub Henrico VIII) *cum Ecclesia cathedrali S. Trinitatis in uno sponso, salvâ alteri ecclesiæ Honoris prærogativâ.* Gulielmum filium Guidonis primum ibi constituit Decanum. Præcentorem porrò, Cancellarium et Thesaurarium ordinavit, quibus prædia et rectorias assignavit. Capellam B. Mariæ ibidem extruxit postea Fulco de Samford successorum unus, in quâ ipse tumulo, statuâ ejus ornato, conditus est anno 1271. Partem denique Ecclesiæ cathedralis

incendio fortuito deformatam restauravit Thomas Minot Archiepiscopus itidem Dubliniensis, qui porro campanile præcelsum è saxo quadrato construxit, circa annum 1370, unde et in sigillo suo usus est postea imagine pontificali, quæ manu visa est tenere campanilis effigiem. Atque hæc de hac ecclesia, quæ sive laxitatem spectemus, sive egregiam structuram et magnificentiam, cæteris Hiberniæ ecclesiis cathedralibus, facile (ut opinor) est præponenda.

Fernæ, E. S. Edani. Fernam urbem Brandubus rex Lageniæ S. Edano al. Moedogo primo loci episcopo contulit, et secundum biographos nostros, synodi magnæ consensu, metropolim eam totius Provinciæ Lageniensis constituit, circa annum Dom. 598. Qua de re, sic antiquus vitæ ejusdem Edani scriptor: *Magna civitas in honore S. Moedog ibi crevit, quæ vocatur Ferna. Deinde factâ synodo magnâ in terra Lagenensium, decrevit rex Brandubh. et tam Laici quàm Clerici, ut Archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedog. Et tunc S. Moedog à multis catholicis consecratus est.* Decessit Edanus grandævus, die ultimo Januarii anno Dom. 632, et in ecclesia sua Fernensi, quam ipse fundaverat, sepultus est. Ei successit S. Molingus, dictus etiam Dairchilla, fuit enim binomius, qui (ut in vita ejus legimus) *constitutus est ipse Archiepiscopus, in sede et cathedra S. Moedog. A rege jam Lagenensium Brandubh filio Eathac constitutum est, ut Archiepiscopatus Lagenensium in civitate S. Moedog esset. Ipsa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ est in terra gentis Kenselach.* Is verò, diù ante obitum, Præsulatum abdicavit, et vitæ pertæsus eam deposuit valdè senex, 17 Junii 697, Temolingi, ubi in cœnobio à se constructo, sepultus est. Molingum, Braccanum, Patricium et Columbam, *quatuor Hibernicos Prophetas* appellat Giraldus Cambrensis, libro 2 Hiberniæ expugnatae, cap. 33. ubi etiam eorum libros suo tempore extitisse *Hibernicè scriptos*, asserit. Sed hoc obiter. Locus nomen habet (ut notat Colganus) à Ferna Heroe, Carili regis Desiorum filio, ibi in pugna per Gallum, filium Mornæ, interempto. Inter primarios ecclesiæ Fernensis benefactores numeratur Johannes de S. Johanne,

tam ob structuras suas, quàm ob privilegia sedi suæ comparata. Obiit is anno Dom. 1243, postquàm magna cum prudentiæ et integritatis laude ibi præfuisset annos circiter 21, eique bis successit Galfridus de S. Johanne, (fortè frater ejus) primum in ecclesiæ Limericensis Thesaurariatu, deinde in Episcopatu Fernensi. Fuit porrò Galfridus ante Præsulatum, Hiberniæ *Escaetor*. Notandum hic aliquos è jam dicti Johannis prædecessoribus, Josephum *O-Hethe* nempe et Albinum *O-Mulloy* dictos fuisse interdum episcopos Wexfordienses, et eo usos stylo in chartarum quarundam subscriptionibus; fortassè animo cathedram hanc episcopalem ad Wexfordiam, oppidum tunc temporis populi frequentia longè celebrius, transferendi. Hoc certè constat hunc episcopatum in Bulla Lucii III Papæ ad Jo. Cominum archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, Weisfordensem esse dictum.

Kildaræ, E. S.
Brigidæ virginis.

Sanctus Conlæthus, quibusdam Conlaidus, aliis Conlianus, primus perhibetur Darensis Episcopus, et ecclesiæ Cathedralis, à S. Brigida adjutus, fundator. In ejusdem Brigidæ vita, à Cogitoso descripta, is *Archiepiscopus* et *Summus Pontifex* appellatur. Ultimum diem clausit 3 Maii anno 519, et Kildaræ (quæ *Cellam Roboris* sonat) in ecclesia sua, prope summum altare, sepultus est. Ejus verò ossa, 281 pòst anno, viz. anno 800, in capsulam argenteam deauratam gemmisque ornatam fuerunt translata. Liber rubeus Comitis Kildarensis (quo nixus fundamento nescio) Lonium quendam primum fuisse loci episcopum tradit, Ivorium ei successisse, et Ivorio, Conlethum: et ex eodem (uti creditur) libro, idem habet Richardus Stanihurstus, in Anglica sua Hiberniæ descriptione, quæ in edito Holinshedo extat. Sed uterque perperàm opinor. Multò probabilius est Conlæthum omnium primum ibi sedem episcopalem fixisse: id quod ita firmat scriptor antiquus vitæ S. Brigidæ, lib. 2, cap. 11. *Conlianus episcopus sanctus et Propheta Domini qui habebat cellam in australi parte campi Liffi, venit in curru ad sanctam Brigidam, et moratus est apud eam. Quem B. Brigida episcopum elegit in sua civitate Kildara.* In ecclesiæ hujus ornatu et reparatione, non parvam impendit pecuniam Radulphus de

Bristol, Bristolæ (ut opinor) in Anglia natus, primus ecclesiæ S. Patricii Dubliniensis Thesaurarius, primusque Anglici generis episcopus qui in hac sede collocatus est. Decessit sub initium anni 1232, cùm sedisset annos vix 9. Eandem ecclesiam fatiscentem restauravit Edmundus Lanus episcopus, regnante Henrico VII. Inter episcopos suffraganeos Hiberniæ, ut in Conciliis et alibi primum habuit locum episcopus Miden-sis, ita secundum sibi asseruit episcopus Daren-sis: cæteri secundum tempora ordinationum sederunt.

Kilkennia, E. S.
Canici.

Sedes episcopalis Ossoriensis Saigeræ, quam hodiè *Seir-Keran* appellamus, in Elia Carolina primum collocata est, ubi sub medium seculi quinti, primus præfuit episcopus Kiaranus senior, vir magnæ auctoritatis, ob sanctitatem et doctrinam. Quirinum tamen eum fuisse, ad quem, et cæteros in Hibernia episcopos, scripta est epistola 61 Gregorii I, quæ in Regesto ejusdem Gregorii, lib. 9. extat (licet Kiarani eminentia, longævitas et nominis similitudo quodammodo invitent) non audeo affirmare. Hæc sedes Aghavoam in Ossoria superiore translata est, sed quo tempore incertum: fortassè tamen anno Dom. 1052, nam ad eum annum, ita Annales MSS. Lagenienses: *Templum Achadboæ constructum est, et Canici Scrinium ibi collocatum.* Hic S. Canicus filius Laideci Poëtæ insignis, vir doctus et industrius, primus fuit Abbas cœnobii Aghavoensis à se constructi, in quo etiam defunctus, 5 Idus Octobris, anno Dom. 599, vel 600, annos natus 72. Scripsit is vitam S. Columbæ, et Hymnos aliquot præterea in ejus laudem. Aghavoam, sive, ut olim *Achadboam*, Adamnanus in vita S. Columbæ, lib. 1. cap. 4, *Campulum Bovis* interpretatur, et scriptor vitæ S. Canici, *Agrum Boum*. Hinc verò cathedram tandem Kilkenniam, sive Canicopolim transtulit Felix *O-Dullany* episcopus Ossoriensis, circa finem regni Henrici 2 regis Angliæ. Is fundamenta videtur jecisse ecclesiæ cathedralis Kilkenniensis, quæ tamen non absoluta fuit, ante tempus Galfridi de S. Leodegario episcopi, qui eam, sumptu non exiguo, ante obitum suum qui incidit in annum 1286, perfecit, licet ante eum, nonnulli è prædecessoribus, imprimis Hugo Mapiltonus, fabricæ

ejusdem ecclesiæ strenuè incubuissent. Nec hic prætermittendus est Richardus Ledredus Minorita, successorum unus, qui in ejusdem ecclesiæ ornatu et reparatione, magnum insumpsit pecuniam, speciatim omnes fenestras, de novo erexit et vitro obduxit, inter quas enituit fenestra orientalis, opere tam eximio adornata, ut in universa Hibernia, par ei non inveniretur. Obiit Ledredus anno Domini 1360, et in Ecclesia sua cathedrali, prope summum altare, ad latus Evangelii, tumulo conditus est. Tum, qui illi post annos 100 successit David Hacketus, è polito saxo testudinem campanilis erigi curavit. Item Oliverus Cantwellus, ordinis Prædicatorum (qui mihi penè exciderat) sub exitum seculi xv, præter ædium suarum episcopalium Aghoræ et Freinstonæ et pontis majoris Kilkennix aquarum inundatione fracti reparationes, vicariis choralibus appropriavit ecclesiam S. Mallæ.

His addamus amœnissimum hujus ecclesiæ situm, quæ è colle clementer edito, et urbem modicè subjectam, et fertilissimam regionem adjacentem, Neoro flumine irriguam, jucundissimè prospectat.

Leghlinæ, E. S.
Laseriani.

Ex Provincia Dubliniensi dicenda superest Leghlina, ubi sedes cathedralis à S. Laseriano, aliàs *Molaisre*, filio Cairelli *de Blitha* constituta est. Educatus hic fertur ad ætatem usque adultam, sub S. Murino Abbate, cui mater, quæ filia erat (uti fertur) regis Pictorum, illum instituendum tradidit. Postea Romam profectus, ibi 14 annos transegit, interea D. Gregorium Sacras Scripturas exponentem audivit, et ab eodem demùm Presbyter ordinatus in patriam reversus est. Brevi postea, Leghlinam pervenit, ubi S. Gobanus tunc præfuit Cœnobiarcha, qui ei cœnobium suum sponte cedens, sibi et monachis suis cellam alibi construxit. Monachos 1500 Laseriani regimini hic subfuisse tradit scriptor vitæ S. *Munnu*, qui porrò asserit Synodum magnam in *Campo albo* habitam fuisse, et magnam ibi ortam contentionem inter S. Laserianum et S. *Munnu*, de festo Paschæ celebrando, die Dominico, an cum Hebræis decima quarta Luna: hæc verò Synodo habitâ, uti videtur, mense Martio, anno 630, sed sine optato successu

finitâ, Laserianus Romam usque denuò iter suscepit, ubi Honorius *1 eum Præsulem consecravit, et revertenti* (ut in vita ejusdem Laseriani legimus) *Legationis in Hibernia officium commisit.* Nec irrito successu, nam post reditum in patriam, Paschalis observationis ritum, ad Honorii monita, in australibus Hiberniæ partibus reformatum fuisse liquet. Vid. Bed. venerab. Histor. lib. 3. cap. 3. Mortem obiit S. Laserianus 14 Kalendas Maias anno Dom. 638 vel 639. et in ecclesia sua sepultus est. In Synodo Dublinii celebratâ, sub Alexandro Bicknoro Archiepiscopo Dublin. Dies obitus S. Laseriani antedictus (quod obiter adnoto) necnon Dies obituum sanctorum Patricii, Brigidæ, Canici et Edani, duplicibus festis, per Provinciam Dubliniensem, annumerati sunt. Inter ecclesiæ Leghlinensis benefactores primarios, habetur Burchardus Norwegus, Gurmundi filius, de quo suprâ diximus. Fuerunt et nonnulli ex hujus sedis episcopis valde benefici, speciatim Donatus, sub adventum Henrici 2 in Hiberniam, et Gulielmus aliquando Archidiaconus Leghlinensis, qui sedere cœpit anno 1227, aliis 1229, et obiit 1251. Is porrò confirmavit Burgen-sibus Leghlinensibus prædia et privilegia, quæ Herlewinus prædecessor ejus iis concesserat. Nec prætermittendi, inter benefactores, Joh. Mulganus episc. sub rege Henrico VI, et Matthæus Sanderus, sub Henrico VIII. Leghlina vulgò *vetus Leghlina* dicta non procul abest à Baroo fluvio, quem Ptole-mæus *Birgun* vel *Brigum* vocat. Mitto hîc Glendalacham, ubi olim erat sedes episcopalis, (ab Hovedeno, Bistagnensis dicitur, et in Bulla Lucii III, *Episcopatus Insularum*) siqui-dem ea regnante Johanne, cathedræ Dubliniensi unita est.

IN PROVINCIA CASSELLIENSI.

Loca et tituli dedica-
tionum.

Origines et aliæ antiquitates.

Casselia, Eccles.
S. Patricii.

Post Ængusæ (Nafrachi filii) regis Momoniæ conversionem ad Christianam religionem, S. Patricii prædicatione,

tione, populum Casseliensem S. Albei et successorum ejus Jurisdictioni, qui Imelacæ (ad 12 à Casselia lapidem) sederunt, aliquandiù subfuisse, non est cur dubitemus: qua de re postea pluribus, cum ad Imelacam perventum fuerit. Quis autem primus fuerit ecclesiæ Casseliensis episcopus, haud faciliè quis designarit De Cormaci Culinani filio, rege et episcopo Casseliensi, sub initium seculi decimi, supra fusè diximus. Is certè tanquam fundator, vel saltem restaurator ecclesiæ cathedralis vulgò habetur. Et memoria proculdubiò Antistitum Casseliensium ante eum, perquam exilis superest. Ecclesiam ejus, post novam (ut auguror) restitutionem, solenniter consecratam fuisse, et synodum ibi habitam anno 1134, tradunt Annales Prioratus insulæ omnium Sanctorum. Cæterum ecclesiam novam circa Anglorum ingressum, sub Henrico nostro secundo, à fundamentis ibi excitavit Donaldus O-Brien rex Limericensis, quam et prædiis ditavit, veteri Cormaci ecclesiâ in capellam, vel domum Capitularem, ad austrum Chori conversâ. Is porrò sedi Casseliensi latifundia non pauca elargitus est, cui alia itidem in Tuemonia postea contulit filius ejus Donatus cognomento *Carbrac*, et inter cætera, duas insulas *Sulleith* et *Kismacayl* appellatas. Hanc donationem confirmavit Johannes rex Angliæ 6 Septembris 1215. Sed redeo. Post annos deinde plus minùs 200, Richardus Hedianus Archiepiscopus Casseliensis ecclesiam hanc vetustate fatiscentem restauravit. Aulam præterea vicariis suis choralibus construxit, iisque prædia quædam dedit vocata *Grange-Connel* et *Baon-Thurlisbeg*. Ecclesia ipsa extra urbem sita, colle petroso præcipitióque munita est, sed ventis, ob sublimem situm, nimis exposita. In ascensu ad eam, saxum grandiusculum memini me juvenem vidisse, ad quod (uti ferebant incolæ) novus quisque rex Momoniæ, pro more, edicto publicè promulgato, olim declarabatur. Est et alia Casselia dicta olim *Cassel-irra*, in Conatia, cui primus præfuit Episcopus S. Bronus, qui mortalitatem exiit anno 512, quod ideò hic monendum duxi, quia non desunt qui opinentur Bronum hunc episcopum fuisse Casseliensem in Momonia.

Imelacæ, E. S. Albei. Post Casseliam memorabitur Imelaca, al. Imleca-Ibair, sedes, episcopalis antiquissima, in regione amœnâ et fertili sita, et amplissimis olim ditata prædiis, ubi et urbs erat olim celeberrima, quæ tamen paulatim in exiguum viculum decrevit. Huic loco maximum fuit decus S. Albeus dictus alter Patricius, et Momoniensium post Patricium secundus Patronus; qui dum Euangelicam doctrinam in Hibernia disseminaret, conatibus ejus ita Deus benedixit, ut quam plurimos ex nobilitate et plebe, tam docendo, quam vitæ exemplo, ad fidem Christi converterit. Totâ demum insulâ his pietatis officiis, peragratâ, ecclesiam suam cathedralem fixit tandem Imelacæ, juxta Lacum jam ferè exsiccatum. Author antiquus mihi anonymus, qui vitam S. Colmani Dromorensis episcopi descripsit, *Episcopum* vocat *Imblicensem, sapientem ac religiosum virum.* Addit porro *Colmanum apud eum divinarum scripturarum studiis, jejunio, et orationi atque vigiliis sedulè insistentem, aliquot annis docilem mansisse.* Verum enimverò, S. Albeum totius Momoniæ constitutum fuisse Archiepiscopum, his verbis disertè asserit vitæ S. Declani scriptor, adhuc (ut opinor) ineditus: *Commanentes in civitate Caissyl, S. Patricius, S. Albeus, sanctusq; Declanus, cum multis sanctis suis discipulis, apud regem Engusam, multa bona rigoris Christiani constituerunt. Et ibi rex Ængusa et S. Patricius cum omni populo ordinaverunt Archiepiscopatum Mumeniæ in civitate et in sede S. Albei, (qui tunc ab eisdem Archiepiscopus ordinatus est) per seculum.* Ita ille. Item scriptor vitæ S. Albei; *Cùm B. Albeus (inquit) audisset quod Patricius regem Memonensium Engussum filium Nefrich converteret ad Christum, et esset cum eo in civitate Cassel. Venit ut eos salutaret. Rex autem et Patricius gravisi sunt in adventu Albei, et ille est gavisus eos videns. Ibi verò accepit Patricium magistrum suum S. Albeus, quia valdè erat humilis. Tunc rex Engus et Patricius ordinarunt, ut in civitate et cathedra S. Albei esset Archiepiscopatus omnium Memonensium semper.* Quo tempore S. Albeus Euangelium in Hibernia prædicare cœperit, controvertitur. Sunt qui tradant in Christiana religione propaganda, operam ibi sedulò eum navasse, ac multos ad Christi fidem convertisse,

ante Sancti Patricii adventum in Hiberniam. Sed nos illorum sententiæ adhæremus, qui eum S. Patricio posteriorum ponunt. Vide, si placet, quæ diximus in Annotationibus nostris ad Opuscula S. Patricii: quibus et hîc addere liceat Albeum Presbyterum ordinatum ab ipso Sancto Patricio, id quod docet Tirechanus scriptor antiquus, Libro 2, de vita Sancti Patricii. Item è jam dicta vita Sancti Albei intelligimus puerum eum fuisse, dum Palladius à Celestino Pontifice missus in Hibernia moraretur, et ab eo baptizatum. Palladium verò in Hiberniam pervenisse anno Domini 431, unico solùm anno ante S. Patricium, doctis satis est notum. Sed hæc obiter. Hic talis tantusque vir decessit tandem grandævus, integris tamen animi et corporis sensibus, 12 Septembris anno Domini 527, vel, ut alii volunt, 541, et in ecclesia sua Imelacensi sepultus est. Imelacam direptam, et mitram S. Albei, ibi magnâ curâ, per multa secula asservatam, à latronibus combustam fuisse anno 1123, tradunt Annales Ultonienses. Huic sedi tunc præfuit Mælmorda episcopus, qui fugâ evasit. Ad reparationem et ornatum ecclesiæ, post annos deinde 120, (nam intermediis temporibus nihil ad rem comperi) Christianus successorum unus valdè intentus fuit. Obiit is anno 1249. Imelacæ etiam Collegium nescio quod erexit Thomas Hurlæus episcopus, tempore regis Henrici VIII.

Limerici, E.

B. Mariæ Virg.

Hanc ecclesiam cathedralem extruxit et dotavit Donaldus *O-Brien* rex Limericensis, (de quo suprâ, in Casselia,) circa Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam. Est verò Limerici ædes sacra vulgò dicta S. Munchini ecclesia, nunc parochialis, sed olim (ut ferunt) cathedralis, à S. Munchino primo Limericensi episcopo fundata et ab Ostmannis postea restaurata. De hac re quærant alii. Quis autem iste Munchinus fuerit non parva quæstio est. Sunt qui opinentur hunc esse illum Mancenum quem Jocelinus, cap. 59, *virum* appellat *religiosum et optimè in Scripturis exercitatum*, quémque S. Patricium Amalgaidi regis Conatiæ *populo*, à se tum *noviter ad Christum converso*, præfecisse asserit. Sunt alii qui minùs

probabiliter cum Mancheno illo confundant, quem Annales Ultonienses Abbatem vocant *de Mene-drochit*, et obiisse docent anno 651, vel 652. Hujus Mancheni obitus memoria designatur; sub nomine *Manichæi sapientis Hiberniensis*, in libris de Mirabilibus Scripturæ, à quibusdam S. Augustino perperam adscriptis. Non abhorret nomen, et tempora exactè conveniunt. Vid. lib. 2. cap. 4. tom. 3. Operum S. Augustini. Festum S. Munchini Limericensis agitur die 1 Januarii. Post Munchinum, inter episcopos hujus sedis celeberrimus fuit *Gille* al. *Gilbert*. in Hibernia Legatus Pontificis, cujus extat *de statu Ecclesiæ* libellus circa annum Domini 1130 descriptus. Sed redeo ad Ecclesiam cathedralem Limericensem, cui, sub initium seculi XIII, valdè beneficus fuit *Donatus O-Brien* loci episcopus. Inter alia, Decano et Capitulo Præbendas assignavit, ac de ecclesiæ suæ Liturgia, et Canonicorum privilegiis, constitutiones quasdam ordinavit. Porro is fuit (nisi me fallo) qui Decanatum ipsum et Capitulum erexit: atque ut illustris fuit genere, ita eruditione, prudentiâ et liberalitate illustrior. Ejus operâ multùm usus est rex *Johannes* in rebus suis Hibernicis; et officium certè sibi demandatum, eâ fide et solertiâ exequutus est, ut magnam inde gratiam apud regem comparaverit. Numerum Præbendarum auxit postea *Hubertus de Burgo* episcopus itidem Limericensis, qui decessit 14 Septembris 1250. Proximus ejus successor *Robertus de Imelaca* Decanatu appropriavit *Ecclesiastica beneficia de Carnarthy et Rathsiward*, ut ex ecclesiæ Limericensis Registro didici. Neque hîc prætermittendum, sub exitum seculi XII, vel initium insequentis, episcopatus Limericensem et Cathayensem, sive *de insula Gatha* coaluisse. Urbs ipsa totius Momoniæ pulcherrima hodiè vulgò Limericum nuncupatur, olim verò Lumniacuni et Hibernicè *Lumneach*, unde et loci episcopi Lumnicenses vel Lumnicani olim dicti. Quò spectat diploma hoc à jam dicto *Donaldo*, circa annum 1194, *Briccio Lumnicano* sive Limericensi episcopo concessum: *Domnaldus rex Lumnicensis, universis Dei fidelibus tam presentibus quàm futuris, salutem. Non lateat Universitatem vestram me donasse Briccio Lumnicano episcopo, suisque successoribus, Cleroque S. Mariæ Lumnicæ, in liberam et perpetuam*

tuam eleemosynam, terram Imungram, et terram Ivamnacham, ab arcu videlicet Imungram, usque ad terram Imalin, et à vado Ceinu, usque ad flumen Sinan eum omnibus appenditiis suis. Ut autem rata sit hæc eleemosyna, sigilli mei impressione eam confirmo. Teste Domino Matthæo Cassil. Archiepiscopo, et Ruadri ua Gradei. Civitatis maximam partem, diviso alveo, circumluit Shenanus Hibernicorum fluminum præcipuus, Ptolemæo Senus, de quo Alexand. Nechamus,*

*Fluminibus magnis lætatur Hibernia, Sineus
Inter Connatiam Momoniámque fuit:
Transit per muros Limerici, Knock-Patric illum
Oceaní clausum sub ditione videt.*

Castro præterea, tormentis majoribus instructo, urbs munita est, et mœnibus firmissimis obvallata, præsertim quâ flumine non defenditur. Sed hoc obiter. Sunt qui *Lumneach* interpretentur *locum denudatum ex pastu equorum*. Quàm verè viderint alii.

Waterfordiæ, E. S. Ostmannis Waterfordiensibus, postquam religionem Christianam amplexi fuissent, consultum tandem visum fuit urbi episcopum præficere. Ad hoc itaque munus, Malchum quendam virum probum delegunt, monachum quandoque Benedictinum Wintoniensem, et in Angliam mittunt anno Dom. 1096, ab Anselmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi consecrandum. Literarum in ejus gratiam conscriptarum exemplar extat apud Eadmerum, in historia sua Novorum. Malcho deinde consecrato et Waterfordiam reverso, ecclesia hæc cathedralis ab eo et Ostmannis popularibus suis constructa est. Prædiis eam postea, Johannes rex Angliæ, sub initium seculi XIII, ditavit, cujus porro tempore, (ut opinor) ecclesia Waterfordiensis primum habuit Decanum. Possessiones Decani et Canonicorum sigillatim expressas confirmavit Innocentius III Papa, anno 1210, ut ex ejus epistolis, à Francisco Bosqueto, J. c. Tolosæ Tectosagum editis anno Dom. 1635, intelligimus.

* Hodie *Mungaret*.

ecclesiæ chorum et presbyterium testudine sive laqueari fornicato ornârunt Nicolaus Cominus episcopus et Robertus Lombardus Decanus, anno 1522. Neque hic omittendum Decanum et Capitulum hujus ecclesiæ anno 1463, ab Edwardo iv rege Angliæ, *in augmentationem divini cultus ibidem* (uti verba sunt chartæ) facultatem impetrâsse fundos acquirendi ad annum valorem 100 marcarum. Hactenùs de ecclesia cathedrali, quæ ut originem suam debet Ostmannis, sic et ipsa civitas Waterfordia, quæ ad Surii nobilissimi fluminis ripam australem sita, inter celeberrimas totius Hiberniæ meritò connumeranda est, sive òpes et frequentiam spectemus, sive portus opportunitatem. Ad nominis etymon quod attinet, exoticam planè ostendit originem; nam fluminis vel aquæ tractum sonat: Hibernis autem et Britannis *Portlargo* vocatur.

Lismoræ, E. S.
Carthagi.

Sanctus Carthagus vulgò dictus *Mochudu*, patriâ Momoniensis, Abbas fuit primùm celeberrimi cœnobii Ratheniensis, ubi et præfuit annos 40, sed ex eo tandem à Blatmacho rege pulsus, primus ecclesiæ Lismorensis evasit episcopus. Ecclesiam cathedralem, necnon Scholam insignem ibi construxit, in qua multi olim philosophiam veram profitebantur. Mortem obiit post multa sanctitatis edita signa 14 Maii anno 638, vel, ut alii habent, 637, et Lismoræ, (quæ sepimentum magnum significat) in ecclesia sua sepultus est. Scholam Lismorensensem ad tempus rexisse dicitur S. Cataldus, postea Tarentinus in Italia episcopus, ad quam *undique ex finitimis ac remotis regionibus, innumeros penè homines* confluisse refert in ejus vita, Bartholomæus Moronus, id quod ostendit etiam ejusdem Cataldi Officium. Cæterùm hinc inter alia colligere licet Cataldum non anno 170, ut Moronus habet, neq; sub initium seculi sexti, ut Alexander ab Alexandro et Antonius Caracciolus volunt, sed sub medium potiùs septimi claruisse, post obitum nempe S. Carthagi Scholæ Lismorensis fundatoris. Hanc opinionem firmat multitudo ea credentium in Hibernia, S. Cataldi ævo, à Morono memorata, quæ ad seculum secundum sine dubio referri non potest. Siquidem

Hibernia, eo seculo et diù postea, Ethnicis in tenebris obvoluta jacuit, sed hæc obiter. Ecclesiam cathedralem restauravit Cormacus, filius Mureti, rex Momoniæ, circa an. 1130. Vicarios chorales ibi primus instituit et dotavit Griffinus *Christophori* episcopus Lismorensis, circa annum 1230. De tempore erectionis Decani et Capituli nihil mihi constat. Librum habuit hæc ecclesia lectissimum, de ejus juribus, et benefactorum donationibus, quem composuit Thomas Pursellus episcopus Lismorensis et Waterfordiensis, anno Dom. 1487. Atqui, magno ecclesiæ detrimento, liber ille igne fortuito combustus est, circa annum 1612. Hæ duæ sedes, Lismorensis inquam et Waterfordiensis *realiter* (ut loquimur) unitæ fuerunt et conjunctæ ab Innocentio vi Pontifice, anno 1363. Primus utriusque sedis episcopus post unionem fuit Thomas quidam, qui è Canonico Lismorensi factus est Lismorensis episcopus an. 1358, et Rogero Cradoco Minoritâ episcopo Waterfordiensi ad sedem Landavensem in Wallia translato an. 1362, utriusque sedis unionem, à jam dicto Innocentio vi, paulò postea obtinuit. De antiqua urbis Lismorensis celebritate, Corollarii loco, audi vetustum vitæ S. Carthagi scriptorem; *Egregia et sancta civitas est Lessmor: cujus dimidium est Asylum, in quo nulla mulier audet intrare, sed plenum est cellis et monasteriis sanctis: et multitudo virorum sanctorum illic manet. Viri autem religiosi ex omni parte Hiberniæ, et non solum, sed ex Anglia et Britannia confluunt ad eam, volentes ibi migrare ad Christum. Et est ipsa civitas posita super ripam fluminis quondam dicti Nem, modo autem Aban-mor, id est amnis magnus, in plaga regionis Nan-Desi. Hunc fluvium Ptolemæus Dauronam vocat, Nechamus Arenmor, de quo ita ille;*

*Urbem Lismor pertransit flumen Avenmor,
Ardmor cernit ubi concitus æquor adit.*

Nunc Anglis alicubi *Broad-water*, i. Aqua lata alicubi *Black-water*, sive Aqua nigra dicitur. Adeò verum est illud Claudiani, lib. 2, in Eutropium;

——— *Quid non longa valebit
Immutare dies? &c.*

Ardmora ipsa, ab editiori situ sic dicta, sedes etiam olim erat episcopalis, à S. Declano primo loci episcopo, in ecclesiæ Hibernicæ infantia constituta, sed post Anglorum adventum in Hiberniam, cathedræ Lismorensi unita.

Corcagiæ, E. S. Proxima dicitur Corcagia, ubi S. *Barri, al. Finbarri.* Barrus, aliàs Finbarrus, sive Barrus albus, dictus etiam antea Lochanus, in Conatiâ ortus, primus præfuit episcopus. Ecclesiam cathedralam is ibi loci fundavit ineunte seculo VII, et cum annos sedisset 17, vel secundum alios solum 7, Clonæ, quæ Corcagiâ 15 circiter milliaria distat, 7 Kalendas Octobris, amicis circumstantibus, placidâ morte obiit: quo autem anno obierit non est omninò certum. Corpus ejus Corcagiam deportatum, ibi in ecclesia sua, honorificè sepultum est, et ossa, nescio quàm diù postea, capsulæ argenteæ indita. Ejus est epistola Alcuino attributa, de ceremoniis Baptismi, si Dempstero credimus. In cœmeterio est campanile à templo parum distans, quod aliqui existimant Ostmannorum Corcagiensium fuisse opus, et pro specula vel loco ubi excubiæ agebantur ab iis primùm usitatum. Inter benefactores ecclesiæ primarios, numerantur Gilla-Æda O-Mugin episcopus Corcagiensis, qui naturæ debitum persolvit valdè senex, an. Dom. 1173, ejusque proximi successores Gregorius et Reginaldus. In hoc tractu Ptolemæi ætate *Coriondi* habitârunt, eorûmque nominis vestigia quædam retinere videtur Corcagia, quæ et olim dicta Corcagia magna, nisi quis malit ab Hibernico *Concac*, quod locum palustrem sonat, fluxisse. Notandum hîc veteribus Hibernicis usitatissimum, ut c literam in fine dictionis, in aspirationem verterent, et aliquando etiam in initio dictionis.

Clonæ, E. S. Colmani. Colmanus ille, filius Lenini, S. Finbarri discipulus, vir doctus et pius, primus fuit ecclesiæ Clonensis episcopus et fundator. Constructionis hujus fit mentio, in vita S. Brendani Abbatis Clonfer-tensis, his verbis; *Erat hic Colmanus filius Lenini vitâ atque doctrinâ, inter sanctos, præcipuus. Ipse fundavit ecclesiam Clonensem, quæ est hodiè cathedralis et famosa in partibus*

Momonie. Claruit is seculo vi, sed placidè tandem in Domino obdormivit, an. 604, Novembris 4. Hanc sedem per obitum Adami Pay, vel Py, vacantem an. 1430, Martinus v Papa contulit Jordano Cancellario Limericensi: et Jordanus hic non ita diù postea, post obitum nempe Milonis episcopi Corcagiensis, realem utriusque sedis unionem obtinuit. Clona latibulum sonat. Hæc in antiquo provinciali Romano *Cluain-vanian*, ab historicis Hibernicis *Cluain-vama* appellata, in agro Corcagiensi sita est, non longè à mari Vergivio. Expositionem posterioris partis dictionis, sc. *vama*, meliùs instructis relinquo. Ex hujus sedis Archivis antiquis, nunc solùm (quod ego sciam) superest *Rotulus*, quem *Pipam Colmani* vocant, inchoatus anno 1364, tempore Johannis Swafhami Carmelitæ, s.t.d. tum Clonensis, postea Bangorensis in Wallia episcopi.

Rossæ, olim Ross-ailithri, E. S. Fachnani.

Sanctus Fachnanus, *vir sapiens et probus*, (ut eum vocat scriptor vitæ S. Mocoëmogi) claruit ineunte seculo vi.

De eo, ejusque cœnobio et nobili schola

Rossensi, prope mare Vergivium, alibi diximus. Quando autem ecclesia cathedralis ibi erecta fuerit, aut quis primus extiterit ejusdem episcopus, haud certò constat. Non possum tamen non existimare Fachnanum ipsum primum fuisse episcopum Rossensem et ecclesiæ illius cathedralis fundatorem. In Martyrologio certè antiquo, ad 14 diem Augusti, quo die memoria ejus celebratur, episcopum eum disertè appellatum comperi. De antiquis hujus sedis libertatibus, *Wreccis Mariæ* sc. sive naufragiis, &c. Vide Inquisitionem, in Archivo *Curie Capitalis Banci*, Dublinii, an. 29. Edwardi i, membr. 21. a. in causa Laurentii Episcopi Rossensis. Atq; obiter hîc notamus *Ros* viridantem planitiem, vel, ut alii volunt, ericetum significare, et *ailithri*, peregrinationem, quòd locus olim peregrinationibus frequentabatur.

Laonie, E. S. F'lunnani. Laonia vulgò *Killaloe*, ad occidentalem Shenani ripam sita, (non procul à cataractâ, quâ fluvius impeditur, quò minùs ulterius navigia deferat)

deferat) nomen habet à S. Molua Abbate, qui ibi aliquandiù vixit, sub finem seculi vi. Atqui ejus discipulus S. Flannanus Theodoricus regis filius, Romæ à Johanne iv. Pontifice consecratus, primus fuit hujus sedis episcopus. Eo sedente, Pater ejus Theodoricus ecclesiam Laonensem multis prædiis dotavit, ac mortuus tandem annorum plenus, in eadem, à filio Flannano, solenniter sepultus est. Inter hujus ecclesiæ benefactores, numeratur etiam Moriertachus *O-Brien* rex Hiberniæ, qui è vita migravit 6 idus Martii 1120, et sicut vivus mandaverat, in eadem ecclesia sepultus est. Nec silentio præteriri debet, ex eadem familia, Donaldus *O-Brien* rex Limericensis, de quo suprà, ob largitiones non solum huic ecclesiæ, sed quamplurimis etiam aliis concessas, ab historicis multum celebratus. Sub finem seculi xii, sedes antiqua Roscræensis huic cathedræ adjecta est et unita. Ibi Johannes rex Angliæ castrum erexit, ex assensu Cornelii *O-Heney* episcopi Laonensis: sed ipsum Mannerium Roscræense permutavit postea Matthæus *O-Hogan*, unus è Cornelii successoribus, cum Edwardo i rege Angliæ anno Dom. 1280, pro prædiis quibusdam prope novum castrum in agro Dublinensi, quæ anno post 148, videlicet anno Domini 1428, qui tum præfuit Episcopus, Donatus *Mac-Cragh* permutavit cum Gulielmo *fin* (sive albo) *fitz-Reuher*, pro villa de Hamonston, apud Limericenses. Mannerium verò Roscræense (ut ad illud redeamus) Edwardus primus, anno 1281, Edmundo Butlero contulit, postea comiti Carickiano. Utcunque, hâc utriusque sedis unione, Diocesis Laonensis, admodum spatiosa evasit, ita ut 116 plus minus ecclesias parochiales præter capellas contineret. Ad ecclesiæ Roscræensis primordia quod attinet, certissimum est S. Cronanum episcopum, vel, ut alii volunt, Abbatem primum ejus fuisse conditorem. Frontispicium ejus ad occasum (pro loci paupertate) satis speciosum est.

Ardfertæ, E. S.
Brendani.

Sedes hæc episcopalis sita est in Kerria regione, olim Kerrigia dicta, quæ patria fuit S. Brendani Abbatis Clonfertensis, cujus memoriæ hæc ecclesia dicata est. Is ab ineunte ætate, in hac sua patria; bonis literis, sub Erto epis-

copo, operam dedit, donec adultus, impetratâ veniâ, in Conatiam profectus est, ad S. Järlathum episcopum, sub quo, Theologiæ studio naviter ad tempus incubuisse dicitur. Orationis longiusculæ S. Brendano attributæ exemplar habeo MS. cujus initium est: *Deus omnipotens, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus*. Id quod à me libentiùs hîc memoratur, quia oratio ipsa nondum typis mandata est. Atque hæc de S. Brendano. An verò Ertus ille hujus ecclesiæ fuerit episcopus, non facilè judicari potest. Fuisse tamen vix est cur non existimemus, donec tempus veritatem in lucem extrahat. Habitatio ejus fixa in Kerria hoc innuere videtur: et ipsos Episcopos Ardferntenses (ut hoc non omittam) nonnunquàm Kerrienses dictos, tam ex Historicis Hibernicis, quàm ex Archivis publicis didici. *Ardfert* significat locum editum mirabilem, vel ut alii interpretantur, altitudinem miraculorum. Sed vulgò nunc dicitur *Ardart*.

Fenaboræ, E. S.
Fachnani.

Post has, recensebitur Fenabora, vulgò Kilfenora, in agro Clarensi (olim Tuamonia) sita, in Baronia nempe de Corcumro, Oceano occidentali pulsata. Hujusce sedis episcopum dictum etiam Corcumrothensem notat Johannes Clinnus, in divisione sedium episcopalium, ad finem Annalium suorum. Quo tempore, et à quo condita fuerit ecclesia cathedralis, nihil (quod sciam) certi extat. Suspicitur fortassè aliquis S. Fachnanum, de quo suprâ, eam primùm excitâsse. Qua de re quærant alii. Episcopatus iste, ut totius Hiberniæ minimus, cui nempe 13 tantum parochiæ subjectæ, ita et inter pauperimos semper numeratus est. Ad reliquas Basilicas instituto ordine, jam pergamus.

IN PROVINCIA TUAMENSI.

Loca et tituli dedicationum.

Origines et aliæ antiquitates.

Tuamæ, Eccles.
B. Mariæ Virg.

Primus episcopus qui Tuamæ (olim *Tuaim-da-gualand*) sedem fixit cathedralem, fuit S. Järlathus Logæ filius, qui
240 claruit

claruit sub initium seculi sexti. Quippe qui S. Brendani Abbatis Clonfertensis Præceptor fuit, ut ex ejusdem Brendani vitâ intelligimus, vir doctus, et in quo pietas et morum candor cum doctrinâ certabant. Decessit dierum plenus 26 Decembris, sed quo anno non comperi. Extant sub ejus nomine vaticinia quædam, de successoribus suis in sede Tuamensi, quorum exemplar habeo MS. sed quam fidem mereantur, aliorum sit judicium. Ossa ejus, diù post obitum, quæsita et inventa, in scrinium argenteum translata sunt, et Tuamæ reposita in ecclesia sive capella, quæ inde vulgò dicta est *Temple-ne-scrin*, id est, Templum Scrinii. Post aliquot deinde secula, videlicet circa annum Dom. 1152, ecclesiam cathedralem de novo condidit, à Tirdelvaco O-Conner rege Hiberniæ adjutus, Edanus O-Hoisin primus Archiepiscopus Tuamensis, saltem qui primus pallio usus est, nam aliqui è prædecessoribus ejus, ab historicis Hibernicis, passim appellati sunt Archiepiscopi, quamvis Pallio non induti. Edanus hic, ob morum suavitatem celebratus, obiit senex anno Dom. 1161, et in ecclesia sua cathedrali conditus est, ubi, saxo quo tegitur, epitaphium Hibernicè inscriptum legitur, in quo Järlathi *Comorbanus*, sive successor appellatur. Cæterum hanc ecclesiam Edani successores, novo constructo Choro, in navem ecclesiæ postea converterunt. Inter eos, Thomas O-Conner Ecclesiæ valdè beneficis fuisse perhibetur: qui porro sedi suæ, ab Henrico III rege Angliæ, nundinas impetravit, Tuamæ quotannis 28 Decembris et 7 diebus insequentibus habendas. Ad sedes quod attinet quæ Cathedræ Tuamensi unitæ fuerunt, prima erat Maionensis, sive Magionensis, tempore Felicis Ruadani Archiepiscopi annexa, post obitum nempe (ut opinor) Celestini aliàs *Cæle O-Dubhai* episcopi Maionensis, qui obitus contigit anno Domini 1210. Secunda, Enaghdunensis; atqui ante ejus realem unionem, diuturnæ erant olim contentiones inter Archiepiscopos Tuamenses et alios, qui ejus etiam ecclesiæ jus sibi vendicabant. Lis primùm enata est post mortem Thomæ *O-Maley* episcopi Enaghdunensis. Eo enim defuncto anno 1250, Florentius Mac-Flin, eodem an. à Cancellariatu Tuamensi ad Archiepiscopatum promotus, *intravit in episcopatum Enaghdunensem, sede vacante, de licentia Canoniorum*

Enaghdunensium. et retinuit, toto tempore suo, temporalia et spiritualia dicti Episcopatus, ut è Rot. Placitor. an. 34. Edw. 1. liquet, *Concorde* quodam episcopo consecrato, et regio assensu confirmato 8 Maii 1251, de injuria sibi illata frustrà conquerente. Florentii proximus successor Walterus de Salern, aliquando Decanus ecclesiæ S. Pauli Londinensis (quem Matthæus Parisiensis malè Archiepiscopum vocat Armachanum) obiit Londini, in reditu à Roma, paulo post consecrationem, mense nimirum Aprili 1258, antequàm sedem suam vidisset, ita ut de eo, ad hanc rem, non habeo quod dicam. Waltero defuncto successit Thomas O-Conner, de quo suprà, qui sedi Tuamensi simul ac Enaghdunensi præfuit annos 20. Cæterùm sedente ibidem Stephano de Fulburn, vetus controversia denuò suscitata est, inter eum et Johannem de Ufford, qui in episcopum Enaghdunensem electus, regium obtinuerat assensum Martii 16 (stylo Anglicano) 1282, in qua tamen Uffordus succubuit. Fulburno defuncto 5 Nonas Julii 1288, Gulielmus de Birmingham successit, cujus tempore Gilbertus quidam ordinis Minorum in episcopum Enaghdunensem electus et consecratus 1306, Temporalibus episcopatus tandem restitutus est Julii 15, 1308. Archiepiscopo quantumvis invito et reclamante. Mitto hic (ne longus nimis sim) lites agitatae inter Malachiam Gulielmi successorem, et jam dictum Gilbertum ejusque successores, Jacobum Kernæum, Robertum *Le Petit* et Thomam Malæum. Satis erit hic indicare Malachiam Thoma Malæo, Avenione mortuo anno 1328, ecclesiam Enaghdunensem repertiisse, et ante obitum per annos non paucos, administrasse. Atque ita tandem lis ea diuturna finita est. Venimus jam ad sedem Elphinensem.

Elphina, E. S.
Marie.

Elphina, sive (ut alii scribunt) Elfina, in regione fertili et amœna, aliquantulùm surgente sita est, ubi ecclesiam cathedralem construxit S. Patricius, prope amniculum è duobus fontibus emanantem, circa medium seculi quinti, eique præfecit Asicum monachum, magnum pœnitentiæ et austerae vitæ amatorem, à se in episcopum consecratum, qui paulò postea monachis eam implevit. Sunt qui tradant (quàm verè nescio)

Asicum hunc aurificem fuisse præstantissimum, artèque suâ, ecclesiam Cathedralem, operis eximii monumentis, ornâsse. Post multas verò annorum centurias, nempe non ita diù post Anglorum ingressum, sede Roscomanensi hûc translâtâ, hæc sedes (Elphinensis inquam) multis magnisque ditata est latifundiis. Quando Ardcanensis, Drumclivensis, et alii ejusdem minoris notæ episcopatus conjuncti itidem et uniti fuerint, ignorare me fateor; verisimile autem est eos ante Anglorum adventum annexos fuisse vel Elphinensi cathedræ, vel Roscomanensi. Non inveniuntur certè eorum nomina in dispositione episcopatum Hiberniæ factâ anno 1152, jam sæpiùs à nobis memoratâ: et (quod miror) ipsa sedes Elphinensis in dicta distributione omissa est, unde non possum non suspicari eam, ad tempus, antè translationem scilicet prædictam, Roscomanensi sedi fuisse etiam adjunctam. Utcúnque, certum est sedem Elphinensem, ex hisce unionibus, inter opulentissimos totius Hiberniæ episcopatus, tandem fuisse numeratam, et ecclesias parochiales plûs minùs 79 subjectas habuisse. Imperitum vulgus loci nomen factum somniat ab ingenti saxo ibi conspiciendo, quod *Finni Mac-Cool* gigantis Saxum vocant.

Clonfertæ, E. B.
Mariæ.

Sanctus Brendanus Finlogæ filius, S. Brendani Birrensis æqualis et studiorum comes cœnobium Clonfertæ construxit, prope Shenanum flu. anno Dom. 558, cui ipse præfuit Abbas, et in quosepultus est, cùm annos vixisset 93. Obiit Enachdunæ die Dominico, 16 Maii anno 577, unde corpus Clonfertam delatum, ibi sepulturæ (uti diximus) traditum est. Ejus tempore, ecclesia cathedralis Clonfertensis primùm constituta est. Primi qui ibi præfuit episcopi obitum, in Annalibus Ultoniensibus, ad annum 571, vel 572, ita annotatum invenimus; *Mæna Episcopus Clonfert-Brenain quievit*. Inter ecclesiæ hujus Benefactores recensetur vir magni inprimis nominis, Johannes quidam, natione Italus, Clementis iv Pontificis Nuntius in Hibernia, Athenriæ ad hanc sedem consecratus, die Dominico ante festum Natalis Domini 1266, ubi cùm præfuisset annos ferè 30, ad Archiepiscopatum Beneventanum in Italia translatus est. Ei successit, in sede Clonfertensi, Robertus,

monachus Benedictinus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, qui ab Henrico III rege Angliæ probatus est 24 Septembris 1296. Sed hoc obiter. An nominis etymon quod attinet, *Cluain-ferta Latibulum mirabile* significat.

Killallæ, E. S.
Muredachi.

Muredachus ille, cujus memoriæ ecclesia cathedralis Alladensis dicata est, primus fuit ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopus. Ordinatus est à S. Patricio, unde eum claruisse constat seculo quinto; de tempore verò obitus ejus, nihil traditum comperi. Killalla sita est non procul à Muado, al. Moio flu. in agro Maionensi, et ejus sedis episcopi ab ea parte agri quâ cingitur, ab Historicis nonnunquam appellabantur episcopi *de Tír-Amalgaid*. Antiquas hujus sedis possessiones confirmavit Innocentius III Papa, 3 Kalendas April. 1198, ad rogatum Donati Episcopi Alladensis. Vide, si placet, earum Catalogum, in editis ejusdem Innocentii Decretalibus epistolis.

Achonriæ, E. S.
Comrahi.

Hanc Ecclesiam construxit S. Finianus Clonardensis, circa annum Salutis 530, locum concedente Dynastâ regionis Luigniensis. Ecclesiam ita constructam S. Finianus mox contulit Nathio, qui binomius fuit, dictus vulgò Comrahus, al. *Cruimthir*, vir magnæ sanctitatis. Hunc scriptor vitæ S. Finiani Presbyterum solum appellat. Ego autem non possum non existimare factum eum postea fuisse ecclesiæ hujus Achadensis episcopum. In Annalibus antiquis Hibernicis, præsules hujus sedis appellantur plerumque, à centuria in qua sita est, episcopi Luignienses, sive Leinienses. Inter episcopos, ob eruditionem maximè celebratur Gulielmus *Andreæ* Anglus, ordinis Prædicatorum, S. Theologiæ Doctor, qui cum hanc ecclesiam annos plus minùs 6 gubernâsset, ad episcopatum Midensem translatus 1380, post quinquennium decessit, in vigilia nimirum S. Michaëlis Archangeli 1385.

Duaci, E. S.
Colmani.

Diatribam hanc claudit Duacensis Ecclesia, quæ originem suam debet S. Colmano, Duaci filio, qui ibi sedit episcopus,
244 circa

circa medium seculi VI, et obiit 3 die Februarii: obitus autem annum ignoro. Ab ejus cognomine ipsa sedes *Kil-mac-duac*, id est, ecclesia filii Duaci nomen sortita est: sed corruptè vulgò *Kil-macough* nuncupatur. De hac ecclesia nihil præterea memoriâ dignum se offert.

Erunt fortasse qui vitio mihi vertent, quòd de Provinciæ Tuamensis Basilicis, tam pauca dixerim: sed sciant illi Diplomata et Regesta fermè omnia antiqua Præsulum et Basilicarum illius Provinciæ; exceptis nudis nonnullis possessionum, reddituum et procurationum catalogis, magno non solum ecclesiarum sed etiam rei antiquariæ detrimento, periisse. Atque hæc sunt quæ de Hiberniæ Basilicis dicenda habui.

CAP. XXX.

De Hibernorum veterum servis, sive mancipiis, deque Villanis, Nativis, sive Betagiis, fundo quem colebant adscriptis.

AD Hibernorum veterum servos sive mancipia nunc descendamus. Hibernos olim servos habuisse quos pretio plerumque certo emebant et vendebant, liquidò constat. Atque adeò frequens sanè erat mos ille apud veteres Hibernos, ut in antiqua synodo Hibernica, episcopi legatum, ex bonis ecclesiæ, per pretium ancillæ definitum inveniatur. Sic enim priscus Canon; *Princeps* (sive episcopus uti alibi notavimus) *in sua morte, de rebus ecclesiæ commendare potest, hoc est, pretium ancillæ, sive de mobili substantia, sive de agro.* Habetur in codice Canonum pervetusto Collegii S. Benedicti Cantabrigiæ, ante annos ferme 700 descripto. Item liber Canonum Cottonianus titulorum 66, *Synodus Hibernica ait: omnis qui ausus fuerit ea quæ sunt regis aut episcopi furari, aut rapere, aut aliquid in eos committere, parvi pendens, despiciere, septem ancillarum pretium reddat, aut septem annos pœniteat cum episcopo.* Ibi porrò, alio Canone, *Servi juramentum, nesciente Domino, irritum declaratur, sicut et Juramentum filii aut filia, nesciente patre, et juramentum monachi, nesciente Abbate.* Inter servos numerabantur olim bello capti, utpote pretio empti et venditi, pretio itidem à servitute sæpè redempti.

Hûc faciunt hi duo Canones, in jam dicto codice titulorum 66, S. Patricio adscripti, viz. *Si quis redemptionem captivi inquæsiverit, sine permissione Abbatis, meruit excommunicari.* Item, *Si quis acceperit permissionem Pontificis, et collectum sit pretium captivi, non plus exigerit quàm necessitas poposcit. Si quid suprâ remanserit, ponat super altare, et indigentibus detur et captivis.* De ritu aliquo aut modo manumissionis, quo servi libertatem apud priscos Hibernos, assecuti sunt, nihil traditum reperi. Neque scio an huic rei lucem aliquam adferant varii illi manumissionum ritus à Francis veteribus usitati, vel nimirum per denarium ante regem, vel eo absente, ante ipsius proceres, jactatum, vel in ecclesia per chartam, coram sacerdotibus et altari, vel per privatam epistolam.

Præter servos hosce, erant et alii quos *Villanos* vocabant; unde et terræ iis concessæ, in *Villenagium* concessæ dicebantur. Hi Laici erant *mannerio* vel *glebæ* adscripti, ac culturæ et hæredii aut prædii partes habiti, id quod ostendit Liber niger ecclesiæ cathedralis S. Trinitatis Dublinii, ubi prædia quæ Sitricus rex eidem ecclesiæ concesserat, donata dicuntur, *cum Villanis, et raccis et bladis.* Hoc discimus præterea, è charta Dermittii, regis Lageniæ, paucis annis ante Anglorum ingressum, concessa, quam è Regesto Prioratus omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin. Lectori hic visum exhibere: *In nomine Sanctæ et individue Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Ego Diarmitius rex Lageniensium, pro Dei amore et animæ meæ salute, donari et tradidi spirituali Patri et Confessori meo Edano Lugudensi (sive * Clochorensi) episcopo, ad opus Canonorum ecclesiæ filie Zolæ et successorum eorum, terram quandam quæ dicitur Ballidubgail, cum hominibus suis, scilicet Melisu Mac-Feilecan, cum filiis et nepotibus suis, liberis et absolutis à procuracione et expeditione mea, et omnium in regimine Lageniæ, et Dubliniæ, mihi succedentium, in perpetuam eleemosynam, cum legitimis et antiquis terris, et omnibus aliis ad eam villam pertinentibus, &c. Testibus Laur. Dublin. Archiepiscopo, Kinad † episcopo, et Benigno Abbate de Glendelacha, Enna filio meo, Felano Mac-Feolain, D. Mac-Gillacoll-moc, Ethmarehac et ‡ Aralt filiis Torcail, G. Mac-Gunnar*

* De unione harum sedium antiqua Vid. cap. 16. † Glendelac. ‡ Harald.

et aliis multis. Ita Regestum, fol. 45. Villani hi iidem fuerunt cum iis quos alii *Nativos*, sive *Originarios*, vel *Originales inquilinos*, alii *Betagios* vocant. De *Betagiis* fit mentio in antiquo Regesto Archiepiscopi Dublin. vocato CREDE MIHI nempe in duabus Bullis Urbani iv Papæ, necnon in libro nigro ecclesiæ Lismorensis, fol. 1. b. unde, ante illius libri combustionem, sequentia fuerunt desumpta: *Memorandum quodd quælibet caruca de Betagiis quolibet anno debet arare Domino (episcopo) unam acram, ad seisinam frumenti, et unam acram ad seisinam avenarum, &c. Item Betagii debent trahere blada Domini.* Distinguuntur ibi *Betagii*, à *Tenentibus*. Item in charta Edwardi 2 regis Angliæ data 14 die Maii anno regni ejus ix, hoc est, gratiæ 1316, quâ præfecit Johannem filium Thomæ in comitem *de Kildare*, dedit etiam illi castrum et villam de Kildare, *una cum servitiis liberè Tenentium, Firmariorum et Betagiorum, &c.* Vox labium sonat Hibernicum. Sed quære. Servilis hujusce conditionis homines non permittebantur munera aliqua subire militaria. Et more quidem veterrimo heroicorum temporum, ut ostendit Virgilius, *Æneidos* 9,

—————*Quorum primævus Helenor,
Mæonio regi, quem serva Lycimnia furtim
Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis.*

Sed rustica tantùm navantes servitia, fodiebant, sepiebant, arabant, seminabant, metebant, &c. *Villano* denique fundi Dominus jus dicebat, tam de corpore, quàm de omnibus bonis et fortunis. En durum jugum servitutis.

CAP. XXXI.

De priscis, apud Hibernos, probationum sive purgationum generibus, post conversionem gentis ad fidem Christianam.

USITATUM olim purgationis genus, apud Hibernos Christianos, fuit illud jurisjurandi, tactis sollemniter sacris Euangeliiis, et interdum perceptione Eucharistiæ. Hoc docet Canon antiquissimus S. Patricii, sub titulo, de Contentione duorum absque testibus: *Statuunt, ut per quatuor Sancta Euangelia, antequàm comunicet, testetur quid probatur; et deinde sub iudice fama relinquatur.* Sed et diversa alia genera ab authoribus mediorum seculorum referuntur, speciatim venerabilis Beda, in Martyrologio suo, ad Kalendas Febr. de S. Brigida nostra loquens, *Apud Scotos, (inquit) S. Brigidæ Virginis, cujus vita miraculis claruit. Quæ cum lignum altaris, in testimonium virginitatis, tetigisset, viride factum est.* Tantundem habet Cogitosus, Bedâ antiquior, in ejusdem Brigidæ vita. Ad duelli examen (nam hoc aliud fuit examinis genus) in Clerico prohibendum spectat sequens Canon Synodi S. Patricii, Auxilii et Issernini: *Clericus si pro gentili homine fidejussor fuerit in quacunque quantitate. Et si contigerit, (quod mirum non est) per astutiam aliquam, gentilis ille Clerico fallat rebus suis, Clericus ille solvat debitum. Nam si armis compugnaverit cum illo, meritò extra Ecclesiam computetur.* Post Anglorum in Hiberniam adventum, in solennioribus quibusdam juris actionibus, et purgationibus, duellum ibi, licèt rarius, in usum venit. Talis duelli ita meminit Johannes Clinnus Minorita Kilkenniensis, in Annalibus suis, ad annum Salutis 1284; *Dominus Galfridus de S. Leodegario Episcopus Ossoriensis acquisivit per duellum, Manerium de Seirkeran.* Episcopi Athletæ scil. (nam ita intelligo) Athletam adversarii, per *Breve* (ut vocant) *de Recto*, in jus vocati, superante. Item decennio post, in acri illo dissidio inter Gulielmum de Vescey, tum nuper Hiberniæ *Justitiarium*, et Johannem filium Thomæ, postea Kildaræ comitem, quo Vesceus Majestatis læsæ accusatus est Dublinii, 1 Aprilis, coram

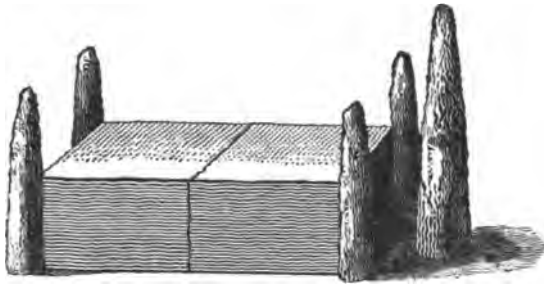
Gulielmo de la Hay Custode *officii Capitalis Justitiarum* Hiberniæ, et concilio regis. Vescæus causam suam duello defendere obtulit, id quod adversarius accepit, Post ritus deinde quosdam assuetos, Dies pugnæ, Edwardi regis assensu, addicitur in Angliā; atqui Vescæus, ante diem, clanculū aufugit. Quapropter rex latifundia ejus in Hibernia, contulit jam dicto Johanni. Sed hæc duo exempla recentiorum sunt temporum. Pergo. Erat et aliud examinis genus priscis legibus receptum, *Ordalium* dictum, cuius species erant *Ferrum candens*, *Aqua fervida*, et *Aqua frigida*, &c. Gillebertus al. Gille episcopus Lumnicensis, sive Limericensis, (qui claruit anno 1130) in lib. *de Statu Ecclesiæ*, inter ea quæ episcopus consecrare solebat, numerat *Ferrum Judiciale*. Hinc verisimile videtur Hibernos olim hoc etiam examine usos fuisse. Speciatim Saxo Grammaticus, in vita Nicolai Danorum regis 81, refert Haraldum Hibernum ortu, *candentium Laminarum* Judicium, *nudatis plantis*, absque inustione sustinuisse. Cæterum postrema hæc examina, *Duellum* scil. et *Ordalium*, vetant Canones, et acriter insectantur Theologi. *Ordalium* equidem jam diū sopitum jacuit, et probatio per duellum desuetudine exoleta.

Ultimus dicetur (quem penè præterieram) mos ille vitiosus, olim à litigantibus, coram *Brehonis*, interdum usitatus, jurandi per Caput, Manus, Vitam vel Salutem Principis, sive Domini; qui mos ethnicam proculdubiò sapit originem, et ab *Ægyptiis* primū, uti videtur, manavit. Idque innuit Juramentum Josephi, (è more *Ægyptiorum*) *per Salutem Pharaonis*, Geneseos cap. 42. Similem morem apud Romanos veteres viguisse, jurandi *per Salutem et Fortunam Cæsaris*, ostendit Dio, lib. 45 et 57. Constat porrò ipsis etiam Christianis tam in Oriente quàm in Occidente, per aliquot secula, in more postea fuisse, per salutem aut vitam sive imperatoris, sive regis et filiorum ejus, jurare. In Hibernia mos iste diutius quidem mansit, quàm aliis in locis, demum verò, etiam ibi in judiciis interdictus. Manum de tabula.

CAP. XXXII.

*De veterum Hibernorum et Ostmannorum in Hibernia
funeribus, sepulturis et cryptis subterraneis.*

VIDEAMUS tandem quale fuit olim in Hibernia funerum et sepulturæ genus. Duplex fuisse antiquitùs sepulturæ genus, apud Ethnicos, in Græcia, Italia, Germania, Gallia, Britannia et alibi, humationem scilicet et cremationem, doctis satis notum est. Nec dubitandum similes olim ritus, ab Hibernis ante admissam in Hibernia religionem Christianam, fuisse observatos, præsertim cùm certissimum sit Druides eorum fuisse sacerdotes et legislatores. Druides verò mortuos cremâsse et defodisse disertè asserit Pomponius Mela, Geographiæ lib. 3. Nec dissimiles erant olim exequiæ Ostmannorum in Hibernia, dum Ethnici essent. Nostris certè temporibus, mense nempe Novembri, anno 1646, è colle egesto, in orientali suburbio civitatis Dublinii, dum in aggerem munitum efformaretur, effossum est sepulchrum antiquum, à Zephyronoto in Euroaquilonem positum, VIII nigris lapidibus marmoreis fabricatum, tectum nimirum duobus, et reliquis sustentatum. Tumuli longitudo fuit pedum sex et pollicum duorum, latitudo, pedum trium et pollicis unius, lapidum crassities, pollicum trium. Ad singulos tumuli angulos, erectus fuerat lapis quatuor pedes altus, juxtâque, ad Zephyronotum scilicet, alius, pyramidalis formâ, sed rudi operâ, ex eo genere quod lapis molaris dicitur, sex pedes altus. Figuram tumuli (sicuti stetit ante demolitionem) hic subjungendam curavi;



In ipso Sepulchro, reperta est magna vis carbonum combustorum, cinerum, et ossium hominis, partim exustorum, partim quasi semiustorum, opus (ut creditur) Ostmannorum, utpote ab iis dum Ethnici essent, in reguli vel nobilis cujusdam memoriam, constructum. Quo autem modo Dani olim mortuos cremaverint et cineres collegerint videre est apud Olaum Wormium, in Danic. Monum. lib. 1. De antiquis sepulchris, in montibus vel collibus, sic Virgilius *Æneid.* lib. 11 ;

———*Fuit ingens monte sub alto,
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum,
Antiqui Laurentis, opacæque ilice tectum.*

Et Lucanus, lib. 8,

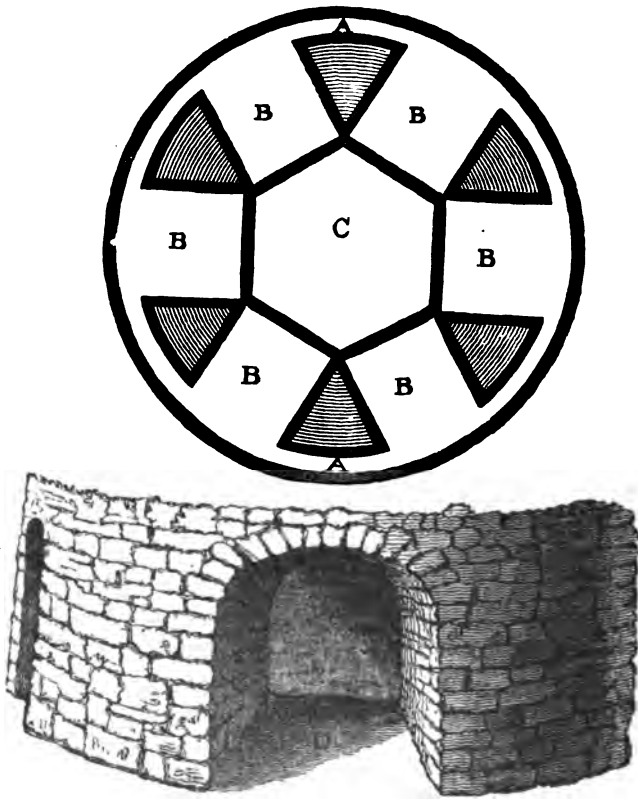
Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.

De hac re, vid. porrò Isidor. lib. 15. Etymolog. cap. 11.

Hujusmodi nonnulli, hominum labore aggesti, in Hibernia, antiquo opere formæque rotundæ, etiamnum cernuntur, speciatim (ut alios hic mittam) Nasæ in agro Kildarensi, et Clonardæ in Midia, qui antiquorum (uti creditur) fuerunt tumuli, cùm cœmeteria nondum illis in usu essent. De *Circulis* illis sive sepimentis Castrensibus non hic loquimur, quæ vulgò *Danes Rathes*, hoc est, Danorum præsidia sive castra vocamus, qualia in Hibernia frequentissima vidimus. Saxones, qui olim in circulo etiam castrametabantur, hujusmodi loca munita *Burgos* sive *Burghs* appellabant. Atque *Raith* Hibernicè idem sonat.

Non prætermittendum tamen nonnullos reperiri colles rotundos editos, quorum partibus interioribus in cameras sive concamerationes divisas, Magnates Ostmannici pro domiciliis, sic fama perhibet, olim utebantur. Atque talis est collis ille apud Sligoenses in Conatia, unico milliarià *Castle-Coner* distans, ad cujus concamerationes subterraneas, introitus, per aliquot annorum centurias, oclusus, anno tandem 1640, à bubulco quodam, casu detectus est et apertus. Camerae ibi quadrangulæ sunt, è saxis ingentibus, arcuato opere, cum terrâ superimpositâ, in collem formatâ, constructæ, unâ cum meatu circulari ad easdem. Ichnographiam Areæ structuræ hujusce

cameratae, unà cum forma unius è fornicibus, cui cæteri pares, sicut mihi descripsit, qui paulò post ipsam detectionem, lumine accenso, perlustravit, cl. mathematicus Milo Symnerus, hic exhibere operæ pretium duxi;



- A. Meatus ad Cameras.
- B. Camerae 15 vel 16 pedes utrobique continentes.
- C. Cui usui interior ea pars servierit nondum constat.
- D. Forma unius è fornicibus.

De hoc vetusto opere, variæ enatæ sunt opiniones. Cùm verò in concamerationibus sive cameris ejus, nulla, ut accepi, reperiantur indicia foraminum, vel ad lucem admittendam, vel ad fumum emittendum, verisimillimum videtur à priscis Ostmannis non habitationi destinatum, sed vel horreum sive receptaculum fuisse, vel (quod mihi potius arridet) conditorium magnatibus et ducibus suis. Hæc quasi per transennam. Verùm excutiant perspicaciores: mihi satis sit meam interposuisse conjecturam. Dies forsàn certiora docebit, cùm plena fuerit detectio interioris partis hujus structuræ adhuc occlusæ. Vetusto huic operi addemus obiter speluncas collis, seu potius rupis *de Corren*, apud jam dictos Sligoenses, ubi sub medium præcipitis et fere impervii aditus, in occidentali latere rupis, miras habitationes, multiplicesque recessus ex ipso saxo excisos, (*Gigantum Habitacula* vocant) excavavit Antiquitas. Ante speluncarum introitus, est semita vel pergula plusquàm centum passus longa, è rupe itidem olim excisa. An opus hoc fuerit Hibernicum, vel Ostmannicum, non mihi constat. Marte furente, nonnullis tutissimum olim perfugium fuisse creditur. Sed ut pergamus. De cryptis subterraneis, quas Græci olim hypogæa, Latini* conditoria vocabant; apud Historicos veteres frequens fit mentio. De Hebræorum veterum sepulchris in speluncis, vid. Geneseos Cap. 23, et 49. Priscos Anglo-Saxones Ethnicos sepulchra habuisse *Byrgens* dicta, sub collibus, quos nonnulli *Barrowes* appellabant, certò liquet. Porro viris septentrionalibus in usu fuisse, ut singuli milites prælio superstitēs tantum terræ quantum casside capere poterant in occisorum tumulos aggererent, notat Camdenus, in Wiltonia. Cæterùm de hujusmodi ritibus, à gentibus ad Arctum usitatis, vide etiam, si placet, plura, apud jam dictum Olaum Wormium, in lib. de Danicis monumentis, vel, si mavis, apud Saxonem Grammaticum, et Olaum Magnum.

Ad priscum cremationis ritum, apud Hibernos, redimus. Et certè non solùm apud Ostmannos in Hibernia, dum idolorum essent cultores, viguit mos ille comburendi cadavera defunctorum, sed etiam apud ipsos Hibernos, elucente fide

* *Et in antiquis quibusdam inscriptionibus, Requitoriæ.*

Christianâ, haud repentè in tenebras abiit. Nam in pervetusto libro Canonum titulorum 66, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, Anglo-Saxonicis temporibus descripto, sub titulo, *De nomine Basilicæ, et ejus scissurâ*, ita legimus: *Synod. Hibern. Βασιλεὺς Græcè, rex Latinè, hinc et basilica regalis, quòd in primis temporibus reges tantùm sepeliebantur in eâ, nomen sortita est. Nam cæteri homines sive igne sive acervo lapidum conditi sunt. Item, nemo alienus libertatem scindendi basilicam, sine principis permissione habet: et si hoc ausus fuerit, reddet secundùm dignitatem ejusdem loci.* Ita synodus. Ubi et alius antiquus apud Hibernos sepeliendi mos, sub acervo lapidum detegitur, de quo vid. typum, suprâ pag. 222. Si ad hunc usum, seu in occisorum memoriam, non aggregata fuerit ingens ea lapidum strues, quæ ad ~~Wicklo~~ Wickloenses in agro Wickloensi cernitur, vel acervus lapidum Mercurialis videatur, in honorem Mercurii (ethnici viarum præsidis) crebro lapidum jactu, à viatoribus antiquitus pro more congestus, vel, unus è monticulis illis lapidosus qui pro terminis in agris limitandis olim erecti *Scorpiones* dicebantur. Atque hic in trivio sumus. Nec silentio hic prætermittendum quod *de jure corporis sepulti*, ex antiquâ Synodo Hibernicâ his verbis, habet jam dictus Liber Canonum, *Omne corpus sepultum habet in jure suo vaccam, et equum, et vestimentum, et ornamentum sui lecti, nec quicquam horum reddetur in alia debita, quia corpori ejus tanquàm vernacula debentur.* De feminarum Hibernicarum vociferationibus, sive ululatibus, et manuum complosionibus, amicorum funera prosequentium, aliâ occasione suprâ diximus cap. XII. Interdum porrò mulieres ad mortuum lamentandum conductæ fuerunt, veterum *Præficarum* more. Servius *Præficam*, planctuum principem vocat. Romanis mulieribus fuisse olim ejulandi morem, ac comas genasque lacerandi, satis liquet, ex antiquis rerum Romanarum scriptoribus. Atqui mos ille, XII Tabularum legibus, his verbis fuit interdictus; *Mulieres genas nè radunto. Mulier faciem nè carpito. Mulieres lessum* (id est, lugubrem ejulationem) *funeris ergò nè habento.* Tacitus, libro de moribus et populis Germaniæ: post descriptionem exequiarum veterum Germanorum, *qui corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremabant, et sepulchra cespite erigebant,*

erigebant, ita pergit, Lamenta et lacrymas citò, dolorem et tristitiam tardè ponunt. Fæminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Neque dubitandum est Hibernos veteres morum similitudinem in multis, è Germania, Caucorum et Menapiorum Hiberniæ parente contraxisse, uti etiam aliorum nonnullorum, è Gallia, speciatim (ut ad rem nostram) in parentalibus, sive conviviis post funus elatum. Atque hæc habui de priscorum Hibernorum et Ostmannorum funeribus, sepulturis et cryptis, quæ dicerem.



A VIEW
OF THE STATE
OF
IRELAND.

A VIEW
OF THE STATE
OF
IRELAND,
Written Dialogue-wise betweene

Eudoxus and Irenæus,

By EDMUND SPENSER Esq.

In the yeare 1596.

Published by Sir IAMES WARE Knight.

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M.DC.XXXIII.

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
THOMAS
LO. VISCOUNT WENTWORTH,
LO. DEPUTY GENERALL OF IRELAND,
*Lo. President of His Majesties Council established in the North
parts of England, and one of His Majesties most
Honorable Privie Councill.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

THE sense of that happy peace, which by the divine providence this Kingdome hath enjoyed, since the beginning of the raigne of his late Majestie of ever sacred memory, doth then take the deeper impression, when these our halcyon dayes are compared with the former turbulent and tempestuous times, and with the miseries (of severall kindes) incident unto them. Those calamities are fully set out, and to the life by Mr. Spenser, with a discovery of their causes, and remedies, being for the most part excellent grounds of reformation. And so much may be justly expected from him in regard of his long abode and experience of this Kingdome. In these respects, and for other good uses, which the collections (now communicated) doe afford for matter of history and policy, I am encouraged to dedicate them to your Lordship, and humbly to desire your favourable acceptance of them, and of

Your Lordships ever

humbly devoted,

JAMES WARE.

THE PREFACE.

HOW far these collections may conduce to the knowledge of the *antiquities* and *state* of this Land, let the fit reader judge: yet something I may not passe by touching Mr. *Edmund Spenser* and the worke it selfe, lest I should seeme to offer injury to his worth, by others so much celebrated. He was borne in *London* of an ancient and noble family, and brought up in the Universitie of *Cambridge*, where (as the fruites of his after labours doe manifest) he mispent not his time. After this he became Secretary to *Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; a valiant and worthy Governour; and shortly after for his services to the Crowne, he had bestowed upon him by Queene *Elizabeth*, 3000 acres of land in the Countie of *Corke*. There he finished the latter part of that excellent poem of his *Faery Queene*, which was soone after unfortunately lost by the disorder and abuse of his servant, whom he had sent before him into *England*, being then *à rebellibus* (as * *Camdens* words are) *è luribus ejectus et bonis spoliatus*. He deceased at *Westminster* in the yeare 1599. (others have it wrongly 1598.) soone after his returne into *England*, and was buried according to his owne desire,

* *Annal. rer. Anglic. & Hibern. pag. 729, edit. 1625.*

in the collegiat Church there, neere unto *Chaucer*, whom he worthily imitated, (at the costes of *Robert Earle of Essex*;) whereupon this Epitaph was framed,

*Hic prope Chaucerum situs est Spenserius, illi
proximus ingenio, proximus ut tumulo.*

*Hic prope Chaucerum Spenseri poeta poetam
conderis, et versu quàm tumulo propior.*

*Anglica te vivo vixit plaussitque poesis,
nunc moritura timet te moriente mori.*

As for his worke now * published, although it sufficiently testifieth his learning and deepe judgement, yet we may wish that in some passages it had bin tempered with more moderation. The troubles and miseries of the time when he wrote it, doe partly excuse him, And surely we may conceive, that if he had lived to see these times, and the good effects which the last 30 yeares peace have produced in this land, both for obedience to the lawes, as also in traffique, husbandry, civility, and learning, he would have omitted those passages which may seeme to lay either any particular aspersion upon some families, or generall upon the Nation. For now we may truly say, *jam cuncti gens una sumus*, and that upon just cause those ancient statutes, wherein the natives of *Irish* descent were held to be, and named *Irish* enemies, and wherein those of *English* blood were forbidden to marry and commerce with them, were repealed by † act of Parliament, in the raigne of our late Sovereigne King *JAMES* of ever blessed memory.

His proofes (although most of them conjecturall) concerning

* *Ex Bibliotheca Remi in Christo patris D. Jacobi Usserij Archiep. Armachani.*

† *Vid. lib. Statut. Hibern. edit. Dubl. an. 1621. pag. 427.*

the originall of the language, customes of the Nation, and the first peopling of the severall parts of the Iland, are full of good reading; and doe shew a sound judgment. They may be further confirmed by comparing them with *Richard Creagh's* Booke *De Linguâ Hibernicâ*, which is yet extant in the originall manuscript, and although mixed with matter of story, leaning too much to some fabulous traditions, yet in other respects worthy of light.

Touching the generall scope intended by the author for the reformation of abuses and ill customes, This we may say, that although very many have taken paines in the same subject, during the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, and some before, as the * author of the booke intituled *Salus Populi*, and after him † *Patrick Finglas*, Cheife Baron of the Exchequer here, and afterwarde Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, yet none came so neere to the best grounds for reformation, a few passages excepted, as *Spenser* hath done in this. Some notes I have added, although not intending any, untill the fourth part of the Booke was printed.

* *Floruit sub. initium reg. Edw. 4.*

† *Floruit sub. Hen. 8.*

· A VIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,

Written Dialogue-wise betweene *Eudoxus* and *Irenæus*,

By *Edmund Spenser* Esq. in the yeare 1596.

Eudox. **B**UT if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyle, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Iren. Marry so there have bin divers good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realme, but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evil, which hangeth upon that countrey, to proceed rather of the

unsoundnes of the counsels and plots which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succcede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some whose great wisdomes in opinion should seeme to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration) that all that land were a sea-poole; which kinde of speech is the manner rather of desperate men farre driven, to wish the utter ruine of that which they cannot redress, then of grave councillors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that thorough wisdom, it may be mastered and subdued, since the Poet saith, that "the wise man shall rule even over the starres," much more over the earth; for were it not the part of a desperate phisitian to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to apply the best indeavour of his skill for his recovery. But since we are so farre entered, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those evils, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot (as you say) be recured. And if it be not painful to you, tell us what things during your late continuance there, you observed to be most offensive, and greatest impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

Iren. Surely, Eudoxus, the evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora. But since you please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrant both in the life and conditions of private men, as also in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of verie great antiquitie and continuance; others more late and of lesse indurance; others dayly growing and increasing continuallie by their evill occasions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them then, I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them; for there can be no better method then this which the very matter itself offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redressing of them: after which there will perhaps of it self appeare some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wise phisitians, which first require that the malady be knowne throughly, and discovered: afterwards to teach how to cure and redresse it: and lastly doe prescribe a dyet, with straight rule and orders to be dayly observed, for feare of relapse into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous than it.

Iren. I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the evils which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and first, those (I say) which were most auncient and long growne. And they also are of three sorts: The first in the Lawes, the second in Customes, and the last in Religion.

Eudox. Why, Irenæus, can there be any evil in the Lawes; can things, which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that state, and in all other, that were they not contained in duty with feare of law, which restraineth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be against another. Therefore, in finding fault with the lawes, I doubt me, you shall much over-shoot your selfe, and make me the more dislike your other dislikes of that government.

Iren. The lawes, Eudoxus, I doe not blame for themselves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repressing of licentiousness and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwise then it doth in physick, which was at first devised, and is yet daylie ment, and ministred for the health of the patient. But neverthelesse we often see, that either thorough ignorance of the disease, or thorough unseasonableness of the time, or

other accidents comming betweene, in stead of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseries. So the lawes were at first intended for the reformation of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subject; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good still in themselves; but in that commonwealth which is ruled by them they worke not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether doe you mean this by the common-lawes of that realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both; for even the common law being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest, and laid upon the neck of England, though perhaps it fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the commander, which had before subdued the people unto him, and made easie way to the settling of his will, yet with the state of Ireland peradventure it doth not so well agree, being a people very stubborne, and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite shooke off their yoake, and broken the bonds of their obedience. For England (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of Edward, surnamed the Confessor; besides now lately growne into a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous rule of Harold an usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable conditions and order of the new victor, thinking surely that it could be no worse then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former; yet what the prooffe of first bringing in and establishing of those lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is farre otherwise; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in their own kinde of military discipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aside, nor made to learn obedience unto lawes, scarcely to know the name of law, but

in stead thereof have alwayes preserved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren. It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods law, and mans: As for example in the case of murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slain a recompence, which they call an Eriach: By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this the judge being as he is called the Lords Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or * the head of that sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion, then unto the plaintiffes or parties grieved.

Eudox. This is a most wicked law indeed: but I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the kings of England have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly; for there be many wide countries in Ireland, which the lawes of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made; and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves, by reason, that, dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceale amongst themselves their owne crimes,

of

* *The head of that sept.*] *Sept* is *family*. So, in Moryson's *Itinerary*, fol. 1617, Part second, p. 1. "The Oneale, a fatall name to the chiefe of the *sext* or *family* of the Oneales, &c." See also Percy's *Reliques of Anc. Poetry*, 4th edit. vol. i. p. 119. And the *Hist. of the Goedir Family*, note in p. 66.—TODD.

of which no notice can be had by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you say? And is there any part of that realme, or any nation therein, which have not yet beene subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory Henry the viiith for their onely King and Liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, then Lord Deputy, all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire means wrought thereunto, acknowledged King Henry for their Sovereigne Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their owne former priviledges and seigniories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his sovereignty they also accepted of his lawes. Why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them?

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his lawes and obedience, and in case it had beene followed upon them, as it should have beene, and a government thereupon settled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall duty. But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him straight runne loose at randome. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England: but, being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they eftsoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight, by themselves shook of their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentious then before.

Eudox. It is a great pittie that so good an opportunity was omitted, and* so happie an occasion fore-slacked, that might have beene the eternall good of the land. But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

Iren. No, they doe not: for now the heires and posterity
of

* *So happy an occasion fore-slacked.*] *Delayed.* See F. Q. v. xii. 3.—TODD.

of them which yeelded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or doe wilfully deny, or steadfastly disavow it.

Eudox. How can they so doe justly? Doth not the act of the parent in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the auncestors of those that now live, yeelded themselves then subjects and liegemen, shall it not tye their children to the same subjection?

Iren. They say no: for their auncestors had no estate in any their lands, seignories, or hereditaments, longer then during their owne lives, as they alledge, for all the Irish doe hold their land by Tanistry; which is (say they) no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is, Tanist, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by election of the countrey.

Eudox. What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistry? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and knowne unto them to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept; and then next to him doe they choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shall be their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: In some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon he standing, receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some

whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himselfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this custome? for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the state of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their posteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto strangers, and specially to the English. For when their Captaine dieth, if the seignorie should descend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forreiner; and therefore they doe appoint the eldest of the kinne to have the seignorie, for that he commonly is a man of stronger years, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the countrey, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to inroach one upon another, as each one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinke lye still in waite to wype them out of their lands and territories. And to this end the Tanist is alwayes ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dye, or to be slaine in battell, or to be out of the countrey, to defend and keepe it from all such doubts and dangers. For which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the countrey allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I hear this word Tanist, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it should signifie a province or seignorie, as Aquitania, Lusitania, and Britania, the which some thinke to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes, but, I think, amisse. But sure it seemeth, that it came aunciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne

the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence* the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came, and the custome thereof hath sithence, as many others else, bene continued. But to that generall subjection of the land, whereof we formerly spake, me seemes that this custome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said acknowledgement they waved the benefite thereof, and submitted themselves to the benefite of their new Sovereigne.

Iren. Yea, but they say, as I earst tolde you, that they reserved their titles, tenures, and seigniories whole and sound to themselves, and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should, (say they) be a great wrong.

Eudox. What remedie is there then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for, without first cutting of this dangerous custome, it seemeth hard to plant any sound ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, since all their ill customes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof we speake, nothing was given to King Henry which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King; for all other absolute power of principality he had in himselfe before derived from many former Kings, his famous progenitours and worthy conquerours of that land. The which, sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himself what title he will, over his dominions conquered. For all is the conquerors, as Tully to Brutus saith. Therefore (me seemes) instead of so great and meritorious a service as they boast they

* *The first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came.*] See whether it may not be more fitly derived from Thane, which word was commonly used among the Danae, and also among the Saxons in England, for a noble man, and a principall officer.—SIR JAMES WARR.

they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people, who before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, whereas else both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what tenures, what lawes, what conditions he would over them, which were all his: against which there could be no rightfull resistance, or if there were, he might, when he would, establish them with a stronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongst them, then by such violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any thing that he formerly had; for, having all before absolutely in his owne power, it remaineth so still unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received something from them, that is, a more voluntary and loyall subjection. So as her Majesty may yet, when it shall please her, alter any thing of those former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her owne behoofe, and for the good of that people.

Iren. Not so: for it is not so easie, now that things are growne unto an habit and have their certaine course, to change the channell, and turne their streames another way, for they may have now a colorable pretence to withstand such innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

Eudox. But you say they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old customes and Brehon lawes, though they be more unjust and also more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England they are surely most just and agreeable, both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then that you seeme to dislike of them, as not so meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the common Law, but also the Statutes and Actes of

Parliament, which were specially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have told you my reason therein, but that your selfe drew me away with other questions, for I was shewing you by what means, and by what sort the positive lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman Conquerour: which were not by him devised nor applyed unto the state of the realme then being, nor as yet might best be, (as should by lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very lawes of his owne countrie of Normandie. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of England, is apparent to every least judgement. But to transferre the same lawes for the governing of the realm of Ireland, was much more inconvenient and unmeete; for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overawe these subjects with the terrour of his sword, and countenance of his Majesty. But not so in Ireland, for they were otherwise affected, and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seemes) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then (as I said) in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert justice to extreame injustice. For he that transferres the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the people of Athens, should finde a great absurditie and inconvenience. For those lawes of Lacedemon were devised by Licurgus as most proper and best agreeing with that people, whom he knew to be enclined altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their cradles in armes and military exercises, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians, laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with sweet delights of learning and sciences, so that asmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard and moderation ought to be

had in tempering and managing of this stubborne nation of the Irish, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

Eudox. I cannot see how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the English were, at first, as stoute and warlike a people as ever the Irish, and yet you see are now brought unto that civilitie, that no nation in the world excelleth them in all goodly conversation, and all the studies of knowledge and humanitie.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I see very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazzarded oftentimes the whole safety of the kingdome, may easily be considered: all which they nevertheless fairly overcame, by reason of the continuall presence of their King; whose onely person is oftentimes in stead of an army, to containe the unrulie people from a thousand evill occasions, which this wretched kingdome, for want thereof, is dayly carried into. The which, whensoever they make head, no laws, no penalties, can restraine, but that they doe, in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themselves they doe specially rage at and rend in peeces, as most repugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

Eudox. It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgar, or to thinke to retaine them with feare of punishments, when they looke after liberty, and shake off all government.

Iren. Then so it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the sword was never yet out of their hand; but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreme wretchednesse, then they creepe a little perhaps and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their strength againe. So as it is as vaine to speake of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strongbowe, in the time of King Henry the Second? was there not a thorough way then made by the sword for the

imposing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with such a mightie hand as you said was used by the Norman Conquerour? What oddes is there then in this case? why should not the same lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extreamity? and why should they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people.

Iren. The case yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes between them: for, by the conquest of Henry the Second, true it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was able to hold up head against his power, in which their weaknes he brought in his lawes, and settled them as now they there remaine; like as William the Conquerour did; so as in thus much they agree; but in the rest, that is the chiefest, they varie: for to whom did King Henry the Second impose those lawes? not to the Irish, for the most part of them fled from his power, into deserts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the conquerour: who in their stead eftsoones placed English men, who possessed all their lands and did quite shut out the Irish, or the most part of them. And to those new inhabitants and colonies he gave his lawes, to wit, the same lawes under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongst them, being formerly well inured thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repaired diverse of the poore distressed people of the Irish, for succour and reliefe; of whom, such as they thought fit for labour, and industriously disposed, as the most part of their baser sort are, they received unto them as their vassalls, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes, under which themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vassall: thus was not the law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same, by their humble carriage and submission.

Eudox. How comes it then to passe, that having beene once so low brought, and thoroughly subjected, they afterwards

wards lifted up themselves so strongly againe, and sithence doe stand so stiffely against all rule and government?

Iren. They say that they continued in that lowlinesse, untill the time that the division betweene the two houses of Lancaster and York arose for the crowne of England: at which time all the great English Lords and Gentlemen, which had great possessions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, some to succour their friends here, and to strengthen their partie for to obtain the crowne; others to defend their lands and possessions here against such as hovered after the same upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome, and successe of that side which they favoured and affected. Then the Irish whom before they had banished into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon white meates, as it is recorded, seeing now their lands so dispeopled, and weakened, came down into all the plaines adjoyning, and thence expelling those few English that remained, repossessed them againe, since which they have remained in them, and, growing greater, have brought under them many of the English, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occasions by which all those countreys, which lying neere unto any mountaines or Irish desarts, had beene planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in Mounster all the lands adjoyning unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allon. In Connaught all the countries bordering upon the Curlues, Mointerolis, and Orourkes country. In Leinster all the lands bordering unto the mountaines of Glanmalour, unto Shillelah, unto the Brackenah, and Polmonte. In Ulster, all the countreys near unto Tirconnell, Tyrone, and the Scottes.

Eudox. Surely this was a great violence: but yet by your speach it seemeth that onely the countreys and valleyes neere adjoyning unto those mountaines and desarts, were thus recovered by the Irish: but how comes it now that we see almost all that realme repossessed of them? Was there any more such evill occasions growing by the troubles of England? Or did the Irish, out of those places so by them gotten, break further and stretch themselves out thorough

the whole land? for now, for ought that I can understand, there is no part but the bare English Pale, in which the Irish have not the greatest footing.

Iren. Both out of these small beginnings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they spread themselves into the inland; and also, to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of England; which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regaine their old possessions: For, in the raigne of King Edward the Fourth, things remained yet in the same state that they were after the late breaking out of the Irish, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amisse: for he sent over his brother the worthy * Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, and by her having all the Earldome of Ulster, and much in Meath and in Mounster, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late evils, and though he could not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his short continuance, yet he did shut them up within those narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all passages. Amongst the which he repaired the castle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimers lands adjoyning, which is now (by the Irish) called Killaloe. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto soone

* *Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, &c.]* It was not George Duke of Clarence here spoken of by the author, but Lionell Duke of Clarence, third soone of King Edw. the 3. who married the Earl of Ulsters daughter, and by her had the earldome of Ulster; and although Edw. the 4. made his brother the duke of Clarence, Lo. Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the place was still executed by his Deputyes (which were at severall times) Thomas Earle of Desmond, John Earle of Worcester, Tho. Earle of Kildare, and William Shirwood Bishop of Meth, the Duke himselfe never comming into Ireland to governe there in person.—SIR JAMES WARE.

* *De hac re vide Comd. Brian. p. 836. & Annal. Hib. ab eo edit. ad an. 1361.*

soone after was added another fatall mischiefe, which wrought a greater calamity then all the former. For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was, by practise of evill persons about the King, his brother, called thence away: and soone after, by sinister meanes, was cleane made away. Presently after whose death, all the North revolting, did set up Oneale for their Captaine, being before that of small power and regard: and there arose in that part of Thomond, one of the O-Briens, called Murrogh en-Ranagh, that is, Morrice of the Ferne, or wast wilde places, who, gathering unto him all the reliques of the discontented Irish, eftsoones surprised the said castle of Clare, burnt, and spoyled all the English there dwelling, and in short space possessed all that countrey beyond the river of Shanan and neere adjoyning: whence shortly breaking forth like a suddaine tempest he over-ran all Mounster and Connaght; breaking downe all the holds and fortresses of the English, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate townes, that were not strongly walled: for those he had no meanes nor engines to overthrow, neither indeed would he stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his suddenesse his most advantage, that he might overtake the English before they could fortifie or gather themselves together. So in short space hee cleane wyped out many great townes, as first Inchequin, then Killalow, before called Clariford, also Thurles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others, whose names I cannot remember, and some of which there is now no memory nor signe remaining. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the scumme of the Irish out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty army, and thence marched foorth into Leinster, where he wrought great out-rages, wasting all the countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waste. In the which he soone after created himselfe King, and was called King of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade that any did so generally, but onely Edward le Bruce.

Eudox. What? was there ever any generall King of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes

(whilst it was under the Irish) divided into foure, and sometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward le Bruce, what was he, that could make himselfe King of all Ireland?

Iren. I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfittesne which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

Eudox. No surely, I have no cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for sithence you did set your course (as I remember in your first part) to treat of the evils which hindered the peace and good ordering of that land, amongst which, that of the inconvenience in the lawes was the first which you had in hand, this discourse of the over-running and wasting of the realme, is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the beginning of all the other evils which sithence have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Irish to recover their possession, and to beat out the English which had formerly wonne the same. And besides, it will give a great light both unto the second and third part, which is the redressing of those evils, and planting of some good forme or policy therin, by renewing the remembrance of these occasions and accidents, by which those ruines hapned, and laying before us the ensamples of those times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

Iren. This Edw. le Bruce was brother of Robert le Bruce, who was King of Scotland, at such time as King Edward the Second reigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spightfull minde against King Edward, doing him all the scathe that he could, and annoying his territories of England, whilst he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons at home. He also, to worke him the more mischief, sent over his said brother Edward with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland, where, by the meanes of the Lacies, and of the Irish with whom they combined, they gave

footing, and gathering unto him all the * scatterlings and out-lawes of all the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched foorth into the English Pale, which then was chiefly in the North, from the point of Donluce, and beyond unto Dublin: having in the midst of her Knockfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, which are now the most outbounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeede not counted of the English Pale at all: for it stretcheth now no further then Dundalke towards the North. There the said Edward le Bruce spoyled and burnt all the olde English Pale inhabitants, and sacked and rased all citties and corporate townes, no lesse then Murrough en Ranagh, of whom I earst tolde you: For he wasted Belfast, Green-Castle, Kelles, Bellturbut, Castletowne, Newtown, and many other very good townes and strong holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audlies, Talbotts, Tuchets, Chamberlaines, Maundevills, and the Savages out of Ardes, though of the Lo. Savage there remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes. And coming lastly to Dundalke, he there made himselfe King, and raigned the space of one whole yeare, untill that Edward King of England, having set some quiet in his affaires at home, sent over the Lord John Bermingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, incountring him neere to Dundalke, over-threw his army, and slew him. Also he presently followed the victory so hotly upon the Scottes, that he suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together againe, untill they came to the sea-coast. Notwithstanding all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and despight, in their returne, they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoyled, so as of all townes, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any sticke standing, nor any people remayning; for those few, which yet survived,

* Scatterlings and outlawes.] See the note on F. Q. ii. x. 63. He uses *scatterlings* for *ravagers* again in this View of the State of Ireland.—TODD.

vived, fledde from their fury further into the English Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that countrey can afford, besides the soyle it selfe most fertile, fit to yeeld all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist then the parts towards the West.

Eudox. Truly, Irenæus, what with your praises of the countrey, and what with your discourse of the lamentable desolation thereof, made by those Scottes, you have filled me with a great compassion of their calamities, that I doe much pity that sweet land, to be subject to so many evils as I see more and more to be layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you said at the beginning) her fatall misfortune above all other countreyes that I know, to be thus miserably tossed and turmoyled with these variable stormes of affliction. But since we are thus far entred into the consideration of her mishaps, tell me, have there beene any more such tempests, as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universall as this. And yet the rebellion of Thomas Fitz Garret did well-nye stretch it selfe into all parts of Ireland. But that, which was in the time of the government of the Lord Grey, was surely no lesse generall then all those; for there was no part free from the contagion,

but all conspired in one, to cast off their subjection to the crowne of England. Neverthelesse thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evils found; for in them the realme was left like a ship in a storm, amidst all the raging surges, unrul'd, and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed, either fainted in their labour, or forsooke their charge. But he (like a most wise pilote,) kept her course carefully, and held her most strongly even against those roaring billowes, that he safely brought her out of all; so as long after, even by the space of 12 or 13 whole yeares, she rode at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, * how ever Envy list to blatter against him. But of this we shall have more occasion to speak in another place. Now (if you please) let us returne againe unto our first course.

Eudox. Truly I am very glad to heare your judgement of the government of that honourable man so soundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of some, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, seeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and counsels, then of any just cause: but he was neverthelesse, in the judgements of all good and wise men, defended and maintained. And now that he is dead, his immortall fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the mouthes of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and break their galls to heare his so honourable report. But let him rest in peace; and turne we to our more troublesome matters of discourse, of which I am right sorry that you make so short an end, and covet to passe over to your former purposes; for there be many other parts of Ireland, which I have heard have bin no lesse vexed with the like stormes, then these which you have treated of, as the countreyes of the Birnes and Toolles near Dublin, with the insolent out-rages and spoyles of Feagh mac Hugh, the
countreyes

* *How ever Envy list to blatter against him.*] To blatter is to rail or rage. Thus the *Blatant Beast* is described with various *barking* tongues, F. Q. vi. xii. 27.—TOWN.

countreyes of Catherlagh, Wexford, and Waterford, by the Cavenaghcs. The countreyes of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare by the O Moores. The countreyes of Ofaly and Longford by the Connors. The countreyes of Westmeath, Cavan, and Lowth, by the O Relyes, the Kellyes, and many others, so as the discoursing of them, besides the pleasure which would redound out of their history, be also very profitable for matters of policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more besides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearse, should rather be to chronicle times, then to search into reformation of abuses in that realme; and yet very needfull it will be to consider them, and the evils which they have often stirred up, that some redresse thereof, and prevention of the evils to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose we shall have a fitter opportunity for the same, when we shall speake of the particular abuses and enormities of the government, which will be next after these generall defects and inconveniences which I saide were in the lawes, customes, and religione.

Eudox. Goe to them a Gods name, and follow the course which you have promised to your selfe, for it fitteth best, I must confesse, with the purpose of our discourse. Declare your opinion as you began about the lawes of the realme, what incommodie you have conceived to be in them, chiefly in the Common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I saide before) of it selfe most rightfull and very convenient (I suppose) for the kingdome for which it was first devised: for this (I thinke) as it seemes reasonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuses of your countrey, for which they were invented, they take their first beginning, or else they should be most unjust; for no lawes of man (according to the straight rule of right) are just, but as in regard of the evils which they prevent, and the safety of the commonweale which they

provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of justice, it is a flat wrong to punish the thought or purpose of any before it be enacted; for true justice punisheth nothing but the evill act or wicked word, that by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to devise or purpose the death of your King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should then be too late to devise thereof, and should turne the commonwealth to more losse by the death of their Prince, then such punishment of the malefactors. And therefore the law in that case punisheth the thought; for better is a mischief then an inconvenience. So that *jus politicum*, though it be not of it selfe just, yet by application, or rather necessity, it is made just; and this onely respect maketh all lawes just. Now then, if these lawes of Ireland be not likewise applyed and fitted for that realme, they are sure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason strongly: but what unfitnessse doe you finde in them for that realme? shew us some particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth, that all tryalls, as well of crimes as titles and rights, shall be made by verdict of a jury, chosen out of the honest and most substantiall free-holders. Now, most of the free-holders of that realme are Irish, which when the cause shall fall betwixt an Englishman and an Irish, or betweene the Queene and any freeholder of that countrey, they make no more scruple to passe against an Englishman, and the Queene, though it be to strayn their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that before the jury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict shall be. The tryall have I so often seene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuse thereof. Yet is the law, of it selfe, (as I said) good; and the first institution thereof being given to all Englishmen very rightfully, but now that the Irish have stepped into the very roomes of our English, we are now to become heedfull and provident in juries.

Eudox. Insooth, *Irenæus*, you have discovered a point worthy the consideration; for heereby not onely the English subject findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cause, be it never so just; but the Queene, aswell in all pleas of the crowne, as

also in inquiries for escheates, lands attainted, wardshipps, concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You say very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted lands, concealed from her Majestie, then she hath now possessions in all Ireland; and it is no small inconvenience: for, besides that she looseth so much land as should turne to her great profite, she besides looseth so many good subjects, which might be assured unto her, as those landes would yeeld inhabitants and living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that people (say you) make no more conscience to perjure themselves in their verdicts, and danne their soules?

Iren. Not only so in their verdicts, but also in all other their dealings; especially with the English, they are most willfully bent: for though they will not seeme manifestly to doe it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed fellow amongst them put some quirke, or devise some evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent matter that may be, the least question or doubt that may be mooved, will make a stoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides, that of themselves (for the most part) *they are so cautelous and wylie-headed, especially being men of so small experience and practice in law matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow such subtiltyes and slye shifts.

Eudox. But me thinkes this inconvenience might be much helped in the Judges and Chiefe Magistrates which have the choosing and nominating of those jurors, if they would have dared to appoint either most Englishmen, and such Irishmen as were of the soundest judgment and disposition; for no doubt but some there be incorruptible.

Iren. Some there be indeede as you say; but then would the

* They are so cautelous.] *Cautious.* See the Gloss. Urry's Chaucer, in *V. Cautele.*—TODD.

the Irish partie crye out of partialitie, and complaine he hath no justice, he is not used as a subject; he is not suffered to have the free benefite of the law; and these out-cryes the Magistrates there doe much shunne, as they have cause, since they are readily hearkened unto heere; neither can it be indeede, although the Irish party would be so contented to be so compassed, that such English free-holders which are but few, and such faithful Irish-men, which are indeede as few, shall alwayes be chosen for tryalls; for being so few, they should be made weary of their free-holdes. And therefore a good care is to be had by all good occasions, to encrease their number, and to plant more by them. But were it so, that the jurors could be picked out of such choyce men as you desire, this would nevertheless be as bad a corruption in the tryall; for the evidence being brought in by the baser Irish people, will be as deceptfull as the verdict; for they care much lesse then the others what they sweare, and sure their Lordes may compel them to say any thing; for I my selfe have heard, when one of the baser sort * (which they call churles) being challenged, and reprooved for his false oath, hath answered confidently, That his Lord commaunded him, and it was the least thing that he could doe for his Lord to sweare for him; so in-conscionable are these common people, and so little feeling have they of God, or their owne soules good.

Eudox. It is a most miserable case, but what helpe can there then be in this? for though the manner of the trialls should be altered, yet the prooffe of every thing must needes be by the testimony of such persons as the parties shall produce, which if they shall be corrupt, how can there ever any light of the truth appeare, what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavy lawes and penalties against jurors?

Iren. I thinke sure that will doe small good; for when a people be inclined to any vice, or have no touch of conscience,

* Which they call churles.] "*Hinds*, which they call *churls*," as he presently explains the word.—TODD.

science, nor sence of their evill doings; it is booteless to thinke to restraints them by any penalties or feare of punishment, but either the occasion is to be taken away, or a more understanding of the right, and shame of the fault to be imprinted. For if that Licurgus should have made it death for the Lacedemonians to steale, they being a people which naturally delighted in stealth; or if it should be made a capitall crime for the Flemmings to be taken in drunkennesse; there should have beene few Lacedemonians then left, and few Flemmings now. So impossible it is to remove any fault so generall in a people with terrour of lawes or most sharpe restraints.

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience? for the case seemes very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the point to devise remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this sort in the Common Law.

Iren. By rehearsall of this, I remember also of an other like, which I have often observed in trialls, to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is, the exceptions which the Common Law alloweth a fellow in his tryall; for he may have (as you know) fifty-six exceptions peremptory against the jurors, of which he shall shew no cause. By which shift there being (as I have shewed you) so small store of honest jury-men, he will either put off his triall, or drive it to such men as (perhaps) are not of the soundest sort, by whose meanes, if he can acquite himselfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague such as were brought first to be of his jurie, and all such as made any party against him. And when he comes forth, he will make their *cowes and garrons to walke, if he doe no other harme to their persons.

Eudox.

* *Cowes and garrons.*] *Garran* is an Erse word; still retained in Scotland, says Dr. Johnson. It means a *strong* or *hackney horse*: See Shaw's Galic Dictionary.—
TODD.

Eudox. This is a slye devise, but I thinke might soone be remedied, but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

Iren. There is an other no lesse inconvenience then this, which is, the tryall of accessaries to felony; for, by the Common Law, the accessaries cannot be proceeded against, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the case, how it often falleth out in Ireland, that a stealth being made by a rebel, or an outlawe, the stolne goods are conveyed to some husbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the receipt of such stealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to goale, or put upon sureties, till the sessions, at which time the owner preferring a bill of indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have been committed upon him, by such an outlaw, and to have beene found in the possession of the prisoner, against whom, neverthelesse, no course of law can proceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the principall theife is not to be gotten, notwithstanding that he likewise, standing perhaps indicted at once, with the receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods: where peradventure he is slaine before he can be gotten, and so the receiver cleane acquitted and discharged of the crime. By which meanes the theeves are greatly encouraged to steale, and their maintainers imboldened to receive their stealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of law.

Eudox. Truely this is a great inconvenience, and a great cause (as you say) of the maintenance of theeves, knowing their receivers alwayes ready; for, were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me seemes) might easily be provided for, by some Act of Parliament, that the receiver being convicted by good proofes might receive his tryall without the principall.

Iren. You say very true, Eudoxus, but that is almost impossible to be compassed: And herein also you discover another imperfection, in the course of the Common Law, and first ordinance of the realme: for you know that the said Parlia-

ment must consist of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgesses of that realme it selfe. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most part of them (as may seeme by their stiffe with-standing of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their friends, which are such, by whom their kitchens are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to passe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir John Parrot very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that realme.

Eudox. This also is surely a great defect, but we may not talke (you say) of the redressing of this, untill our second part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such evils, if at least, you have any more.

Iren. There is also a great inconvenience, which hath wrought great dammage, both to her Majesty, and to that commonwealth, thorough close and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of traytors, fellons, and fugitives. As when one of them mindeth to go into rebellion, he will convey away all his lands and lordships to feoffees in trust, wherby he reserveth to himselfe but a state for terme of life, which being determined either by the sword or by the halter, their lands straight commeth to their heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the law, which laide that grievous punishment upon traytors, to forfeite all their lands to the Prince; to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treasons; for many which would little esteeme of their owne lives, yet for remorse of their wives and children would be withheld from that haynous crime. This appeared plainly in the late Earle of Desmond. For, before his breaking forth into open rebellion, he had conveyed secretly all his lands to feoffees of trust, in hope to have cut off her Majestie from the escheate of his lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided; for the Act of Parliament, which gave all his lands to the Queene, did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such convey-

ances, as had at any time by the space of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made; within the compasse whereof, the fraudulent feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices, and fellow-traytors, were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witnesse; and, were it to be passed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were it also that such Acts might be easily brought to passe against traytors and fellows, yet were it not an endlesse trouble, that no traytour or felon should be attained, but a Parliament must be called for bringing of his lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the persons which worke this fraud to her Majestie.

Iren. Yes, marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wrest it to their bad purposes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves, whereof they seeme surely very carelesse.

Eudox. But what meant you of fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly, for you shall understand that there be many ill disposed and undutifull persons of that realme, like as in this point there are also in this realme of England, too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for dislike of religion, or danger of the law, into which they are run, or discontent of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where they live under Princes which are her Majesties professed enemies, and converse and are confederat with other traitors and fugitives which are there abiding. The which neverthesse have the benefits and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie friends heere in trust, who privily doe send over unto them the said revenues wherewith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there be any such fugitives, which are relieved by the profite of their lands in England,

for there is a straighter order taken. And if there be any such in Ireland, it were good it were likewise looked unto; for this evill may easily be remedied. But proceede.

Iren. It is also inconvenient in the realme of Ireland, that the wards and marriages of gentlemens children should be in the disposition of any of those Irish Lords, as now they are, by reason that their lands be held by knights service of those Lords. By which means it comes to passe that those gentlemen being thus in the ward of those Lords, are not onely thereby * brought up lewdly, and Irish-like, but also for ever after so bound to their services, they will runne with them into any disloyall action.

Eudox. This grievance, *Irenæus*, is also complained of in England, but how can it be remedied? since the service must follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of England to those Lords, when they first conquered that realme, and, to say troth, this also would be some prejudice to the Prince in her wardships.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by such as fall into the hands of Irish Lords; for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those wardships were in the Princes disposition, for then it might be hoped, that she, for the universall reformation of that realme, would take better order for bringing up those wards in good nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her progenitours former grants unto those said Lords, yet I could find a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time serves, shall appeare. And since we are entred into speech of such graunts of former Princes, to sundry persons of this realme of Ireland, I will mention unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of England passed unto them a great part of their prerogatives, which

* *Brought up lewdly.* *Ignorantly.* The word is repeatedly used by Spenser in this sense; as it had been by Chaucer. And thus, in our translation of the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. xvii. 5. we have "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort."—TODD.

which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a gapp of mischief lyes open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the graunts of Counties Palatines in Ireland, which though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continuall invasion, so as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof: yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why should such priviledges be any more continued?

Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is so called.

Iren. It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defense to their inward lands, so as it is called the English Pale, and therefore is a Palsgrave named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is, to forrage or out-run, because those marchers and borderers use commonly so to doe. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoining. And surely so it is used at this day, as a priviledge place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the onely Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by means of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, so as it being situate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is, let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himselfe, all he may, to yeeld equall justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in so inward and absolute a priviledge, the consideration whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next succession. And much like unto this graunt, there are other priviledges granted unto most of the corporations there: that they shall not be bound to any other government then their owne, that they shall not be charged with garrisons, that they shall not be travailed forth of their owne franchises, that they may buy and sell with theeves and rebels, that all

amercements and fines that shall be imposed upon them, shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient, but all these will easily be cut off with the superior power of her Majesties prerogative, against which her own graunts are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Eudox. Now truly, Irenæus, you have (meseemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that realme. And if you can aswell goe thorough with the Statute Lawes of that land, I will thinke you have not lost all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us, what you thinke to be amisse in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner runne thorough them. And yet of those few there are [some] impertinent and unnecessary: the which, though perhaps at the time of the making of them were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbideth any to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the chinne. And that which putteth away* saffron shirts and smockes. And that which restraineth the use of guilt bridles and † petronels. And that which is appointed for the recorders and clerks of Dublin and Tredagh, to take but ij.d. for the copy of a plainte. And that which commaunds bowes and arrowes. And that which makes, that all Irishmen which shall converse among the English, shall be taken for spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids persons.

* *Saffron shirts.*] He presently explains the reason of their wearing saffron shirts &c.—TODD.

† *Petronels.*] See Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. "*Petrinal*, a horsemans peece, a *petronell*." Hence the soldier, who served with a *petronell*, was called *poictrinalier*. It appears to have been much the same as our *blunderbuss*. See the Fr. *Encyclopedie*, in V.—TODD.

persons amesnable to law, to enter and distraine in the lands in which they have title; and many other the like, I could rehearse.

Eudox. These truly, which ye have repeated, seeme very frivolous and fruitlesse; for, by the breach of them, little dammage or inconvenience, can come to the Common-wealth: Neither indeed, if any transgresse them, shall he seeme worthy of punishment, scarce of blame, saving but for that they abide by that name of lawes. But lawes ought to be such as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and the violating of them should be very haynous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behoofully import the reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull distraining of any mans goods against the forme of Common Law, to be felony. The which Statutes seeme surely to have beene at first meant for the good of that realme, and for restrayning of a foule abuse, which then raigned commonly amongst that people, and yet is not altogether laide aside: That when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his debt, and, if he were not payed, he would straight goe and take a distresse of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were satisfied, and this the simple churle (as they call him) doth commonly use to doe; yet thorough ignorance of his misdoing, or evill use, that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it be sure most unlawfull, yet surely (me seemes) too hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the party to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distresse, but doth it openly, for the most part, before witnesses. And againe, the same Statutes are so slackely penned (besides the later of them is so unsensibly contrived, that it scarce carryeth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the fraude of the subject, as if one going to distrayne upon his own land or tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing thereof he transgresse the last point of the Common Law, he straight committeth felony. Or if one by any
other

other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight felony. This is a very hard law.

Eudox. Nevertheles that evill use of distrayning of another mans goods ye will not deny but it is to be abolished and taken away.

Iren. It is so, but not by taking away the subject withall, for that is too violent a medecine, specially this use being permitted, and made lawfull to some; and to other some death. As to most of the corporate townes there, it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himselfe, without an officer (for that were more tolerable) for any debt, to distraine the goods of any Irish, being found within their liberty, or but passing thorough their townes. And the first permission of this, was for that in those times when that graunt was made, the Irish were not amesnabable to law, so as it was not safety for the townes-men to goe to him forth to demaund his debt, nor possible to draw him into law, so that he had leave to be his owne bayliffe, to arrest his said debtors goods, within his owne franchise. The which the Irish seeing, thought it as lawfull for them to distrayne the townes-mans goods in the countrey where they found it. And so by ensample of that graunt to townes-men, they thought it lawfull, and made it a use to distrayne on anothers goods for small debts. And to say truth, me thinks it hard for every trifling debt, of two or three shil. to be driven to law, which is so farre from them sometimes to be sought, for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordnance to give death, especially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh, that a common use or graunt to other men is a law for himselfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the judge, when it commeth before him to triall, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the law by his better discretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the sence of the law unto the reason or will of the judge, who are men and may be miscarried by affections, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to be like stony tables, plaine, stedfast, and unmoveable. There is also such another Statute or two,

which make Coigny and Livery to be treason, no lesse inconvenient then the former, being as it is penned, how ever the first purpose thereof were expedient; for thereby now no man can goe into another mans house for lodging, nor to his owne tennants house to take victuall by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other means for him to have lodging, nor horse meate, nor mans meate, there being no innes, nor none otherwise to be bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tennant, or that his said hoste list to complaine of greivance, as oftentimes I have seene them very malitiously doe thorough the least provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well know, but by guesse, what you doe meane by these termes of Coigny and Livery, therefore I pray you explaine them.

Iren. I know not whether the words be English or Irish, but I suppose them to be rather auncient English, for the Irishmen can make no derivation of them. What Livery is, we by common use in England know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horse-meate, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keepe horses at livery, the which word, I guesse, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode. So in great houses, the livery is said to be served up for all night, that is their evenings allowance for drinke: And Livery is also called, the upper weede which a serving man weareth, so called (as I suppose) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleasure: so it is apparent, that, by the word Livery is there meant horse meate, like as by the word Coigny is understood mans meate; but whence the word is derived is hard to tell: some say of coine, for that they used commonly in their Coignies, not onely to take meate, but coine also; and that taking of money was speciallie meant to be prohibited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word Coigny is derived of the Irish. The which is a common use amongst land-lords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tennants: for all their tennants, being commonly but tennants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list: for of victuals they were wont to make

small

small reckoning: neither in this was the tennant wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne custome, and his Lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tennant disliked, he might freely depart at his pleasure. But now by this Statute, the said Irish Lord is wronged, for that he is cut off from his customary services, of the which this was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddy, Coshery, Bonnacht, Shrah, Sorehin, and such others: the which (I thinke) were customes at first brought in by the English upon the Irish, for they were never wont, and yet are loath to yeeld any certaine rent, but only such spendings: for their common saying is, "Spend me and defend me."

Eudox. Surely I take it as you say, that therein the Irish Lord hath wrong, since it was an auncient custome, and nothing contrary to law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in England, there are in many places as large customes as that of Coignie and Livery. But I suppose by your speach, that it was the first meaning of the Statute to forbid the violent taking of victualls upon other mens tennants against their wills, which surely is a great out-rage, and yet not so great (me seemes) as that it should be made treason: for considering that the nature of treason is concerning the royall estate or person of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his crowne and dignitie, it is hardly wrested to make this treason. But (as you earst said) "better a mischief then an inconvenience."

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Irish custome, is now upon advisement made a law, and that is called the Custome of Kin-cogish, which is, that every head of every sept, and every chiefe of every kinred or family, should be answereable and bound to bring forth every one of that sept and kinred under it, at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Why? surely this seemes a very necessary law. For considering that many of them be such losells and scatterlings, as that they cannot easily by any sheriffe, constable,

bayliffe, or other ordinary officer be gotten, when they are challenged for any such fact, this is a very good meanes to get them to be brought in by him, that is, the head of that sept, or chiefe of that house; wherfore I wonder what just exception you can make against the same.

Iren. Truly, Eudoxus, in the pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred, for it seemeth very expedient and necessary; but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For, whilst every chiefe of a sept standeth so bound to the law for every man of his blood or sept that is under him, he is made great by the commaunding of them all. For if he may not commaund them, then that law doth wrong, that bindeth him to bring them forth to be justified. And if he may commaund them, then he may commaund them aswell to ill as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of countreyes, the principall and heades of septs are made stronger, whome it should be a most speciall care in policie to weaken, and to set up and strengthen diverse of his underlings against him, which whensoever he shall offer to swarve from duty, may be able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of so many as some septs are, being five or sixe thousand persons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himselfe shall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deede, Irenæus, it is very dangerous, seeing the disposition of those people is not alwayes inclineable to the best. And therefore I holde it no wisdom to leave unto them too much commaund over their kinred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them as much as may be, and to gather them under the commaund of law, by some better meane then this custome of Kin-cogish. The which word I would be glad to know what it namely signifieth, for the meaning thereof I seeme to understand reasonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of English and Irish together, so as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the custome thereof was first English, and afterwarde made Irish; for such an other law they had heere in England, as I remember, made by King Alured, that every gentleman should bring forth

his kinred and followers to the law. So * Kin is English, and Congish affinitie in Irish.

Eudox. Sith then we that have thus reasonably handled the inconveniences in the lawes, let us now passe unto the second part, which was, I remember, of the abuses of customes; in which, me seemes, you have a faire champian layde open unto you, in which you may at large stretch out your discourse into many sweete remembrance of antiquities, from whence it seemeth that the customes of that nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeede, Eudoxus, you say very true; for all the customes of the Irish which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would minister occasion of a most ample discourse of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to be more auncient then most that I know in this end of the world,† so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentiful reading, it would be most pleasant and profitable. But it may be we may, at some other time of meeting, take occasion to treat thereof more at large. Heere onely it shall suffice to touch such customes of the Irish as seeme offensive and repugnant to the good government of that realme.

Eudox. Follow then your owne course, for I shall the better content my selfe to forbear my desire now, in hope that

* *Kin is English, and Congish affinitie in Irish.*] I conceive the word to be rather altogether Irish. Kin signifying in Irish, the head or chiefe of any septa.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *So as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement &c.*] Since Spenser wrote this View of Ireland, the antiquities of the country have been explored and elucidated, by men "of sound judgement and plentiful reading," with so much patience and precision, as to afford the curious "most pleasant and profitable" information indeed. When I mention the extremely valuable and important researches of the Royal Irish Academy; the labours of an Usher, a Ware, a Leland, a Walker, a Vallancey, a Ledwich, a Beaufort, an O'Halloran, an Ouseley, an Archdall; (to which might be added the ingenious disquisitions of many others;) I point out to the reader the true sources of elegant gratification in regard to the knowledge of Irish history, and topography, customs, and manners.—TODD.

that you will, as you say, some other time more abundantly satisfie it.

Iren. Before we enter into the treatie of their customes, it is first needfull to consider from whence they first sprung; for from the sundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is called Irish, were derived, some of the customes which now remain amongst them, have been first fetcht, and sithence there continued amongst them, for not of one nation was it peopled, as it is, but of sundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to be * Scythians.

Eudox. How commeth it then to passe, that the Irish doe derive themselves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any such notable transmission of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any such famous conquest of this kingdome by Gathelus a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but that the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in so high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing as the subduing of so noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein

no

* *Scythians.*] The discourse, from the word Scythians, unto the words in p. 455, "of whom I earst spoke," is directed by Sir J. Ware wholly to be crossed out, as being then agreeable to the best MS. copy; which passage is also omitted in the Manuscript of this View belonging to the Marquis of Stafford; in which likewise is added after "to be Scythians," the word *which*, thus connecting the words "at such time as &c.," in p. 455.—TODD.

Scythians.] Touching the Scythians* or Scotts arrivall in Ireland, see Nennius, an ancient British author (who lived in the yeare of Christ 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. Brittonnes (saith he) venerunt in 3. etate mundi in Britanniam, Scythæ autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam.—SIR JAMES WARE.

* *A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia.* Tho. Walsingham, in *Hypodigmate Neustria*, ad an. 1185.

no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spoke) at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

Eudox. I wonder, Irenæus, whether you runne so farre astray; for whilst we talke of Ireland, me thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for Scotland and Ireland are all one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for we all know right well that they are distinguished with a great sea running between them; or else there are two Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Irish Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for those Scots are Scythians, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of Ireland, where some of them after passed into the next coast of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named Scotland; but in processe of time (as it is commonly seene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the Irish Scots putting away the name of Scots, were called onely Irish, and the Albine Scots, leaving the name of Albine, were called onely Scots. Therefore it commeth thence that, of some writers, Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which now is called Scotland, Scotia-minor.

Eudox. I doe now well understand your distinguishing of the two sorts of Scots, and two Scotlands, how that this

which now is called Ireland, was aunciently called Erin, and afterwards of some written Scotland, and that which now is called Scotland, was formerly called Albin, before the coming of the Scythes thither; but what other nation inhabited the other parts of Ireland?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North (or before,) for the certaintie of times in things so farre from all knowledge cannot be justly avouched, another nation coming out of Spaine, arrived in the West part of Ireland, and finding it waste, or weakely inhabited, possessed it: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africans, or Gothes, or some other of those Northerne Nations, which did over-spread all Christendome, it is impossible to affirme, onely some naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certainly they came, that doe all the Irish Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe very boldly, Irenæus, adventure upon the histories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on those Irish Chronicles which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of such a nation so antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and first inhabiting; especially having been in those times without letters, but onely bare traditions of times and * remembrances of Bardes, which use to forge and falsifie every thing as they list, to please or displease any man.

Iren.

* *Remembrances of Bardes.*] Of the auncient Bards or Poets, Lucan makes this mention in the first booke of his *Pharsalia*:

"Vos quoque qui fortes anima, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi."

The word signified among the Gaules a singer, as it is noted by Mr. Camden and Mr. Selden, out of Festus Pompeius, and it had the same signification among the British. Sir John Price, in the description of Wales, expounds it to be one that had knowledge of things to come, and so (saith he) it signifeth at this day, taking his ground (amisse) out of Lucan's verses. Doctor Powell, in his notes upon Caradoc of Lhancarvan, saith, that in Wales they preserved gentlemens armes and pedigrees. At this time in Ireland the Bard, by common acceptation, is counted a rayling rimer, and distinguished from the poet.—SIR JAMES WARE.

Iren. Truly I must confess I doe so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I doe herein rely upon those Bardes or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleeeve and avouch them, but unto them besides I adde mine own reading; and out of them both together, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures, and uses, resemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelihood of truth, not certainly affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, language, monuments, and such like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuse. Neverthelesse there be some very auncient authors that make mention of these things, and some moderne, which by comparing them with present times, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a window of great light unto the rest that is yet unseene, as namely, of the elder times, Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Berosus: of the later, Vincentius, Æneas Sylvius, Luidus, Buchanan, for that he himselfe, being * an Irish Scot or Pict by nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimony of the auncients truly, and his owne opinion together withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irish Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhappes too much, and ignorances of arts, and purer learning, they have clauded the truth of those lines; yet there appeares among them some reliques of the true

* *An Irish Scot or Pict by nation.*] Bede tells us that the Picts were a colony of Scythians, who first comming into Ireland, and being denied residence there by the Scots, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of Britaine. But Mr. Camden, out of Dio, Herodian, Tacitus, &c., and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the Picts, conceives not improbably, that they were naturall Britons, although distinguished by name.—SIR JAMES WARR.

true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyed man may happily discover and finde out.

Eudox. How can there be any truth in them at all, since the auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland, were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And those Bardes, comming also so many hundred years after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. * Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth, delivered no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, since all men be lyars, and many lye when they will; yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of Ireland, give me leave to say something, not to justifie them, but to shew that some of them might say truth. For where you say the Irish have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived; for it is certaine, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very aunciently, and long before England.

Eudox. Is it possible? how comes it then that they are so unlearned still, being so old schollers? For learning (as the Poet saith) "Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus:" whence then (I pray you) could they have those letters?

Iren. It is hard to say: for whether they at their first comming into the land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongst themselves, is very doubtful; but that they had

* *Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth.*] Concerning them I finde no mention in Cæsar's Commentaries, but much touching the Druides, which were the priests and philosophers, (or, Magi as * Pliny calls them) of the Gaules and British. "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, (saith he) sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus discipline causâ concurrît, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore, &c." The word *δρυῖ* [Sax. *Dry*] had aunciently the same signification (as I am informed) among the Irish.—SIR JAMES WARE.

* *Hist Nat Lib.* 16. cap. 44.

† *De Bello Gallic.* lib 2.

had letters aunciently, is nothing doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are said to have their letters, and learning, and learned men from the Irish, and that also appeareth by the likenesse of the character, for the Saxons character is the same with the Irish. Now the Scythians, never, as I can reade, of old had letters amongst them, therfore it seemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) letters aunciently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Persians, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from Marsellis, which is said to have bin inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke character, of which Marsilians it is said, that the Gaules learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their trades and privat busines; for the Gaules (as is strongly to be proved by many auncient and authentical writers) did first inhabite all the sea coast of Spaine, even unto Cales, and the mouth of the Straights, and peopled also a great part of Italy, which appeareth by sundry havens and cities in Spaine called from them, as Portugallia, Gallecia, Galdunum, and also by sundry nations therin dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the Gaules, as the Rhegni, Presamarci, Tamari, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pomponius Mela, being himselfe a Spaniard, yet saith to have descended from the Celts of France, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland, were aunciently Gaules, and that they brought with them those letters which they had aunciently learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, which some also say, doe much resemble the old Phenician character, being likewise distinguished with pricke and accent, as theirs aunciently, but the further enquire hereof needeth a place of longer discourse then this our short conference.

Eudox. Surely you have shewed a great probability of that which I had thought impossible to have bin proved; but that which you now say, that Ireland should have bin peopled with the Gaules, seemeth much more strange, for all the Chronicles doe say, that the west and south was possessed

and inhabited of Spaniards: *and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same, all which you must overthrow and falsifie, or else renounce your opinion.

Iren. Neither so, nor so; for the Irish Chronicles (as I shewed you) being made by unlearned men, and writing things according to the appearance of the truth which they conceived, doe erre in the circumstances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they being no diligent searchers into the differences of the nations) supposed to be Spaniards, and so called them; but the ground-work thereof is neverthesse true and certain, however they through ignorance disguise the same, or through vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver

* *And Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same.*] Cornelius Tacitus, in the life of Julius Agricola, saith thus:—"Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et positus contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt." This he speaketh touching the Silures which inhabited that part of South-Wales which now we call Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire. And although the like reason may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine, yet in Tacitus we find no such inference. * Buchanan indeed, upon the conjecture of Tacitus, hath these words:—"Verisimile autem non est Hispanos relictâ à tergo Hiberniâ, terra propiore, et coeli et soli mitioris, in Albium primùm descendisse, sed primùm in Hiberniam appulisse, atque inde in Britannîa colonos missos." Which was observed unto me by the most learned bishop of Meth, Dr. Anth. Martin, upon conference with his Lordship about this point. One passage in Tacitus touching Ireland (in the same booke) I may not heere omit, although it be extra oleas:—"Quinto expeditionum anno (saith he) nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad tempus gentes, crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit, eamque partem Britannia quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam, sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna velentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britannia comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque et ingenia, cultusq; hominum haut multùm à Britannia differunt, meliùs aditus portusq; per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audiui Legionem unâ et modicis auxiliis debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut à conspectu libertas tolleretur."—SIR JAMES WARE.

* Ber. Scot. Lib. 1.

deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true; as for example, That first of one Gathelus, the sonne of Cecrops or Argos, who having married the King of Egypt his daughter, thence sailed with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his sonnes, who comming out of Scythia, peopled Ireland, and inhabited it with his sonnes 250 yeares, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in Ireland, and at the last quite banished and rooted out, after whom 200 yeares, the sonnes of one Dela, being Scythians, arrived there againe, and possessed the whole land, of which the youngest called * Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch. Lastly, of the 4 sonnes of Milesius King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngest Hiberus, Hibernia: all which are in truth fables, and very Milesian lyes, as the later proverbe is: for never was there such a King of Spaine, called Milesius, nor any such colonie seated with his sonnes, as they faine, that can ever be proved; but yet under these tales you may in a manner see the truth lurke. For Scythians here inhabiting, they name and put Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both these nations here inhabited, but whether very Spaniards, as the Irish greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth it then that the Irish doe so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the old Gaules are a more auncient and much more honourable nation?

Iren. Even of a very desire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themselves from the Spaniards, as seeing them to be a very honourable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniards that now are, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to descend; neither should it
be

* *Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch.*] The Irish stories have a continued succession of the Kings of Ireland from this Slanius, untill the conquest by King Henry the Second, but very uncertaine, especially untill the planting of religion by S. Patrick, at which time Legarius, or Lagarius was monarch.—SIR JAMES WARE.

be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by course of ages, and view of their owne history, (though they therein labour much to enoble themselves) scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them; for all Spaine was first conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native Spaniard still cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punick Warres (having spoiled all Spaine, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the Romans. And lastly the Romans having againe recovered that countrey, and beate out Hannibal, did doubtlesse cut off all that favored the Carthaginians, so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romans. All which tempests of troubles being over-blowne, there long after arose a new storme, more dreadful then all the former, which over-ran all Spaine, and made an infinite confusion of all things; that was, the coming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Vandals: And lastly all the nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flood, did over-flow all Spaine, and quite drowned and washt away whatsoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too. The which Northern Nations finding the nature of the soyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their constitutions, tooke no felicity in that countrey, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all countryes of Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinkling, if not thoroughly peopling of them. And yet after all these the Moores and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally possesse all Spaine, or the most part thereof, and did tread under their heathenish feete whatever little they found yet there standing. The which, though after they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance

there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood, no more then of Roman or of Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven (I suppose) the Spaniard is the most mingled, and most uncertaine; wherefore most foolishly doe the Irish thinke to enoble themselves by wresting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himselfe from any in certaine.

Eudox. You speake very sharpely, Irenæus, in dispraise of the Spaniard, whom some others boast to be the onely brave nation under the skie.

Iren. So surely he is a very brave man, neither is that any thing which I speake to his derogation; for in that I said he is a mingled people, it is no dispraise, for I thinke there is no nation now in Christendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a singular providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his wisdom, to draw those Northerne Heathen Nations downe into those Christian parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle nations so remote miraculously, to make it as it were one blood and kinred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the Irish, for you have brought them from very great and auncient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the Spanish. For both Scythians and Gaules were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination, or monument of the Gaules yet remaining in Ireland, as there is of the Scythians?

Iren. Yea surely very many words of the Gaules remaining, and yet dayly used in common speech.

Eudox. What was the Gaulish speech, is there any part of it still used among any nation?

Iren. The Gaulish speech is the very British, the which was very generally used here in all Brittain, before the coming of the Saxons: and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Cornishmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time working the alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and

greatly altered the dialect thereof; but yet the originall words appeare to be the same, as who hath list to read in Camden and Buchanan, may see at large. Besides, there be many places, as havens, hills, townes, and castles, which yet beare the names from the Gaules, of the which Buchanan rehearseth above 500 in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neere as many in Ireland which retaine the old denomination of the Gaules, as the Menapii, Cauci, Venti, and others; by all which and many other reasonable probabilities (which this short course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth that the chiefe inhabitants in Ireland were Gaules, comming thither first out of Spaine, and after from besides Tanais, where the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Getes sate down; they also being (as it is said of some) auncient Gaules; and lastly passing out of Gallia it selfe, from all the sea-coast of Belgia and Celtica, into all the southerne coasts of Ireland, which they possessed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongst the Irish a common use, to call any stranger inhabitant there amongst them, Gald, that is, descended from the Gaules.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even so did those Gaules aunciently possesse all the southerne coasts of our Brittaines, which yet retaine their old names, as the Belgæ in Somersetshire, Wilshire, and part of Hamshire, Attrebatii in Berke-shire, Regni in Sussex and Surry, and many others. Now thus farre then, I understand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for so we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the West; the Gaules in the South: so that there now remaineth the East parts towards England, which I would be glad to understand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary I thinke of the Brittaines themselves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reason that the Saxons afterwards, and lastly the English, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did possesse and people it themselves. Yet amongst the Tooles, the Birns, or Brins, the Cavenaghes, and other nations in Leinster, there is some memory of the

Britans remaying. As the Tooles are called of the old British word Tol, that is, a Hill Countrey, the Brins of the British word Brin, that is, Woods, and the Cavenaghes of the word Caune, that is, strong; so that in these three people the very denomination of the old Britons doe still remaine. Besides, when any flieth under the succour and protection of any against an enemie, he cryeth unto him, Comericke, that is in the British Helpe, for the Brittainie is called in their owne language, Comeroy. Furthermore to prove the same, * Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia, and a part of Great Brittainie. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that †King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that iland under their allegiance and subjection; hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, persons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but they should be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that realme of Ireland was first peopled, and by what nations. After all which the Saxons succeeding, subdued it wholly to themselves. For first Egfrid, King of Northumberland, did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him; and after him, King Edgar brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an auncient Record, in which it is found written, that he subdued all the islands of the North, even unto Norway, and brought them into his subjection.

Eudox.

* *Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo, called Britannia.*] Iris is by Diodorus called a part of Brittainie: but Ireland by neither of them Britannia.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt.*] Concerning King Arthur's conquest of Ireland, see Geffry of Monmouth, and Matthew of Westminster, at the yeare 525, where he is said to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King Gilla-Mury prisoner, and forced the other princes to subjection. In our Annals it appears that Moriartach (the sonne of Ercæ) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name some reliques seeme to be in Gilla-Mury, Gilla being but an addition used with many names, as Gilla-Patrick, &c. But in the country writers (which I have seene) I find not the least touch of this conquest.—SIR JAMES WARE.

Eudox. * This ripping of auncestors, is very pleasing unto me, and indeede favoureth of good conceipt, and some reading withall. I see hereby how profitable travaile and experience of forraine nations is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeede would I have thought that any such antiquities could have beene avouched for the Irish, that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your observations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earst half promised to put forth: and sure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the furthest parts of the world, to seeke out their regions so remote from them, and by that meanes both to restore their decayed habitations, and to make himselfe knowne to the Heathen. But was there, I pray you, no more generall employing of that iland then first by the Scythians, which you say were the Scottes, and afterward by the Spaniards, besides the Gaules, Brittaines, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the English, when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the same into the hands of Henry the Second, then King, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen, and other warlike people, † amongst whom

* *This ripping of auncestors.*] This discovery of auncestors &c. *Ripping* is metaphorically used. To *rip*, is to break open stitched things.—TODD.

† *Amongst whom he distributed the land.*] King Henry the II. gave to ^a Richard Strongbow Earle of Striguil or Penbroke, all Leinster, excepting the city of Dublin, and the cantreds, adjoyning with the maritime townes and castles. Unto ^b Robert Fitz Stephen, and Miles de Cogan he granted the kingdome of Corke, excepting the city of Corke, and the Ostmans cantred. And unto ^c Phillip de Bruse the kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King John to William de Bruse (or Braos) nephew to this Phillip, we finde that he gave to him onely ^d honorem de Limerick, retentis in dominico nostro (as the words of the charter are) civitatem de Limerick et donationibus episcopatum et abbatiarum, et retentis in manu nostra

^a *Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 1. cap. 28.*

^b *Vid. Rog. de Hoveden, p. 567. edit. Franc. et Camd. Brit. p. 739.*

^c *Rog. de Hoveden, ibid.*

^d *Chart. an. 2. Io. in arce Lond.*

whom he distributed the land, and settled such a strong colonie therein, as never since could with all the subtle practices of the

cantredo Ostmannorum et S. insulâ. Among other large graunts (remembred by Hoveden) which this King Henry gave to the first adventurers, that of Meth to Sir Hugh de Lacy is of speciall note. The grant was in these words:—

“Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, et Dux Normanniæ, et Aquitaniæ, et comes Andeganiæ. Archiepiscopia, Episcopia, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justitiariis, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis Francia, Anglis et Hiberniensibus totius terræ suæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse, et præsentî chartâ meâ confirmâsse Hugoni de Lacy pro servitio suo, terram de Midiâ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis per servitium quinquaginta militum sibi et hæredibus suis, tenendum et habendum à me et hæredibus meis, sicut Murchardus Hu-melathlin eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel postea. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, ut ipse Hugo et hæredes sui post eum prædictam terram habeant, et teneant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines, quas ibi habeo vel habere possum per prænominatum servitium, à me et hæredibus meis, benè, et in pace, liberè, et quietè, et honorificè, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molédinis, in vivariis et stagnis, et piscationibus et venationibus, in viis, et semitis, et portubus maris, et in omnibus aliis locis, et aliis rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare possum, et hæc meâ chartâ confirmare. Test. comitè Richardo filio Gilberti, Willielmo de Braosa, &c. Apud Weisford.”

But above all other graunts made by K. Henry the II. that to his sonne John is most memorable. “Deinde (saith * Hoveden) venit rex Oxenford, et in generali concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Iohannem filium suum Regem in Hiberniâ, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis.” By virtue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother King Richard, he was stiled in all his charters Dominus Hiberniæ, and directed them thus, “Joannes Dominus Hiberniæ, et comes Morton. Archiepiscopia, episcopia, comitibus, baronibus, Justitiariis, vice comitibus, constabulariis, et omnibus ballivis et ministris suis totius Hiberniæ, salutem.” Thus we have it frequently (although sometimes with a little variation) in the Registers of St. Mary abbey, and Thomas-court by Dublin. How the Earle in Leinster, and Lacy in Meth, distributed their lands, (besides what they retained in their owne hands,) is delivered by Maurice Regan, (interpreter to Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster) who wrote the historie of those times in French verse. The booke was translated into English by Sir George Carew Lo. President of Mounster, afterwards Earle of Totnes, and communicated to me, by our most reverend and excellently learned primate. There we finde that the Earle gave to Raymond le Grose in ^b marriage with his sister Fotherd, Odrone, and

* In Hen. II. pag. 566.

^b Consul. Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4.

the Irish be rooted out, but abide still a mighty people, of so many as remaine English of them.

Eudox.

Glascarrig; unto Hervy de Mount-marish, he gave Obarthy; unto Maurice de Prindergast, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert Fitz Godobert, but by what meanes he obtained it (saith Regan) I know not. Unto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry; unto ^a Maurice Fitz Gerald the Naas Oselin (which had beene possessed by Mackelan) and Wickloe; unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy; unto John de Clahul the Marshalship of Leinster, and the land betweene Aghabo and Leghlin; unto Robert de Birmingham Ofaly; and unto Adam de Hereford large possessions. What these possessions were, are thus noted in the Register of Thomascourt abbey, where speaking of the Earle, "*Postea Lagenia perquisita, erat quidam juvenis cum eo quem multum dilexit, et dedit eidem pro servitio suo terras et tenementa subscripta, viz. tenementum de saltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Houterard, et tenementum de Donning cum omnibus suis pertinentiis.*" Thus the Register. This Adam de Hereford was founder of St. Wulstan's Priory neere Leixlip in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with Regan. Unto Miles Fitz David who was one of his chiefe favourites, he gave Overk in Ossory; to Thomas le Flemming, Arde; to Gilbert de Borard, Ofelmith; to a Knight called Reinand he gave 15 knights fees adjoining to the sea; and to one Robert (who was afterwards slaine in Connaught) the Norragh. What partition Lacy made in Meth, he thus delivers. Unto his speciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Castleknock: and unto William Petit Castlebreck. I have seene an ancient deede made by Sir Hugh de Lacy to this William Petit wherein among other things he graunts unto him Matherethirnan "*cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, exceptis Lacu et villa que dicitur Dissert, &c.*" Unto the valiant Meiler Fitz Henry (sayth Regan) he gave Magherneran, the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Unto Gilbert de Nangle all Magherigallen; unto Jocelin the sonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardbraccan; unto Richard de Tuite he gave faire possessions; unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer, unto Richard de la Chappell he gave much land; unto Geffry de Constantine Kilbisky and Rathmarthy: unto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Misset, and Hugh de Hose, he gave large inheritances. In Lacyes graunt to Feipo, we finde that he gave him Skrine, "*et preterea (sayth the ^b deede) feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, scil. Clantorht et Santref, &c.*" In his graunt to Gilbert de Nugent, (the originall whereof I have seene, with an impression upon the seale, of a Knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him Delvin, "*quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finelana, cum omnibus pertinentiis et villis, que infra predictam*

^a *This Maurice soone after deceasing at Wexford, King John, then Earle of Moreton, confirmed to his sonne William Fitz Maurice cantredum terras quem Makelanus tenuit, illum sc. in quo villa de Naas sita est, quam comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipsius Willielmi. Thus the charter, habetur in ros. com. placit. an. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano.*

^b *Magn. regist. mon. B. Marie juxta Dublin. fol. 76.*

Eudox. What is this that you say, of so many as remaine English of them? Why? are not they that were once English English still?

Iren. No, for some of them are degenerated and growne almost mere Irish, yea, and more malicious to the English then the Irish themselves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up in such sweet civility as England affords, should find such likeing in that barbarous rudenes, that he should forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation! how may this be, or what (I pray you) may be the cause thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothing but the first evill ordinance and institution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speake, least by the occasion thereof, offering matter of a long discourse, we might be drawne from this, that we have in hand, namely, the handleing of abuses in the customes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truth, Irenæus, you doe well remember the plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me seemes) ye have much swarved in all this long discourse, of the first inhabiting of Ireland; for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truely very materiall, for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to show, by what meanes the customes that now are in Ireland, being some of them indeede very strange and almost heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those nations from whom that countrey was first peopled; for the difference in manners and customes, doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you, to have beene three especially which seated themselves here: to wit, first the Scythian,
then

Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fouræ nomine Torrochelasch pro servitio 5. militum." Thus the charter. To Misset he gave Luin, and to Hussey or Hose Galtrim. Regan proceeds. Unto Adam Dullard he gave the lands of Dullenvarthy, unto one Thomas he gave Cramly. Timlath began north east from Kenlis. Lathrachalim, and Sendevonath; and unto Richard le Flemming he gave Crandon at twenty Knights fees.—SIR JAMES WARE.

then the Gaules, and lastly the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your selfe, Irenæus, very well into the way againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the way; but now that you have passed thorough those antiquities, which I could have wished not so soone ended, begin when you please to declare what customes and manners have beene derived from those nations to the Irish, and which of them you finde fault withall.

Iren. I will begin then to count their customes in the same order that I counted their nations, and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners. Of the which there is one use amongst them, to keepe their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in boolies, pasturing upon the mountaine, and waste wilde places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Jo. Bohemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards, as they call them, being the very same, that the Irish boolies are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meats.

Eudox. What faulte can you finde with this custome? for though it be an old Scythian use, yet is it very behoofefull in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountaines, and waste deserts full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourish many thousands of cattle, for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping those boolies there, as ye have shewed.

Iren. But by this custome of boolying, there grow in the meane time many great enormities unto that Commonwealth. For first, if there be any out-lawes, or loose people, (as they are never without some) which live upon stealthes

and spoyle, they are evermore succoured and finde releife only in these boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releife, where by one meanes or other they would soone be caught. Besides, such stealthes of cattle as they make they bring commonly to those boolies, being upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the theife harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that thus live in those boolies growe thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously then they could in townes, using what manners they list, and practizing what mischeifes and villainies they will, either against the government there, by their combynations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they thinke themselves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedom, doe like a steere, that hath beene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after, to come under rule again.

Eudox. By your speech, Irenæus, I perceive more evill come by this use of boolies, then good by their grasing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course: doe you proceed to the next.

Iren. They have another custome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantles,* and long glibbes, which is a thicke curled bush of hair, hanging downe over their eyes, and monstously disguising them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would surely think otherwise, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that most nations of the world aunciently used the mantle. For the Jewes used it, as you may read of Elyas mantle, &c. The Chaldees also
used

* And long glibbes, &c.] "In Terconnell the haire of their head growes so long and curled, that they goe bare-headed, and are called *Glibbs*; the women *Glibbins*." Gainsford's *Glory of England*, 4to. Lond. 1618, p. 151.—TODD.

used it, as ye may read in Diodorus. The Egyptians likewise used it, as ye may read in Herodotus, and may be gathered by the description of Berenice, in the Greeke Commentary upon Callimachus. The Greekes also used it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with starres, though afterwards * they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia, as some of the Irish also use. And the auncient Latines and Romans used it, as you may read in Virgil, who was a very great antiquary: That Evander, when Æneas came to him at his feast, did entertaine and feast him, sitting on the ground, and lying on mantles. In-somuch as he useth the very word mantile for a mantle.

† “————— Humi mantilia sternunt.”

So

* *They changed the form thereof into their cloakes called Pallia.*] As the Romans had their gowne called toga, so the auncient outward vestiment of the Grecians was called Pallium, by some translated a mantle, although it be now commonly taken for a cloake, which doth indeed somewhat resemble a mantle. By these different kinds of habit, the one was so certainly distinguished from the other, that the word *togatus* was often used to signifie a Roman, and *Palliatas* a Grecian, as it is observed by * Mr. Tho. Godwin out of ^b Ligonius. “Togati (saith he) pro Romanis dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis.” But that the ancient Latines and Romans used it, as the author alledgeth (out of I know not what place in Virgil) appeareth no way unto me. That the gowne was their usual outward garment, is most certaine, and that commonly of wooll, finer or courser, according to the dignity of the person that wore it. Whence Horace, *Satyr.* 3 lib. 1.

————— “Sit mihi mensa tripes, et
Concha salis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,
Quamvis crassa, queat.”

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit, grew the proverbes, “modò palliatus, modò togatus, and de togâ ad pallium,” to denote an unconstant person.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† “—————*Humi mantilia sternunt.*] Evanders entertainment of Æneas, is set out in the 8 booke of Virgils Æneis, but there we have no such word as mantile. In his entertainment by Dido we have it, but in another sence. *Æneid.* lib. 1.

“Iam pater Æneas, et jam Troiana juvenus
Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro,
Dant famuli manibus, lymphas, Cereremque canistris
Expediunt, tonsisq; ferunt mantilia villis.”

SIR JAMES WARE.

* *Romanæ Histor. Antholog. lib. 2. sect. 3. cap. 7.*

^b *De ind. l. 3. cap. 19.*

So that it seemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nations, and not proper to the Scythians only, as you suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to most, and yet sithence disused and laide away. But in this later age of the world, since the decay of the Romane empire, it was renewed and brought in againe by those Northerne Nations, when breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations, into the sweet soyle of Europe, they brought with them their usual weedes, fit to sheild the cold, and that continual frost to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetuall warres with the nations whom they had invaded, but, still removing from place to place, carried always with them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their garment; and, comming lastly into Ireland, they found there more speciall use thereof, by reason of the raw cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that general use in which that people now have it. After whom the Gaules succeeding, yet finding the like necessitie of that garment, continued the like use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the necessity thereof is so commodious, as you alledge, that it is insteed of housing, bedding, and cloathing, what reason have you then to wish so necessarie a thing cast off?

Iren. Because the commoditie doth not countervaille the discommoditie; for the inconveniences which thereby doe arise, are much more many; for it is a fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a theife. First the out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes banished from the townes and houses of honest men, and wandering in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himselfe from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-house; when it bloweth it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In sommer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it; never heavy, never cumber-

some. Likewise for a rebell it is as serviceable. For in his warre that he maketh (if at least it deserve the name of warre) when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and strait passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himselfe strongly against the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebels, whilst they keepe the woods, and doe more sharply wound them then all their enemies swords, or spears, which can seldome come nigh them: yea and oftentimes their mantle serveth them, when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in stead of a target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a sword, besides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly for a theife it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handsomly in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his best and surest friend: for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bank side, till they may conveniently do their errand: and when all is over, he can, in his mantle passe through any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered. Besides this, he, or any man els that is disposed to mischief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without suspicion of any, carry his head-peece, * his skean, or pistol if he please, to be alwayes in readiness. Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle for a bad man: and surely for a bad huswife it is no lesse convenient; for some of them that be wandring woemen, called of them Mona-shul, it is half a wardrobe; for in summer you shall find

* *His skean.*] "*Sword; skian, or skeine.*" See Walker's Memoir, &c. (mentioned in the note on *arms and weapons*, p. 479.) p. 115.—TODD.

find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle to be more ready for her light services: in winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewd exercise. And when she hath filled her vessell, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is borne, it serves instead of swadling clouts. And as for all other good woemen which love to doe but little worke, how handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse themselves in the sun-shine, they that have beene but a while in Ireland can well witness. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good huswife to stirre in, or to busie her selfe about her huswifry in such sort as she should. These be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all mantles.

Eudox. O evill minded man, that having reckoned up so many uses of a mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned! Sure I thinke Diogenes dish did never serve his master for more turnes, notwithstanding that he made it his dish, his cup, his cap, his measure, his water-pot, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I see they be most to bad intents, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolishing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishmen take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their haire so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glibbes.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeserved dislikes: but for the Irish glibbes, they are as fit maskes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whensoever he hath run himselfe into that perill of law, that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himselfe, or pulleth it so low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to discerne his theevish countenance. And therefore fit to be trussed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly these three Scythian abuses, I hold most fit to be taken away with sharpe penalties, and sure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithstanding so many good provisions and orders, as have beene devised for that people.

Iren. The cause thereof shall appeare to you hereafter: but let us now go forward with our Scythian customes. Of which the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of raising the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublesome times of uproare: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, describing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians coming to give the charge at battles: at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible yell as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Irish hubub, * which their kerne use at their first encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth, that they used in their battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and sometimes upon their greatest kings deceased, † as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus: which custome to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For at their joyning of battle, they likewise call upon their captains name, or the word of his auncestours. As they under Oneale cry Laundarg-abo, that is, the bloody hand, which is Oneales badge. They under O'Brien call Laun-laidir, that is, the strong hand. And to their ensample, the old English also which there remayneth, have gotten up their cryes Scythianlike, as Crom-abo, and Butler-abo. And here also lyeth open an other manifest prooffe, that the Irish be Scythes or Scots, for in all their incounters they use one very common word, crying Ferragh, Ferragh, which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought against the Pictes, as you may reade in Buchanan, de rebus

* *Which their kerne use &c.*] The *kerne* is the Irish *foot-soldier*; and is also employed in this sense by Shakspeare. See likewise Gainsford's *Glory of England*, 4to. 1618, p. 149, "The name of *Galliglas* is in a manner extinct, but of *KERN* in great reputation, as serving them [the Irish] in their revolts; and proving sufficient soldiers; but excellent for skirmish." Again, p. 150, "They [the Irish] are desperate in revenge; and their *kerne* thinke no man dead, until his head be off."—TODD.

† *As in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus.*] Herodotus in the description of that battle hath no such thing.—SIR JAMES WARR.

rebus Scoticis; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought against the Africans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battailes.

Eudox. Believe me, this observations of yours, Irenæus, is very good and delightfull; far beyond the blinde concept of some, who (I remember) have upon the same word Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture, as namely Mr. Stanihurst, who though he be the same countrey man borne, that should search more neerly into the secret of these things; yet hath strayed from the truth all the heavens wyde, (as they say,) for he thereupon groundeth a very grosse imagination, that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that Island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, whereupon they use (saith he) in all their battailes * to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh, Ferragh. Surely he shootes wyde on the bow hand, and very far from the marke. For I would first know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for such a senselesse fable, and if he have any of the rude Irish bookes, as it may be he hath, yet (me seemes) that a man of his learning should not so lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales, from approvance of his owne reason; for whether it be a smack of any learned judgment to say that Scota is like an Egyptian word, let the learned judge. But his Scota rather comes of the Greek *σκόρος*, that is, darknes, which hath not let him see the light of the truth

Iren. You know not, Eudoxus, how well Mr. Stanihurst could see in the darke: perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes: but well I wot he seeth not well the very light in matters of more weight.

* To call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh.] The vulgar Irish suppose the subject of this war-song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferragh*, (an easy corruption of *Pharroh*, which Selden, in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, says was the name of the war-song once in use amongst the Irish kerns,) a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. See Mr. Walker's *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards*, notes, p. 96; and Mr. Warton's note on *Sir Ferragh*, F. Q. iv. ii. 4.—TODD.

weight. But as for Ferragh I have told my conjecture onely, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of Ferragh. But let that now be: this only for this place suffiseth, that it is a word used in their common hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an affectation to Irish Captainry, which in this platform I indeavour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of cryes also used among the Irish, which savour greatly of the Scythian barbarisme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with dispairefull out-cryes, and immoderate waylings, the which M. Stanihurst might also have used for an argument to proove them Egyptians. For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Joseph. Others thinke this custome to come from the Spaniards, for that they doe immeasurably likewise bewaile their dead. But the same is not proper Spanish, but altogether heathenish, brought in thither first either by the Scythians, or the Moores that were Africans, and long possessed that countrey. For it is the manner of all Pagans and Infidels to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of salvation. And this ill custome also is specially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have beene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northerne Scots at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is sure an ill custome also, but yet doth not so much concerne civill reformation, as abuse in religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it as one of the abuses which I thought most worthie of reformation; but having made mention of Irish cryes I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and Scythian-like: for by these old customes, and other like conjecturall circumstances, the descents of nations can only be proved where other monuments of writings are not remayning.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whensoever in your discourse you meet with them by the way, doe not shun, but boldly touch them: for besides their great pleasure and delight for
 72 their

their antiquity, they bring also great profit and helpe unto civility.

Iren. Then sith you will have it so, I will heere take occasion, since I lately spake of their manner of cryes in joyning of battaile, to speake also somewhat of the manner of their armes, and array in battell, with other customes perhappes worthy the noting. * And first of their armes and weapons, amongst which their broad swordes are proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes, and little quivers with short bearded arrowes, are very † Scythian, as you may read in the same Olaus. And the same sort both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this day to be seene commonly amongst the Northerne Irish-Scots, whose Scottish bowes are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackely bent, and whose arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with steele heads, made like common broad arrow heads, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Moreover their long broad shields, made but with wicker rodde, which are commonly used amongst the said Northerne Irish, but especially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewise their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the which (they say) will sometimes beare off a good stroke, is meere Scythian,

as

* *And first of their armes and weapons.*] This subject is illustrated, with great care, in the following work:—"An Historical Essay on the Dress of the ancient and modern Irish; to which is subjoined a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish. By Joseph Corper Walker, Esq., M.R.I.A." Dublin, 1788.—TODD.

† *Scythian.*] The originall of the very name of Scythians seemeth to come from shooting. Vide Selden, Annot. in Poly-olb. (ex Gorop. Becan. Beccosel. et Aluredi leg.) p. 122.—SIR JAMES WARE.

as you may see in the said images of the old Scythes or Scots, set forth by Herodianus and others. Besides, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have beene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also adde another strong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often observed there amongst them, that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by sundry authours, to have bin observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were anciently all one. For * Plutarch (as I remember) in his Treatise of Homer, in-deavouring to search out the truth, what countryman Homer was, prooveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian borne, for that in describing a sacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other Grecians (saving the Æolians) use to burne in their sacrifices: also for that he makes the intralls to be roasted on five spits, which was the proper manner of the Æolians, who onely, of all the nations of Grecia, used to sacrificize in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that Homer was an Æolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies which the Scythians anciently used. As for example, you may reade in Lucian in that sweet dialogue, which is intituled Toxaris, or of friendship, that the common oath of the Scythians was † by the sword, and by the fire, for that they
accounted

* *Plutarch.*] Not he, but Herodotus, in the Life of Homer.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *By the sword, and by the fire.*] Lucian hath it, *by the sword, and by the wind.*

accounted those two speciall divine powers, which should worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the Irish at this day, when they goe to battaile, say certain prayers or charmes to their swords, making a crosse therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground; thinking thereby to have the better success in fight. Also they use commonly to sweare by their swords. Also the Scythians used, when they would binde any solemne vow or combination amongst them, * to drinke a bowle of blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrell: and even so do the wild Scotts, as you may read in Buchanan: and some of the Northerne Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certain prayers, and use some other superstitious rites, which shew that they honour the fire and the light: for all those Northerne nations, having been used to be annoyed with much cold and darkenesse, are wont therefore to have the fire and the sunne in great veneration; like as contrarywise the Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the sunne, doe every morning, when the sunne ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may also reade in the same booke, in the Tale of Arsacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to sit in some publicke place for certaine days upon an oxe hide, to which there would resort all such persons as being disposed to take armes would enter into his pay, or joyne with him in his quarrel. And the same you may likewise reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde
Scotts,

Somewhat may be gathered to this purpose out of the * Ulster Annals, where Lægarius (or Lagerius) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken prisoner by the Leinster men, is said to have bin released upon an oath, which was *per solem et ventum*.—SIR JAMES WARE.

* *To drink a bowle of blood together, &c.*] See Mela, lib. 11, cap. 1. Other nations also observed this custom. See Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 74.—TODD.

* An. 458.

Scotts, which are indeed the very naturall Irish. Moreover the Scythians used to sweare by their Kings hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to sweare by their Lords hand, and, to forswear it, holde it more criminall then to sweare by God. Also the Scythians said, That they were once a yeare turned into wolves, and so it is written of the Irish: Though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was * a disease, called Lycanthropia, so named of the wolfe. And yet some of the Irish doe use to make the wolfe their gossip. The Scythians used also to seethe the flesh in the hide: and so doe the Northerne Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof: and so doe the Irish in the North still. Many such customes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing, though Christians have wyped out the most part of them, by resemblance, whereof it might plainly appeare to you, that the nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I finde my speeche drawne out to a greater length then I purposed. Thus much onely for this time I hope shall suffise you, to thinke that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

Eudox. Surely, Irenæus, I have heard, in these few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impossible to have bin spoken of times so remote, and customes so ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced,

* *A disease called Lycanthropia.*] "Amongst these humours of Melancholy, the phisitions place a kinde of madnes, by the Greeks called *Lycanthropia*, termed by the Latines *Insania Lupina*, or *Wolves furie*: which bringeth a man to this point, (as Attomare affirmeth) that in Februarie he will go out of the house in the night like a wolfe, hunting about the graves of the dead with great howling; and plucke the dead mens bones out of the sepulchres, carrying them about the streets, to the great feare and astonishment of all them that meete him: And the foresaid author affirmeth, that melancholike persons of this kinde have pale faces, soaked and hollow eies, with a weak sight, never shedding one tear to the view of the world, &c." *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles*, (a translation from the Italian,) 4to. 1600, p. 19.—TODD.

intranced, and carried so farre from my selfe, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soone. But I marvaile much how it commeth to passe, that in so long a continuance of time, and so many ages come betweene, yet any jot of those olde rites and superstitious customes should remaine amongst them.

Iren. It is no cause of wonder at all; for it is the manner of many nations to be very superstitious, and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities, which they receive by continuall tradition from their parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their songs, and by daylie use and ensample of their elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such customes amongst them, brought likewise from the Spaniards or Gaules, as these from the Scythians? that may sure be very materiall to your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and who that will by this occasion more diligently marke and compare their customes, shall finde many more. But there are fewer remayning of the Gaules or Spaniards then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the Westernne and Southerne Sea, were sithence visited with strangers and forraine people, repayingr thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon those coasts: for the trade and interdeale of sea-coast nations one with another worketh more civilitie and good fashions, (all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions,) then amongst the inland folke, which are seldome seene of forrainers; yet some of such as I have noted I will recount unto you. And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, shaving all his chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans to cut off all their beards close, save onelie their muschachios, which they weare long. And the cause of this use, was for that they, being bred in a hot countrey, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for

which cause they did cut it most away, like as contrarily all other nations, brought up in cold countreys, do use to nourish their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the cause that the Scythians and Scottes wore glibbes (as I shewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I thinke) came saffron shirts and smocks, which was devised by them in those hot countryes, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much sweating, and long wearing of linnen: also the woemen amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all household affaires, both at home and abroad, (as Boemus writeth,) though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise. And so have the Irish woemen the trust and care of all things, both at home and in the field. Likewise round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also, in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. Moreover the manner of their woemens riding on the wrong side of the horse, I meane with their faces towards the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African, for amongst them the woemen (they say) use so to ride: Also the deepe smocke sleive, which the Irish woemen use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should seeme rather to be an old English fashion; for in armory the fashion of the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeede nothing else but a sleive, is fashioned much like to that sleive. And that Knights in auncient times * used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive upon their armes, as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleive of the faire Maide of Asteloth, in a tourney, whereat Queene Gueneuer was much displeased.

Eudox. Your concept is good, and well fitting for things so far growne from certainty of knowledge and learning,
onely

* *Used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive upon their armes.*] See the note on this custom in Colin Clouts come home again.—TODD.

onely upon likelihoods and conjectures. But have you any customes remaining from the Gaules or Brittaines?

Iren. I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them, may finde more. And first the profession of their Bardes was (as Cæsar writeth) usuall amongst the Gaules, and the same was also common amongst the Brittaines, and is not yet altogether left off with the Welsh, which are their posterity. For all the fashions of the Gaules and Brittaines, as he testifieth, were much like. The long darts came also from the Gaules, as you may read in the same Cæsar, and in Jo. Boemus. Likewise the said Jo. Boemus writeth, that the Gaules used swords a handfull broad, and so doe the Irish now. Also they used long wicker shields in battaile that should cover their whole bodies, and so doe the Northerne Irish. But I have not seene such fashioned targets used in the Southerne parts, but onely amongst the Northerne people, and Irish-Scottes, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Also the Gaules used to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themselves therewith. So also they write that the old Irish were wont, and so have I seene some of the Irish doe, but not their enemyes but friends blood. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Limericke, called Murrough O-Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster mother, take up his head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood that runne thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her haire, crying out and shrieking most terribly.

Eudox. You have very well runne through such customes as the Irish have derived from the first old nations which inhabited the land; namely, the Scythians, the Spaniards, the Gaules, and the Brittaines. It now remaineth that you take in hand the customes of the old English which are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that you shall have much cause to finde fault with, considering that, by the English, most of the old bad Irish customes were abolished, and more civill fashions brought in their stead.

Iren. You think otherwise, Eudoxus, then I doe, for the

cheifest abuses which are now in that realme are growne from the English, and some of them are now much more lawlesse and licentious then the very wilde Irish: so that as much care as was then by them had to reforme the Irish, so and much more must now be used to reforme them; so much time doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That seemeth very strange which you say, that men should so much degenerate from their first natures, as to grow wilde.

Iren. So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the English there, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amongst them at the first, and had they not governours to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was, for the most part, such as did more hurt then good; for they had governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adversaries and corrivales one against the other. Who, though for the most part they were but deputies under some of the Kings of Englands sonnes, brethren, or other neare kinsmen, who were the Kings lieutenants, yet they swayed so much, as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldynes, albeit (I must confesse) there were very brave and worthy men, as also of other the Peeres of that realme, made Lo. Deputies and Lo. Justices at sundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conquests and seignories they grew insolent, and bent both that regall authority, and also their private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of themselves, and strengthning of the Irish againe. This you may read plainly discovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewsbury then in England, and remaining yet upon record both in the Towre of London, and also among the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the English Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began, through pride and insolency, to make private warres one against another, and, when either part

was weak, they would wage and draw in the Irish to take their part, by which means they both greatly encouraged and inabled the Irish, which till that time had beene shut up within the Mountaines of Slewlogher, and weakned and disabled themselves, insomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and some of them which are there reckoned to have been able to have spent 12 or 1300 pounds per annum, of old rent, (that I may say no more) besides their commodities of creekes and havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which disorder, and through other huge calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almost now growne like the Irish; I meane of such English, as were planted above towards the West; for the English Pale hath preserved it selfe, thorough nearenes of the state in reasonable civilitie, but the rest which dwelt in Connaght and in Mounster, which is the sweetest soyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, are degenerate, yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their English names, and put on Irish that they might be altogether Irish.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should so farre growe out of frame that they should in so short space, quite forget their countrey and their owne names: that is a most dangerous lethargie, much worse then that of Messala Corvinus, who, being a most learned man, thorough sicknesse forgot his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

Iren. I cannot but by report of the Irish themselves, who report, that the * Mac-mahons in the North, were aunciently English, to wit, descended from the Fitz Ursulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names: Likewise that the Mac-swines, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres in England, but that they themselves, for hatred of English, so disguised their names.

Eudox.

* *Mac-mahons, &c.*] These families of Mac-mahones and Mac-swines are by others held to be of the ancient Irish.—SIR JAMES WARE.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their owne natural countryes, as that they would be ashamed of their name, and byte at the dugge from which they sucked life?

Iren. I wote well there should be none; but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers, as we read Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fled unto the Kings of Asia, and there stirred them up to warre against their country, in which warres they themselves were cheiftaines. So they say did these Mac-swines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz Ursulaes, for private despight, turne themselves against England. For at such time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons warres against King Richard the Second, through the mallice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with his kinsman Fitz-Ursula fled into Ireland, where being prosecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinsman there remaining behinde in Ireland rebelled, and, conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast off both their English name and alleagiance, since which time they have so remained still, and have since beene counted meere Irish. The very like is also reported of the Mac-swines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies of Mounster, how they likewise were aunciently English, and old followers to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earle of Desmond that then was, called Thomas, being through false subornation (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at * Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King: Thereupon all his kinsemen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in revenge of that huge wrong, rose into armes against the King, and utterly renounced

* *Tredagh.*] Others hould that he was beheaded at Tredagh, 15. Febr. 1467, by (the command of) John Tiptoft Earle of Worcester, then Lo. Deputy of Ireland, for exacting of Coyne and Livery. Vid. Camden. Britan. pag. 738. edit. London. an. 1607.—SIR JAMES WARE.

renounced and forsooke all obedience to the Crowne of England, to whom the said Mac-swines, Mac-shehies, and Macmahones, being then servants and followers, did the like, and have ever sithence so continued. And with them (they say) all the people of Mounster went out, and many other of them, which were meere English, thenceforth joyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and customes, which could never since be clean wyped away, but the contagion hath remained still amongst their posterities. Of which sort (they say) be most of the surnames which end in an, as Hernan, Shinan, Mungan, &c., the which now account themselves naturall Irish. Other great houses there be of the English in Ireland, which thorough licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have * degendred from their auncient dignities, and are now growne as Irish, as O-hanlans breech, † as the proverbe there is.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a most shamefull hearing, and to be reformed with most sharpe censures, in so great personages to the terrour of the meaner: for if the lords and cheife men degenerate, what shall be hoped of the peasants, and baser people? And hereby sure you have made a faire way unto your selfe to lay open the abuses of their evill customes, which you have now next to declare, the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the Irish, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivill; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were

* *Degendred.*] This is the manuscript reading, and confirms the use of the word by Spenser on another occasion. See vol. vi. p. 2. The printed copies read *degenerated*.—TODD.

* *As the proverbe there is.*] The Manuscripts belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Stafford add three "most pittiful examples of this sort," then existing; and the mention of them is made in very severe terms. They are "the Lord Bretingham, the great Mortimer, and the old Lord Courcie."—TODD.

were brought in, they should in so long an alteration of time seeme very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all England was in the raigne of Henry the Second, when Ireland was planted with English, very rude and barbarous, so as if the same should be now used in England by any, it would seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day since England grew civill: Therefore in counting the evill customes of the English there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were English or Irish, but will have respect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And first I have to find fault with the abuse of language, that is, for the speaking of Irish among the English, which as it is unnatural that any people should love anothers language more then their owne, so it is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other evils.

Eudox. It seemeth strange to me that the English should take more delight to speake that language then their owne, whereas they should (me thinkes) rather take scorn to acquaint their tongues thereto. For it hath ever beene the use of the conquerour to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the Romans alwayes use, insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world but is sprinkled with their language. It were good therefore (me seemes) to search out the originall cause of this evill; for, the same being discovered, a redresse thereof will the more easily be provided: For I thinke it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the cheife cause of bringing in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially their fostering, and marrying with the Irish, the which are two most dangerous infections; for first the childe that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessity learne his first speach of her, the which being the first inured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though he afterwards be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will allwayes

abide with him; and not onely of the speach, but also of the manners and conditions. For besides that young children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their nurses, whom they love so well, they moreover draw into themselves, together with their sucke, even the nature and disposition of their nurses: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body: and also the words are the image of the minde, so as they proceeding from the minde, the minde must needes be affected with the words. So that the speach being Irish, the heart must needes be Irish: for out of the abundance of the heart the tongue speaketh. The next is the marrying with the Irish, which how dangerous a thing it is in all commonwealthes, appeareth to every simplest sence; and though some great ones have perhaps used such matches with their vassals, and have of them neverthelesse raised worthy issue, as Telamon did with Teemessa, Alexander the Great with Roxane, and Julius Cæsar with Cleopatra, yet the example is so perillous, as it is not to be adventured: for in stead of those few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can such matching succede well, seeing that commonly the childe taketh most of his nature of the mother, besides speach, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the most part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers: for by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish most carefully to be restrayned: for of them two, the third evill that is the custome of language (which I spake of) chiefly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not lawes already provided for avoyding of this evill?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution? for so there is another like law enacted against wearing of the Irish apparell, but neverthemore is it observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they in their private dis-

cretions thinke it not fit to be forced upon the poore wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of English apparell, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the country (say they) doth yeeld no better, and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used, as namely, the mantle in travalling, because there be no innes where meete bedding may be had, so that his mantle serves him then for a bed; the leather quilted jacke in journeying and in camping, for that it is fittest to be under his shirt of mayle, and for any occasion of suddaine service, as there happen may, to cover his trouse on horsebacke; the great linnen roll, which the women weare, to keepe their heads warme, after cutting their haire, which they use in any sicknesse: besides their thicke folded linnen shirts, their long-sleived smocks, their halfe-sleived coates, their silken fillets, and all the rest; they will devise some colour for, either of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comelynesse.

Eudox. But what colour soever they alledge, me thinkes it not expedient, that the execution of a law once ordayned should be left to the discretion of the judge, or officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, it should be fulfilled as well on English as Irish.

Iren. But they thinke this precisenes in reformation of apparell not to be so materiall, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely but it is: for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, and their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the person that is gowned is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and also restrained from lightnes by the very unaptnesse of his weed. Therefore it is written by Aristotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlike nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable life, he changed their apparell and musick, and, in stead of their short warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and, in stead of their warlike musick, appointed to them certaine lascivious layes, and loose jiggs, by which in short space their mindes were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former fiercenesse, and became most tender and effeminate; whereby

it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the minde and conditions. But be these, which you have described, the fashions of the Irish weedes?

Iren. No: all these which I have rehearsed to you, be not Irish garments, but English; for the quilted leather jack is old English: for it was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas apparell and armour, as he went to fight against the gyant, in his robe of shecklaton, which is that kind of guilded leather with which they use to imbroyder their Irish jackets. And there likewise by all that description, you may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truly set forth, in his long hose, his ryding shooes of costly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I surely thought that the manner had beene Irish, for it is far differing from that we have now, as also all the furniture of his horse, his strong brasse bit, his slyding reynes, his shanke pillion without stirrappes, his manner of mounting, his fashion of ryding, his charging of his speare aloft above head, the forme of his speare.

Iren. No sure; they be native English, and brought in by the Englishmen first into Ireland: neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of ryding; for I have heard some great warriors say, that, in all the services which they had seene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man then the Irish man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemely, though he lacke stirrappes, but more ready then with stirrappes; for, in his getting up, his horse is still going, whereby he gayneth way. And therefore the stirrup was called so in scorne, as it were a stay to get up, being derived of the old English word sty, which is, to get up, or mounte.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of ryding? why then would you have the quilted jacked laid away?

Iren. I doe not wish it to be laide away, but the abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was

framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirt of mayle, it is allowable, as also the shirt of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, it is a rude habite and most uncomely, seeming like a players painted coate.

Eudox. But it is worne (they say) likewise of Irish footmen; how doe you allow of that? for I should thinke it very unseemely.

Iren. No, not as it is used in warre, for it is worne then likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the which footmen they call Galloglasses, the which name doth discover them also to be auncient English: for *Gall-ogla* signifies an English servitour or yeoman. And he being so armed in a long shirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad axe in his hand, was then *pedes gravis armaturæ*, and was instead of the armed footeman that now weareth a corslet, before the corslet was used, or almost invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewise allow in your straiter reformation of old customes.

Iren. Both him and the kerne also, (whom onely I take to be the proper Irish souldier,) can I allow, so that they use that habite and custome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the service of their Prince, and not usually at home, and in civile places, and besides doe laye aside the evill and wilde uses which the galloglasse and kerne doe use in their common trade of life.

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marrie those be the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven: for, from the time that they enter into that course, they doe use all the beastly behaviour that may be; they oppresse all men, they spoile aswell the subject as the enemy; they steale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious, swearers, and blasphemers, common ravishers of woemen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. These be most villainous conditions; I marvaile then that they be ever used or employed, or almost suffered to live; what good can there then be in them.

Iren. Yet sure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the most part great indururs of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorner of death.

Eudox. Truely by this that you say, it seemes that the Irishman is a very brave souldier.

Iren. Yea surely, in that rude kinde of service, he beareth himselfe very courageously. But when he commeth to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, he maketh as worthie a souldiour as any nation he meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our discourse of evill customes amongst the Irish.

Eudox. Me thinkes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the customes of the Irish very materially, for their uses in warre are of no small importance to be considered, aswell to reforme those which are evill as to confirme and continue those which are good. But follow you your owne course, and shew what other their customes you have to dislike of.

Iren. There is amongst the Irish a certaine kind of people, called Bardes, * which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rymes, the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certaine other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them.

Eudox.

* *Bardes, which are to them instead of poets.*] The reader, who would wish for all possible information on this point cannot attain his object sooner than by consulting "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, interspersed with anecdotes of, and occasional observations on, the Music of Ireland: By Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq., M.R.I.A." Dublin, 1786. I recommend also, as a proper accompaniment to this ingenious work, the *Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry*, by Miss Brooke.—TODD.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them which I would otherwise have thought to have beene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have beene maintained and augmented amongst them, then to have beene disliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poets have beene had in speciall reputation, and that (me thinkes) not without great cause; for besides their sweete inventions, and most wittie layes, they have alwayes used to set forth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong mindes have oftentimes thorough hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthie men sung and reported unto them, beene stirred up to affect the like commendations, and so to strive to the like deserts. So they say that the Lacedemonians were more excited to desire of honour with the excellent verses of the Poet Tirtæus then with all the exhortations of their Captaines or authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true, that such Poets as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the sweete baite of their numbers, to steale into the yong spirits a desire of honour and vertue, are worthy to be had in great respect. But these Irish Bardes are for the most part of another minde, and so farre from instructing yong men in morall discipline, that they themselves doe more deserve to be sharply disciplined; for they seldome use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomsoever they finde to be most licentious of life, most bolde and lawlesse in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorifie in their rithmes, him they praise to the people, and to yong men make an example to follow.

Eudox. I marvaile what kinde of speeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praise such bad persons as live so lawleslie and licentiouslie upon stealthes and spoyles, as most of them doe, or how can they thinke that any good minde will applaude or approve the same.

Iren. There is none so bad, Eudoxus, but shall finde some to favour his doings; but such licentious partes as these,

tending for the most part to the hurt of the English, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themselves being most desirous thereof, doe most allow. Besides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive and carry away the affection of a yong mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bolde adventures to make prooffe of himselfe; for being (as they all be brought up idely) without awe of parents, without precepts of masters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor employed in any course of life, which may carry them to vertue, will easily be drawne to follow such as any shall set before them; for a yong minde cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some goodnesse, he will finde himselfe such businesse as shall soone busie all about him. In which if he shall finde any to praise him, and to give him encouragement, as those Bardes and rythmers doe for little reward, or a share of a stolen cow, then waxeth he most insolent and halfe madde with the love of himselfe, and his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to vertue it selfe. As of a most notorious thiefe and wicked out-law, which have lived all his life-time of spoyles and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle milke-sops that was brought up by the fire side, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night slugging in a cabbिन under his mantle, but used commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to leade him in the darknesse; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his musick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cryes of people, and clashing of armor; and finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died, that dearly bought his death. Doe you not thinke,

Eudoxus, that many of these praises might be applyed to men of best deserts? yet are they all yeilded to a most notable traytor, and amongst some of the Irish not smally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty crownes.

Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compositions? or be they any thing wittie or well savoured, as poemes should be?

Iren. Yea truely, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their naturall device, which gave good grace and comliness unto them, the which it is great pittie to see so abused, to the gracing of wickednes and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorne and beautifie vertue. This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the Irish Kerne, me thinks the Irish Horse-boyes would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realme they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted is want of convenient innes for lodging of travaillers on horsback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the fry of these * rakehell horse-boyes, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually supplied and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule over-sight) are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoote in a piece,

* *These rakehell horse-boyes.*] These base or outcast horse-boys. Fr. *racaille*. See also F. Q. v. xi. 44. Gabriel Harvey calls Greene "a rakehell, a makeshift, &c." *Four Letters*, &c. 1592. Sign. A. 2. b.—TODD.

piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest, and that is, of their Carrows, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houses, living onely upon cardes and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet will they play for much money, which if they winne, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onely hurt is not, that they themselves are idle lossells, but that thorough gaming they draw others to like lewdnesse and idlenesse. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, and partakers not onely of many stealthes, by setting forth other mens goods to be stolne, but also privy to many traitrous practices, and common carryers of newes, with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed; for they use commonly to send up and downe to knowe newes, and if any meet with another, his second word is, What news? Insomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jest of a French-man, who having beene sometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman, whom he knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curtesie, have you heard any thing of the newes that you so much inquired for in your countrey?

Eudox. This argueth sure in them a great desire of innovation, and therefore these occasions which nourish the same must be taken away, as namely, those Jesters, Carrowes, * *Mona-shules*, and all such straglers, for whom (me thinkes) the short riddance of a Marshall were meeter then an ordinance

* *Mona-shules.*] This is the manuscript reading, and is correct. The printed copies read *Mona-shutes*. *Shuler*, I am told, is a common name for a wandering beggar in Ireland.—Tonn.

ordinance or prohibition to restrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of runnagates, and passe to other customes.

Iren. There is a great use amongst the Irish, to make great assemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they say) about matters and wrongs betweene township and township, or one privat person and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many mischiefes have beene both practised and wrought; for to them doe commonly resort all the scumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they list, which else they could not doe without suspition or knowledge of others. Besides at these meetings I have knowne divers times, that many Englishmen, and good Irish subjects, have bin villanously murdered by moving one quarrell or another against them. For the Irish never come to those raths but armed, whether on horse or on foot, which the English nothing suspecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like sheep in the pin-folde.

Eudox. It may be, Iræneus, that abuse may be in those meetings. But * these round hills and square bawnes, which you see so strongly trenched and throwne up, were (they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that people might assemble themselves therein, and therefore aunciently they were called † Folkmotes, that is, a place of people, to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and townships, which seemeth yet to me very requisite.

Iren. You say very true, Eudoxus, the first making of these high hills, were at first indeed to very good purpose for people to meet; but howsoever the times when they were first made, might well serve to good occasions, as perhaps they did then in England, yet things being since altered, and now Ireland
much

* *These round hills, and square bawnes.*] *Bawn* is evidently used by Spenser for an *eminence*. Of its etymology our lexicographers give no account.—TODD.

† *Folk-motes.*] Vid. Hen. Spelmanni Glossarium.—SIR JAMES WARE.

much differing from the state of England, the good use that then was of them is now turned to abuse; for those hills whereof you speak, were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for two special uses, and built by two several nations. The one is that which you call Folk-motes, which were built by the Saxons, as the word bewraieth, for it signifieth in Saxon, a meeting of folk, and these are for the most part in forme foure square, well intrenched; the others that were round were cast up by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called Danesraths, that is, hills of the Danes, the which were by them devised, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto, in troublesome time, when any trouble arose; for the Danes being but a few in comparison of the * Saxons (in England) used this for their safety; they made those small round hills, so strongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or uproare should happen, they might repaire with all speed unto their owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater strength; for they were made so strong with one small entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient number, they marched to the next fort, and so forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occasions thereof. But besides these two sorts of hills, there were anciētly divers others; for some were raised, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or trophie thereof; others, as monuments of burialls, of the carcasses of all those that were slaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe such round mounts,

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* *Saxons.*] The like reason may be given for the making of such rathes in Ireland, by the Danes or Norwegians. Vid. Gir. Cambr. Topog. Hib. distinct. 3. cap. 37.—SIR JAMES WARE.

as memorialls of them, and sometimes did cast up great heapes of stones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture,) and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long stones on end in compasse, every of which (they say) betokened some person of note there slaine and buried; for this was their auncient custome, before Christianity came in amongst them, that church-yards were inclosed.

Eudox. You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great stones incompassed, which some vainely terme the ould Giants Trevetts, and thinke that those huge stones would not else be brought into order or reared up, without the strength of gyants. And others as vainely thinke that they were never placed there by mans hand or art, but onely remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the washing of the waters, or other like casualty. But let them dreame their owne imaginations to please themselves, you have satisfied me much better, both for that I see some confirmation thereof in the Holy Writt, and also remember that I have read, in many Historyes and Chronicles, the like mounts and stones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great authorities (I assure you) to prove the same, but as for these meetings on hills, whereof we were speaking, it is very inconvenient that any such should be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purposes, as for the countryes to gather together, when there is any imposition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such meetings to deuide upon themselves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at these assemblies, there be any officers, as Constables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there can be no perill, or doubt of such bad practises.

Iren. Neverthelesse, dangerous are such assemblies, whether for cesse or ought else, the Constables and Officers being also of the Irish; and if any of the English happen to be there, even to them they may prove perillous. Therefore for

avoyding of all such evill occasions, they were best to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call cesse? it is a word sure unused amongst us here, therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

Iren. Cesse is none other then that which your selfe called imposition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are cesses of sundry sorts; one is, the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey: For Ireland being a countrey of warre (as it is handled) and alwayes full of souldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the most ease to the Queenes purse, or the most ready meanes at hand for victualing of the souldiour, or that necessity inforceth them thereunto, doe scatter the army abroad in the countrey, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at such vacant times as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwise employed in service. Another kinde of cesse is the imposing of provision for the Governors house-keeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoyding of all the evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no lesse then here in England, or rather much more. The like cesse is also charged upon the countrey sometimes for victualling of the souldiours, when they lye in garrison, at such times as there is none remayning in the Queenes store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed when necessity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtfull and offensive to the poore countrey, and nothing convenient for the souldiours themselves, who, during their lying at cesse, use all kinde of outrageous disorder and villany, both towards the poore men, which victuall and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppresse, spoyle, and afflict by all the meanes they can invent, for they will not onely not content themselves with such victuals as their hostes nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *aqua vita* sent for,

yea and money besides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poore man and his silly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuse, the countrey people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and see, and sometimes feele this outrage, growe into great detestation of the souldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very Government, which draweth upon them such evils: And therefore this you may also joyne unto the former evill customes, which we have to reprove in Ireland.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the least, and though the persons by whom it is used be of better note then the former roguish sort, which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no lesse worthy of a Marshall.

Iren. That were a harder course, Eudoxus, to redresse every abuse by a Marshall: it would seeme to you very evill surgery to cut off every unsound or sicke part of the body, which, being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to the body againe, and haply helpe to save the whole: Therefore I thinke better that some good salve for the redresse of the evill be sought forth then the least part suffered to perish: but hereof we have to speake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongst which there is one generall inconvenience, which raigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is, the Lords of land and Free-holders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeede will the Irish tennant or husbandman otherwise take his land, then so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh, by his continuall liberty of change, to keepe his land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the land-lord will no longer covenant with
him,

him, is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.

Eudox. But what evill commeth hereby to the common-wealth, or what reason is it that any land-lord should not set nor any tennant take his land, as himselfe list?

Iren. Marry, the evils which commeth hereby are great, for by this meanes both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action soever he shall enter, and also the tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occasion of change that shall be offered by time: and so much also the more ready and willing is he to runne into the same, for that he hath no such state in any his houlding, no such building upon any farme, no such coste imployed in fensing or husbanding the same, as might with-hold him from any such willfull course, as his lords cause, or his owne lewde disposition may carry him unto. All which he hath forborne, and spared so much expence, for that he had no firme estate in his tenement, but was onely a tennant at will or little more, and so at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that shall refuse to graunt any such terme or estate unto his tennant, as may tende to the good of the whole realme.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullnes in any land-lord to refuse to make any longer farmes unto their tennants, as may, besides the generall good of the realme, be also greatly for their own profit and availe: For what reasonable man will not thinke that the tenement shall be made much better for the lords behoofe, if the tennant may by such good meanes be drawne to build himselfe some handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and inclose his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmours use? For when his tennants terme shall be expired, it will yeeld him, in the renewing his lease, both a good fine, and also a better rent. And also it shall be for the good of the tennant likewise, who by such buildings and inclosures shall receive many benefits: first, by the handsomenesse of his house, he shall take more

comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his said house neate and cleanelly, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swyne-styes then houses, is the cheifest cause of his so beastly manner of life, and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast in one house, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane strawe, or rather a foule dunghill. And to all these other commodities he shall in short time find a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his cattle in inclosures, where they shall alwayes have fresh pasture, that now is all trampled and over-runne; warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather; safe being, that now are continually filched and stolne.

Iren. You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which, this that you named last is not the least; for, all the other being most beneficiall to the land-lord and tennant, this cheifly redoundeth to the good of the common-wealth, to have the land thus inclosed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from stealing of cattle in the night, and also a gaule against all rebels, and out-lawes, that shall rise up in any numbers against the Governement; for the theife thereby shall have much adoe, first to bring forth and afterwards to drive away his stolne prey, but thorough the common high wayes, where he shall soone be descryed and met withall: And the rebell or open enemy, if any such shall happen, either at home or from abroad, shall easily be found when he commeth forth, and also be well incountered withall by a few, in so straight passages and strong inclosures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all those evill customes before mentioned, is needefull to be remembred. But now by this time me thinkes that I have well run thorough the evill uses which I have observed in Ireland. Neverthesse I well wote that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private abuses of men. But these that are most generall, and tending to the hurt of the common-weale (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as briefly as I could rehearsed unto

you. And therefore now I thinke best that we passe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled these two former, and if ye shall as well go thorough the third likewise, you shall merit a very good meed.

Iren. Little have I to say of religion, both because the parts thereof be not many (it selfe being but one), and my selfe have not much beene conversant in that calling: but as lightly passing by I have seene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in religion is but one, but the same is universall, thoroughout all that country, that is, that they be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed (for the most part) that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. It is not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of Government, that they which now are in the light themselves suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkenesse?

Iren. That which you blame; Eudoxus, is not (I suppose) any fault of will in those godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually beene turmoyled; for instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seeke to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard or rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in the mindes of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have doubtlesse an evill opinion of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meete that some fitter time be attended, that God send peace and quietnesse there in civill matters, before it be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) correction must first
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begin

begin at the house of God, and that the care of the soule should have beene preferred before the care of the body.

Iren. Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and soule matters is to be preferred before the care of the body, in consideration of the worthynesse thereof, but not till the time of reformation; for if you should know a wicked person dangerously sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the preacher before the phisitian? for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasefull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort; but if his body were first recured, and brought to good frame, should there not then be found best time to recover the soule also? So it is in the state of a realme: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a course of government there, as thereby both civill disorders and ecclesiasticall abuses may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as (you suppose) I require, but one joynt resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we shall see when we come thereunto; in the meane time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault, which you suppose in religion, to wit, that it is Popish; but doe you finde no particular abuses therein, nor in the ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes verily; for what ever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may finde there, and many more: Namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousnesse, fleshy incontineney, carelesse sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen: And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner meere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they doe go and live like laymen, follow all kinde of husbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other Irishmen doe. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion, but baptisme they doe, for they christen yet after the Popish fashion, onely they take the

tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their Bishops (I speake of those which are Irish) as they receive them duely.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder but that the Governours doe redresse such shamefull abuses.

Iren. How can they, since they know them not? for the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, so as they may doe to them what they please; for they knowing their owne unworthynesse and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their bishops will, yeeld what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose diocesses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all bestow the benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keepe them in their owne hands, and set their owne servants and horse-boyes to take up the tithes and fruites of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build faire castles upon the same. Of which abuse if any question be moved they have a very seemely colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, but keepe them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is there no law nor ordinance to meet with this mischiefe? nor hath it never before beene looked into.

Iren. Yes, it seemes it hath, for there is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have beene grounded upon a good meaning, That whatsoever Englishman of good conversation and sufficiencie, shall be brought unto any of the bishoppes, and nominated unto any living within their diocesse that is presently voyde, that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any Irish.

Eudox. This is surely a very good law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you speake; but why is not the same observed.

Iren. I thinke it is well observed, and that none of the bishops transgresse the same, but yet it worketh no reformation

tion thereof for many defects. First, there are no such sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to any bishop for any living, but the most part of such English as come over thither of themselves are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. So as the bishop, to whom they shall be presented, may justly reject them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the bishop himselfe is perhappes an Irish man, who being made judge, by that law, of the sufficiencie of the ministers, may at his owne will, dislike of the Englishman, as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any Irish, whom he shall thinke more for his turne. And if he shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom he will not displease, accept of any such English minister as shall be tendred unto him, yet he will under hand carry such a hard hand over him, or by his officers wring him so sore, that he will soone make him weary of his poore living. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of so small profite in those Irish countreyes, thorough the ill husbandrie of the Irish people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeeld any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed (as haply it might be) yet what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life shall he have, where his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usuall be to all the English; or finally, how dare almost any honest minister, that are peaceable civill men, commit his safetie to the handes of such neighbours, as the boldest captaines dare scarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I see) was by that statute wrought, how ever well intended; but the reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance then the commaundement or penaltie of a law, which none dare informe or complain of when it is broken; but have you any more of those abuses in the clergy?

Iren. I would perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my

speech to grow too long, and these may suffice to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the clergy there (excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their * new Colledge,) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone thorough those three first parts which you proposed unto your selfe, to wit, The inconveniences which you observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of that land. The which (me thinkes) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remaine, but so generally as I purposed, that is, to lay open the generall evils of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof; for, to count the particular faults of private men, should be a worke too infinite; yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of sheriffs, and their sub-sheriffs, and bayliffes, the corruption of victuallers, cessors, and purveyors, the disorders of † seneschalls, captaines, and their souldiers, and many such like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may be mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foule abuse, which by the way I may not omit, and that is in captaines, who notwithstanding that they are specially employed to make peace thorough strong execution of warre, yet they doe so dandle their doings, and dallie in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy subdued,

* *New Colledge.*] Trinity Colledge by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Eliz. 3 Martij 1591. The 13. of the same moneth, its first stone was laide by Thomas Smyth, then Mayor of Dublin, and the 9. of Jan. 1593, it first admitted students.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *The disorders of seneschalls.*] *Governours.* See F. Q. iv. i. 12, v. x. 30, vi. i. 15, 25.—TODD.

dued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare lest afterwarde they should need imployment, and so be discharged of pay: for which cause some of them that are layde in garrison, doe so handle the matter, that they will doe no great hurt to the enemyes, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even halfe with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoones they send to the Governour for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed, by cutting off such and such dangerous rebels.

Eudox. Truly this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the Governours.

Iren. But how can the Governour know readily what persons those were, and what the purpose of their killing was? yea and what will you say, if the captaines do justifie this their course by ensample of some of their Governours, which (under Benedicite, I doe tell it to you,) doe practise the like sleight in their governments?

Eudox. Is it possible? Take heed what you say, Irenæus.

Iren. To you onely, Eudoxus, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward trouble of mind to see her Majestie so much abused by some who are put in speciall trust of those great affaires: of which, some being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and suffer them unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) they should seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Majestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the service like a tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for feare lest afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Doe you speake of under magistrates, Iræneus, or principall Governours?

Iren. I doe speake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by triall and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say, there is some blame thereof in

the principall governours, I thinke I might also shew some reasonable prooffe of my speech. As for example, some of them seeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and some mischiefs and troublous practice growing up, which afterwarde may worke trouble to the next succeeding governour, will not attempt the redresse or cutting off thereof, either for feare they should leave the realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth, should receive the same too quiet, and so happily winne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seeke at all to repress that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the rebell, or by treatie of commissioners, or by other like devices, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischiefe, so as it may not breake out in their time of government: what comes afterwards, they care not, or rather wish the worst. This course hath beene noted in some governours.

Eudox. Surely, Irenæus, this, if it were true, should be worthy of an heavy judgment: but it is hardly to be thought, that any governour should so much either envie the good of that realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Majestie who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successour which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nourish it with coloured countenance, or such sinister meanes.

Iren. I doe not certainly avouch so much, Eudoxus; but the sequelle of things doth in a manner proove, and plainly speake so much, that the governours usually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would seeke to excell by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwise. For this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place, will not follow that course of government, how ever good, which his predecessors held, either for disdaine of himselfe, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another mans praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reforme them: the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry

favour with the Irish, and so make his government seeme plausible, as having all the Irish at his commaund: but he that comes after, will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as he will sucke sweete out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poore countrey, which if he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhappes find such crosses, as he shall hardly be able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the disgrace of his predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the governours of late times sufficiently, and in others of former times more manifestly, when the government of that realme was committed sometimes to the Geraldines, as when the House of Yorke had the Crowne of England; sometimes to the Butlers, as when the House of Lancaster got the same. And other whiles, when an English governour was appointed, he perhappes found enemies of both.

Eudox. I am sorry to heare so much as you report, and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the cause of her continuall wretchedness then heeretofore I found, and wish that this inconvenience were well looked into; for sure (me thinks) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the governour then in the governed; as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You say very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of that government which was our first part. It followeth now, that we passe unto the second part, which was of the meanes to cure and redresse the same, which we must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right so, Irenæus: for by that which I have noted in all this your discourse, you suppose, that the whole ordinance and institution of that realmes government, was both at first, when it was placed, evill plotted, and also sithence, thorough other over-sights, came more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto, like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe asunder.

Iren. I doe see, Eudoxus, and as you say, so thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realme be; for it is all in vaine that they now strive and endeavour by faire means and peaceable plotts to redresse the same, without first remmoving all those inconveniences, and new framing (as it were) in the forge, all that is worne out of fashion: For all other meanes will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Irish doe strongly hate and abhorre all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that having beene once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So as now they feare, that if they were again brought under, they should be likewise expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate the English government, according to the saying, "Quem metuunt oderunt:" Therefore the reformation must now be the strength of a greater power.

Eudox. But me thinkes that might be by making of good lawes, and establishing of new statutes, with sharpe penalties and punishments, for amending of all that is presently amisse, and not (as you suppose) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the government, which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you your selfe must needes confesse, and they which have the managing of the realmes whole policy cannot, without great cause, feare and refraine; for all innovation is perillous, insomuch as though it be meant for the better, yet so many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus; all change is to be shunned, where the affaires stand in such sort as that they may continue in quietnes, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we see much otherwise, for every day we perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, insomuch as there is no part now sound or ascertained, but all have their ears upright, wayting when the watch-word shall come, that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I thinke

the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitie, which truly is the death* of one noble person, who being himselfe most stedfast to his soveraigne Queene, and his countrey, coasting upon the South-Sea† stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatnesse, and the assurance of his most immoveable loyaltie: And therefore where you thinke, that good and sound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amisse, you think surely amisse. For it is vain to prescribe lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the realm is first to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to be made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed estate.

Eudox. How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

Iren. Even by the sword; for all these evils must first be cut away by a strong hand, before any good can be planted, like as the corrupt braunches and unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned, and the foule mosse cleansed and scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

Eudox. Did you blame me even now, for wishing of Kerne, Horse-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your selfe now prescribe the same medicine? Is not the sword the most violent redresse that may be used for any evill?

Iren. It is so; but where no other remedie may be devised, nor hope of recovery had, there must needs this violent meanes be used. As for the loose kinde of people which you would have cut off, I blamed it, for that they might otherwise perhaps be brought to good, as namely by this way which I set before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former in effect,
which

* *Of one noble person.*] Meaning Sir Walter Raleigh.—TODD.

† *Stoppeth the ingate.*] *Entrance.* Again; "Those two cities do offer an ingate to the Spaniard most fitly." See also F. Q. iv. x. 12.—TODD.

which you found fault with, save onely this odds, that I said by the halter, and you say by the sword? what difference is there?

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand it; for by the sword which I named, I did not meane the cutting off all that nation with the sword, which farre be it from me, that I should ever thinke so desperately, or wish so uncharitably; but by the sword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it selfe forth in the chiefest strength to the redressing and cutting off those evils, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people, by good ordinances and government, may be made good; but the evill that is of it selfe evill, will never become good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wish that sword, which you mean, to be used to the reformation of all those evils.

Iren. The first thing must be to send over into that realme, such a strong power of men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious route and loose people, which either doe now stand out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, spoyling the good subjects.

Eudox. You speake now, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majestie, to send over such an army, as should tread downe all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land, for there is now but one out-law of any great reckoning, to wit, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, against whom, you see what huge charges she hath beene at this last yeare, in sending of men, providing of victualls, and making head against him; yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemy nevertheless brought into no more subjection then he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an incouragement to all like lewdlie disposed traytors, that shall dare to lift up their heele against their Sovereigne Lady. Therefore it were hard counsell to drawe

such an exceeding great charge upon her, whose event should be so uncertaine.

Iren. True indeede, if the event should be uncertaine, but the certainty of the effect hereof shall be so infallible, as that no reason can gainesay it, neither shall the charge of all this army (the which I demaund) be much greater, then so much as in these last two yeares warres have vainely been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coste the Queene above 200000 pounds already, and for the present charge, that she is now at there, amounteth to very neere 12000 pounds a moneth, whereof cast you the accompt; yet nothing is done. The which summe, had it beene employed as it should be, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

Eudox. How meane you to have it employed, but to be spent in the pay of souldiours, and provision of victualls?

Iren. Right so, but it is now not disbursed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000 pounds; so as the soldiour in the meane time for want of due provision of victual, and good payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of a 1000 which came over lusty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the lesse, but what is not payd in present money, is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpaid; for the Captaine, halfe of whose souldiours are dead, and the other quarter never mustered, nor seene, comes shortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where by good meanes of some great ones, and privy shareings with the officers and servants of other some, he receiveth his debt, much lesse perhaps than was due, yet much more indeede then he justly deserved.

Eudox. I take this sure to be no good husbandry; for what must needs be spent, as good spend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, seeing that thereby both the service is much hindred, and yet nothing saved: but it may be, Irenæus, that the Queenes treasure in so great occasions of dibursements (as it is well knowne she hath beene at lately) is not alwayes so ready, nor

so plentifull, as it can spare so great a summe together, but being payed as it is, now some, and then some, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impoverishment to her coffers, seeing by such delay of time, it daylie commeth in, as fast as she parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you say, but for the going thorough of so honorable a course I doubt not but if the Queenes coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole realme which now, as things are used, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hanging upon their backes, would for a small riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all their shoulders, and helping hands and hearts also, to the defraying of that charge, most gladly and willingly; and surely the charge in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good, which should come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generally, as when time serveth shall be shewed.

Eudox. How many men would you require to the furnishing of this which ye take in hand? and how long space would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily not above 10000 footmen, and a 1000 horse, and all these not above the space of a yeare and a halfe; for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other provision for them as I will shew.

Eudox. Surely it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have them used? would you leade forth your army against the enemy, and seeke him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, Eudoxus; that would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flying enemy, hiding himselfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straight passage or perillous foord, where he knowes the army must needs passe; there will he lye in waite, and, if he finde advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled souldiour. Therefore to seeke him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly be found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would devide my men in garrison upon his countrey, in such places as I should thinke might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, Irenæus, with so few men? for the enemie, as you now see, is not all in one country, but some in Ulster, some in Connaught, and others in Leinster. So as to plant strong garrisons in all those places should need many more men then you speake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the spoyle.

Iren. I would wish the chiefe power of the army to be garrisoned in one countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest: As for example, the Earle of Tyrone is now accompted the strongest, upon him would I lay 8000 men in garrison, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon some parts of Connaght, to be at the direction of the governour.

Eudox. I see now all your men bestowed, but what places would you set their garrison that they might rise out most conveniently to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the mappe of Ireland, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my schoole-masters, to guide my understanding to judge of your plot.

Iren. Those eight thousand in Ulster I would devide likewise into foure parts, so as there should be 2000 footemen in every garrison; the which I would thus place. Upon the Blacke water, in some convenient place, as high upon the river as might be, I would lay one garrison. Another would I put at Castle-liffer, or thereabouts, so as they should have all the passages upon the river to Logh-foyle. The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bundroise, so as they might lye betweene Connaght and Ulster, to serve upon both sides, as occasion shall be offered, and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most inforced, and most imployed, and that they might put wardes at Balli-shanon and Belick, and all those passages. The last would I set about Monaghan or Balturbut, so as it should fronte both upon the enemie that way, and also keepe the countyes of Cavan and Meath in awe, from passage of straglers from those parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to worke much mischeife. And to every of these garrisons

of 2000 footemen, I would have 200 horsemen added, for the one without the other can doe but little service. The 4 garrisons, thus being placed, I would have to be victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will say to be hard, considering the corruption and usuall waste of victualls. But why should not they be aswell victualled for so long time, as the ships are usually for a yeare, and sometimes two, seeing it is easier to keepe victual on land then water? Their bread I would have in flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary want. Their beere there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their beefe before hand barrellled, the which may be used but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but fresh victualls they will sometimes purvay for themselves, amongst their enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of hose and shooes, with such other necessities as may be needefull for souldiours, so as they should have no occasion to looke for releife from abroad, or occasion of such trouble, for their continuall supply, as I see and have often proved in Ireland to be more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that releive them, then halfe the leading of an army; for the enemy, knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their releife must be brought them, useth commonly to draw himselfe into the straight passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distresse them; besides the pay of such force as should be sent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the countrey shall be spared. But onely every halfe yeare the supply brought by the Deputy himselfe, and his power, who shall then visite and overlooke all those garrisons, to see what is needefull to change, what is expedient, and to direct what he shall best advise. And those 4 garrisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have intelligence or espiall upon the enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall finde no where safe to keepe his creete in, nor hide himselfe, but flying from the fire shall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in short space his creete, which is his cheife sustenance, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving,

or starved for want of pasture in the woods, and he himselfe brought so lowe, that he shall have no heart nor ability to indure his wretchednesse, the which will surely come to passe in very short time; for one winter well followed upon him will so plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter time fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most employments be in summer, and the armies then led commonly forth?

Iren. It is surely misconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countryes, where the warres flame most in summer, and the helmets glister brightest in the fairest sunshine: But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the aire is sharpe and bitter, to blowe thorough his naked sides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yeeld him flesh, nor if he keepe them, will they give him food, besides being all with calfe (for the most part) they will, thorough much chāsing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should relieve him the next summer.

Eudox. I doe well understand your reason; but by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were outlawes: That in summer they kept themselves quiet, but in winter they play their parts, and when the nights were longest, then burne and spoyle most, so that they might safely returne before day.

Iren. I have likewise heard, and also seene prooffe thereof true: But that was of such outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited countryes, as in Mounster, or bordering on the English pale, as Feagh Mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Moors, the Dempsies, or such like: For, for them the winter indeede is the fittest time for spoyling and robbing, because the nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the countryes round about are then most full of corne, and good provision to be gotten every where by them, but it

is farre otherwise with a strong peopled enemy, that possesse a whole countrey; for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by some of their privy friends, to whom they bring their spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continually receive secret releife; but the open enemy having all his countrey wasted, what by himselfe, and what by the souldiours, findeth them succour in no place: Townes there are none, of which he may get spoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in summer: Flesh he hath, but if he kill it in winter, he shall want milke in summer, and shortly want life. Therefore if they be well followed but one winter, you shall have little worke with them the next summer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the winter time is there fittest for service; withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the service, by drawing suddaine draughts upon the enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him, as he doth upon you. By which straight keeping of them in, and not suffering them at any time long to rest, I must needes thinke that they will soone be brought lowe, and driven to great extreamities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very last cast, suppose that they will offer, either to come to you and submit themselves, or that some of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is your advice to doe? will you have them received?

Iren. No, but at the beginning of those warres, and when the garrisons are well planted, and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge: That what persons soever would within twenty dayes absolutely submit themselves, (excepting onely the very principalls and ring-leaders,) should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of these garrisons, such a terrour and neere consideration of their perillous state, would be stricken into most of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their leaders. And againe I well know that the rebells themselves (as I saw by proof in Desmonds warres) will turn away all

their rascall people, whom they think unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, (which they call churles.) which would onely waste their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde; but their cattle they will surely keepe away: These therefore, though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other rebels, yet in a pittypfull commiseration I would wish them to be received; the rather for that this sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand rebels into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the streame, else they should be sure to loose all that they have, and perhaps their lives too: The which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong rebels themselves, soone turned out of all, so that the constraint hereof may in them deserve pardon. Likewise if any of their able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steale them away privily, I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the enemy, but withall, that good assurance may be taken for their true behaviour and absolute submission, and that then they be not suffered to remaine any longer in those parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away into the inner parts of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily return if they would: For if they might be suffered to remaine about the garrisons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to till the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their cattle, to the Coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) be ever after such a gaule and inconvenience to them, as that their profit shall not recompence their hurt; for they will privily releive their friends that are forth; they will send the enemy secret advertisements of all their purposes and journeyes, which they meane to make upon them; they will not also sticke to drawe the enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the forte it selfe, by discovery of all her defects and disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof

and many other inconveniencies, I wish that they should be carried farre from thence into some other parts, so that (as I say) they come in and submit themselves, upon the first summons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which will afterwards remaine without, are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, and being acquainted with spoyle and out-rages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, so as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needefull to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of such desperate persons, as will follow the course of their owne folly, there is no compassion to be had, and for others you have proposed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deserved; but what then shall be the conclusion of this warre? for you have prefixed a short time of its continuance.

Iren. The end will (I assure me) be very short and much sooner then can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the souldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they would quickly consume themselves, and devoure one another. The prooffe whereof, I saw sufficiently exampled in these late warres of Mounster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they should have beene able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchednesse, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner
* of the woods and glynnnes, they came creeping forth upon
their

* *Of the woods and glynnnes.*] *Glens*, that is, dales or vallies; here spelt in the original edition *glynnnes* perhaps in conformity to the Irish pronunciation. So *pen* was accustomed, in the same country, to be pronounced *pin*. See *Castle Rack-Ren an Hibernian Tale*, &c. p. 77.—TODD.

their hands, for their legges could not beare them; * they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddainely left voyde of man and beast; yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to be wondred how it should so shortly come to passe.

Iren. It is most true, and the reason also very ready; for you must conceive that the strength of all that nation, is the Kerne, Galloglasse, Stocah, Horseman, and Horseboy, the which having beene never used to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon spoyle of others, make no spare of any thing, but havocke and confusion of all they meet with, whether it be their owne friends goods, or their foes. And if they happen to get never so great spoyle at any time, the same they waste and consume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in spoyle, though it doe themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the souldier when he commeth there, spoyleth and havocketh likewise, so that betweene both nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to be done for the soone finishing of the warre, and not only this in this wise, but also those subjects which doe border upon those parts, are either to be removed and drawne away, or likewise to be spoiled, that the enemy
may

* *They looked like anatomies of death.*] Thus Shakspeare, in his Comedy of Errors :

"They brought one Pinch, a hungry lean-faced villain,

A mere anatomy, a mountebank, &c.

A needy hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch,

A living dead man."—TODD.

may find no succour thereby. For what the souldier spares, the rebell will surely spoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this passe, and all filled with these ruefull spectacles of so many wretched carcasses starving, goodly countreys wasted, so huge desolation and confusion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and do picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commiserate it. If it shall happen, that the state of this miserie and lamentable image of things shall be tolde, and feelingly presented to her Sacred Majestie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most inclinable to such pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare such tragedies made of her poore people and subjects, as some about her may insinuate; then she perhappes, for very compassion of such calamities, will not onely stoppe the streame of such violence, and returne to her wonted mildnesse, but also conne them little thankes which have been the authours and counsellours of such bloodie platformes. So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord Grey, when after long travell, and many perillous assayes, he had brought things almost to this passe that you speake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have beene brought to what her Majestie would, like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her subjects no more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she hath nothing almost left, but to raigne in their ashes; eare was soon lent therunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the noble Lord eft-soones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counsells plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it, upon which * all former purposes were blanked, the governour at a bay, and not only all that
great

* *All former purposes were blanked.*] *Confounded or disappointed.* So Shakspere, in *Hamlet*:

"Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy."—TORD.

great and long charge which she had before beene at quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane frustrated. All which, whether it be true or no, your self can well tell.

Iren. Too true, Endoxus, the more the pittie, for I may not forget so memorable a thing: neither can I be ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived by sowing first dissension betweene him, and an other noble personage; wherein they both at length found how notably they had been abused, and how thereby under hand this universall alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same; for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor, and great toyle, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the necessitie of that present state of things inforced him to that violence, and almost changed his naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwarde his accusers, had tasted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to be his accusers. But his course indeede was this, that he spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practises or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for ensamples sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof be reclaymed, and saved, if it were possible. For in the last conspiracy of *some of the English Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guiltie than they that felt the punishment? yet he touched only a few of speciall note; and in the tryall of them also even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and
seeking

* *Some of the English Pale.*] Consulas (si placet) Camden. annal. rerum Anglic. et Hiber. ad an. 1580.—SIR J. WARE.

seeking their blood, which he, as in his great wisdom (as it seemeth) did fore-see would be objected against him; he, for avoyding thereof, did use a singular discretion and regard. For the jury that went upon their tryall, he made to be chosen out of their nearest kinsmen, and their Judges he made of some of their owne fathers, of others their uncles and dearest friends, who when they could not but justly condemne them, yet he uttered their judgment in abundance of teares, and yet he even herein was called bloody and cruell.

Eudox. Indeed so have I heard it heere often spoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was most unjustly, for he was alwayes knowne to be a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from such sternenesse, farre from such unrighteousnesse. But in that sharpe execution of the Spaniards, at the fort of Smerwicke, I heard it specially noted, and if it were true as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in honour, for some say that he promised them life; others at least he did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue; for this I can assure you, my selfe being as neare them as any, that he was so farre either from promising, or putting them in hope, that when first their Secretarie (called, as I remember) Signior Jeffrey, an Italian, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their * Coronell named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreat that they might part with their armes like souldiers, at the least with their lives according to the custome of warre, and law of nations; it was strongly denyed him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie himselfe, that they could not justly pleade either custome of warre, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemies, and if they were, he willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another Princes dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the
King

* *Coronell.*] The old word for *Colonel*. See Cotgrave in V. "A coronell or colonell."—TOWN.

King of Spaine, or any other; the which when they said they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroad, and to serve in warres amongst the Irish, who desired to entertaine them; it was then tolde them, that the Irish themselves, as the Earle and John of Desmond, with the rest were no lawfull enemies; but rebells and traytours; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better then rogues and runnagates, specially comming with no licence, nor commission from their owne King: So as it should be dishonourable for him in the name of his Queene, to condition or make any tearmes with such rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yeeld and submit themselves, or no: Whereupon the said Coronell did absolutely yeeld himselfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being not thought good to shew them, for daunger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwards joyne with the Irish; and also for terrour to the Irish, who are much imboldened by those forraigne succours, and also put in hope of more ere long: there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruely and maliciously doe these evill tongues backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable personage, whose least virtue of many most excellent that abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

Eudox. Truely, Irenæus, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you, in that I have often heard questioned, and yet was never able till now, to choake the mouth of such detractours, with the certaine knowledge of their slanderous untruthes, neither is the knowledge hereof impertinent to that which we formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough prosecuting of that sharpe course which you have set downe for the bringing under of those rebells of Ulster and Connaught, and preparing a way for their perpetual reformation, least haply, by any such sinister suggestions of crueltie and too much blood-shed, all the plot might be overthrowne, and all the coste and labour therein employed be utterly lost and cast away.

Iren. You say most true; for, after that Lords calling away

from thence, the two Lords Justices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his predecessors, but that he was curbed and restrayned. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willing to have all the wounds of that common-wealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they should be. After, when Sir John Perrot succeeding (as it were) into another mans harvest, found an open way to what course he list, the which he bent not to that point which the former governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorne of the former, and in vain vaunt of his owne counsell, with the which he was too wilfully carried; for he did treade downe and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that he could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein he thought much amisse,) or privily plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared; but surely his manner of government could not be sound nor wholesome for that realme, it being so contrary to the former. For it was even as two physicians should take one sicke body in hand, at two sundry times: of which the former would minister all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly againe, whereof what is to be looked for but a most daungerous relapse? That which we now see thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerously sicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must be fore-seen and assured, that after once entering into this course of reformation, there be afterwards no remorse nor drawing backe for the sight of any such ruefull objects, as must thereupon followe, nor for compassion of their calamities, seeing that by no other meanes it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrisons, and to direct their services, of the which nevertheless I must needs conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction set downe, so that they must follow the

occasions which shall be daylie offered, and diligently awayted. But by your leave, Irenæus, notwithstanding all this your carefull fore-sight and provision (me thinkes) I see an evill lurke unespied, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great service, if it be not very well looked into, and that is, the corruption of their captaines; for though they be placed never so carefully, and their companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discarde whom they please, and send away such as will perhappes willingly be ridde of that dangerous and hard service, the which (well I wote) is their common custome to doe, when they are layde in garrison, for then they may better hide their defaults then when they are in campe, where they are continually eyed and noted of all men. Besides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they say) detain the greatest portions thereof at their pleasure, by a hundred shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the souldier, and abuse the Queene, and greatly hinder the service. So that let the Queene pay never so fully, let the muster-master view them never so diligently, let the deputy or generall looke to them never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore me thinkes it were good, if it be possible, to make provision for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very hard; but the chieftest helpe for prevention hereof must be the care of the coronell that hath the government of all his garrison, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of the sick souldiers, and the slaine, to marke and observe their rankes in their daylie rising forth to service, by which he cannot easily be abused, so that he himselfe be a man of speciall assurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to be had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by any meanes, that the captaines should have the paying of their souldiers, but that there should be a pay-master appointed, of speciall trust, which should pay every man according to his captaines ticket, and the accompt of the clerke of his band, for by this meanes the captaine will never seeke to falsifie his alterations, nor to diminish his company,

nor to deceive his souldiers, when nothing thereof shall be sure to come unto himselfe, but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the Spaniards captaine, who never hath to meddle with his souldiers pay, and indeed scorneth the name as base, to be counted * his souldiers pagadore; whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a passe, that there is no captaine, but thinkes his band very sufficient, if he can muster 60: and stickes not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a captainship, that cannot make it worth 500*l*. by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the prooffe.

Eudox. Truely I thinke this a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of captaines abuses. But what say you to the coronell? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or safe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all these to be limited with very straite instructions. As first for protections, that he shall have authority after the first proclamation, for the space of twentie dayes, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their safe conduct or passe, to be at his disposition, but so as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be presently sent away out of the countrey, to the next sheriffe, and so conveyed in safetie. And likewise for martiall lawe, that to the souldier it be not extended, but by tryall formerly of his crime, by a jury of his fellow souldiers as it ought to be, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometimes seene too lightly. And as for other of the rebells that shall light into their handes, that they be well aware of what condition they be, and what holding they have. For, in the last generall warres there, I knew many good freeholders executed by martiall law, whose landes were thereby saved to their heires, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the great discretion and uprightness of the coronell

* *His souldiers pagadore.*] *Pagador*, Spanish; a paymaster or treasurer.—TODD.

coronell himselfe is to be the cheifest stay both for all those doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

Eudox. Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himselfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the time of these warres, should offer to come in and submit himselfe to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himselfe?

Iren. No, marrie; for there is no doubt but he will offer to come in, as he hath done diverse times already, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shewed; neither indeed can he now, if he would, come in at all, nor give that assurance of himselfe that should be meete: for being as he is very subtle headed, seeing himselfe now so farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission, he can purchase to himselfe any safetie, but that heereafter, when things shall be quieted, these his villanies will be ever remembered? and whensoever he shall treade awry, (as needes the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will be taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon and he brought to a reckoning for all former matters; besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himselfe to subjection, that having once set before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto not onely found encouragement from the greatest King in Christendome, but also found great faintnes in her Majesties withstanding him, whereby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whensoever he please, let every reasonable man judge. But if he himselfe should come and leave all other, his accomplices without, as O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the rest, he must needs thinke that then even they will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their trouble giveth them the slip; whereby he must needes perceive how impossible it is for him to submit himselfe. But yet if he would so doe, can he give any good assurance of his obedience? For how weak hould is there by hostages, hath too often beene proved,

and that which is spoken of taking Shane O-Neales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him, is a very perillous counsaile, and not by any meanes to be put in prooffe; for were they let forth and could overthrow him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what assurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in *Æsop*, of the wild horse, who, having enmity with the stagge, came to a man to desire his ayde against his foe, who yeelding thereunto mounted upon his backe, and so following the stagge, ere long slew him, but then when the horse would have him alight he refused, but ever after kept him in his subjection and service. Such I doubt would be the prooffe of Shane O-Neales sonnes. Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such plot; for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: For when the last O-Neale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to stand upon some tickle termes, this fellow then, called Baron of Dungannon, * was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queene so far, as that he is now able to keepe her selfe play: much like unto a gamester that having lost all, borroweth of his next fellow-gamester somewhat to maintaine play, which he setting unto him againe, shortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then set up at first by the Queene (as you say) and now become so undutifull?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most outcast of all the O-Neales then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the dust, to that he hath now wrought himselfe unto, and now he playeth like the frozen snake, who being for compassion releived by the husbandman, soone after he was warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He surely then deserveth the punishment of that snake, and should worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales sonnes against him

* Was set up as it were to beard him.] To affront him. See F. Q. vi. v. 12, and the note thereto.—TODD.

him, what say you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in Scotts, to serve against him? how like you that advice?

Iren. Much worse then the former; for who that is experienced in those parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are neearely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they use to have all their succours of those Scottes and Redshankes: Besides all these Scottes are, through long continuance, intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the North? * so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old friends and kinsmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Doe we not all know, that the Scottes were the first inhabitants of all the North, and that those which now are called the North Irish, are indeed † very Scottes, which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey, to be their owne aunciently: This then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire: For the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the North, must be to keepe out those Scottes.

Eudox. Indeede I remember, that in your discourse of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the Scythians or Scottes were the first that sate downe in the North, whereby it seemes that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then that O-Neale claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone saith that the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein? for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre against him, whose successe useth commonly to be according to the justnes of the cause, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that seigniory (me thinkes) it should be wrong to thrust him out; Or if (as I remember) you said in the beginning, that

* *So that there is no hope, &c.*] The causes of these feares have been amputated, since the happy union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty.—
SIR JAMES WARE.

† *Very Scottes.*] Vide Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.—SIR JAMES WARE.

that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his leige Lord and Sovereigne, did, as he alleadgeth) reserve in the same submission his seigniories and rights unto himselfe, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of O-Neale in the seigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land to themselves and their heires and successours for ever, so as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he received backe from them, O-Neale himselfe never had any ancient seigniory over that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whose lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-soones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (soone after) fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that countrey of the North, nor restraine the insolency of O-Neale; who, finding none now to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himself Lord of those few people that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he list; so that now to subdue or expell an usurper, should be no unjust enterprise or wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better satisfie them, whom I have often heard to object these doubts, and slaunderously to barke at the courses which are held against that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus settled your service for Ulster and Connaght, I would be glad to heare your opinion for the prosecuting of Feagh Mac Hugh, who being but a base villaine, and of himselfe of no power, yet so continually troubleth the state, notwithstanding that he lyeth

under their nose, that I disdaine his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greatest indignity to the Queene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe to play such *Rex*, and by his ensample not onely to give heart and incouragement to all such bad rebels, but also to yeeld them succour and refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comericke, whereof I would first wish before you enter into your plot of service against him, that you should lay open by what meanes he, being so base, first lifted himselfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queene and her power, notwithstanding all that hath beene done and attempted against him. And whether also he have any pretence of right in the lands which he houldeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the same?

Iren. I will so, at your pleasure, and will further declare, not only the first beginning of his private house, but also the originall of the Sept of the Birnes and Tooles, so farre as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading: The people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed unto you my conjecture) descended from the auncient Brittaines, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken; for * *Brin* in the Brittish language signifieth woody, and *Toole* hilly, which names it seemeth they tooke of the countreyes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the comming in of the English with † *Dermot ni-Gall*, they have continued: Whether that their countrey being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought unworthy the inhabiting,

OR

* *Brin* in the Brittish language signifieth woody.] In Richard Creagh's booke *De Lingua Hibernica*, there is a very plentiful collection of Irish words, derived from the Brittish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the authors opinion, in houlding that the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs, with other the ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally British Colonyes.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *Dermot ni-Gall*.] Dermot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, who was surnamed *ni-Gall*, as being a friend to the English, and chiefe instrument in inciting them to the conquest of Ireland.—SIR JAMES WARE.

or that they were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their lands, as unfit for any other, yet it seemeth, that in some places of the same they have put foote, and fortified with sundry castles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all that state; and now lately through the boldnes and late good successe of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are so farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whose necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this Feagh's right unto that countrey which he claimes, or the seigniory therein, it is most vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Dermot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, unto Strongbowe with his daughter, and which Strongbowe gave over unto the King and his heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her Majesty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in * O Brin, which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his auncestours were but followers unto O Brin; and his grandfather Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meanest regard amongst them, neither having wealth nor power. But his sonne Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fastnes of Glan-Malor, which adjoyneth unto his house of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the succour of that glynne, as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himselfe a great name thereby amongst the Irish, in whose footing this his sonne continuing, hath, through many unhappy occasions, increased his said name, and the opinion of his greatnes, insomuch that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himselfe of so meane condition, hath through his owne hardinesse lifted
himselfe

* O Brin.] Or O-Birne.—SIR JAMES WARE

himselfe up to the height, that he dare now front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of such a base varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill, beginneth now to overcrow so high mountaines, and make himselfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebells that will reparaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now so dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him downe as some suppose?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to be made of him; for had he ever beene taken in hand when the rest of the realme (or at least the parts adjoyning) had been quiet, as the honourable gent. that now governeth there (I meane Sir William Russell) * gave a notable attempt thereunto, and had worthily performed it, if his course had not beene crossed unhappily, he could not have stood 3 moneths, nor ever have looked up against a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Moores in Leix, the Cavenaghes in the county of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the county of Kilkenny, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his countrey, as to a strong hould, where they thinke to be safe from all that prosecute them: And from thence they doe at their pleasures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well peopled countryes, as the counties of Dublin, of Kildare, of Catherlagh, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoiles whereof they victuall and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short time be starved, and sore pined; so that what he is of himselfe, you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then by so much as I gather out of your speech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, should be to keepe him from invading of those countryes adjoyning, which (as I suppose) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of those next borders away,
and

* *Gave a notable attempt thereunto.*] Vide Camdeni annales, sub finem anni 1594.
—SIR JAMES WARE.

and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting garrisons upon all those frontiers about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may set upon him and shorten his returne.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudoxus, but for that the dispeopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which you speake of, should be a great confusion and trouble aswell for the unwillingnesse of them to leave their possessions, as also for placing and providing for them in other countreyes, (me thinkes) the better course should be by planting of garrisons about him, which whensoever he shall looke forth, or be drawne out with the desire of the spoyle of those borders, or for necessity of victuall, shall be alwayes ready, to intercept his going or comming.

Eudor. Where then doe you wish those garrisons to be planted that they may serve best against him, and how many in every garrison?

Iren. I my selfe, by reason that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct so dangerous affaires, but onely as I understood by the purposes and plots, which the Lord Gray who was well experienced in that service, against him did lay downe: To the performance whereof he onely required 1000 men to be laid in 6 garrisons, that is, at Ballinecor 200 footemen and 50 horsemen, which should shut him out of his great glynne, whereto he so much trusteth; at Knockelough 200 footemen and 50 horsemen, to answere the county of Catherlagh; at Arclo or Wicklow 200 footemen and 50 horsemen to defend all that side towards the sea. In Shillelagh 100 footemen which should cut him from the Cavenaghcs, and the county of Wexford; and about the three castles 50 horsemen, which should defend all the county of Dublin; and 100 footemen at Talbots Towne, which should keepe him from breaking out into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his necke on that side: The which garrisons so laide, will so busie him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stirre forth abroad but he shall be had; as for his creete they cannot be above ground, but they must needes fall into their hands or starve, for he hath no fastnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the Moores, Butlers, and Cava-

naghes, they will soone leave him, when they see his fastnes and strong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you set downe for the services and risings out of these garrisons?

Iren. None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good espialls, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant, bayting him. And this (I assure my selfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yeare, which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shall thereby be purchased to that realme, and the great good which should grow to her Majesty, should (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprise.

Eudox. You have very well (me thinkes), Irenæus, plotted a course for the atchieving of those warres now in Ireland, which seems to ask no long time, nor great charge, so as the effecting thereof be committed to men of sure trust, and sound experience, aswell in that country, as in the manner of those services? for if it be left in the hands of such rawe captaines, as are usually sent out of England, being thereunto onely preferred by friendship, and not chosen by sufficiency, it will soone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that such captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that country, and been at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For otherwise being brought and transferred from other services abroad, as in France, in Spain, and in the Low-countrys, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great losse to her Majesty, either by hazarding of their companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by losing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but

short, in which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captains; it seemes, Irenæus, that you barre them from the credit of this service: but (to say truth) me thinkes it were mete, that any one before he came to be a captaine, should have beene a souldiour; for, "*Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare.*" And besides there is great wrong done to the old souldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him, is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting captains, into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the warre, and brought all things to that low ebbe which you speake of, what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate estate, in which (me thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment and new commonwealth which you have conceived of, by which so great good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured peace be confirmed? for that is it whereunto we are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long sithence made weary with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the strong endurance of so many complaints, so many delayes, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) arise; unto the which before we come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you should take some order for the souldiour, which is now first to be discharged and disposed of, some way: the which if you doe not well fore-see, may growe to as great inconvenience as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand souldiours, which from thenceforth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but must either seeke service and imployment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else perhaps implôy themselves heere at home, as may be discommodious.

Iren. You say very true, and it is a thing much mislyked in this our common-wealth, that no better course is taken for such as have been employed in service, but that returning, whether maymed, and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole

and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to set the hang-man on worke. But that needeth another consideration; but to this which we have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the souldiour so at randome, or to leave that waste realme so weak and destitute of strength, which may both defend it against others that might seeke then to set upon it, and also to keepe it from that relapse which I before did fore-cast. For it is one speciall good of this plot, which I would devise, that 6000 souldiours of these whom I have now imployed in this service, and made thoroughly acquainted both with the state of the countrey and manners of the people, should henceforth be still continued, and for ever maintayned of the countrey, without any charge to her Majestie; and the rest that either are olde, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seene many souldiours after the service to prove very good husbands, should be placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at such rate, or rather better then others, to whom the same shall be set out.

Eudox. Is it possible, Irenæus? can there be any such meanes devised, that so many men should be kept still in her Majesties service, without any charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great good, both to her Highnes to have so many olde souldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpose soever she list to imploy them, and also to have that land thereby so strengthned, that it shall neither feare any forraine invasion, nor practise which the Irish shall ever attempt, but shall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience.

Iren. It is so indeed. And yet this truly I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will also soone appeare unto you. And first we will speake of the North part, for that the same is of more weight and importance. So soone as it shall appeare that the enemy is brought downe, and the stout rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchednesse, that he is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions, which I assure my selfe will be before the end of the second winter, I wish that there

be a generall proclamation made, that whatsoever out-lawes will freely come in, and submit themselves to Her Majesties mercy shall have liberty so to doe, where they shall either finde that grace they desire, or have leave to returne again in safety; upon which it is likely that so many as survive, will come in to sue for grace, of which who so are thought meet for subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or else all of them (for I thinke that all will be but a very few): upon condition and assurance that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Majesties ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to such conditions as shall be thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt, but that they will all most readily, and upon their knees submit themselves, by the prooffe of that which I have seene in Mounster. For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as after-wardes many of them were denyed to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that case who will not accept almost of any conditions, rather than dye of hunger and miserie?

Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what be the conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an assurance of life and liberty?

Iren. So soone then as they have given the best assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principall men to remaine in hostage one for another, and some other for the rest, for other surety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, since then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stripped quite of all their warrelike weapons, and then, these conditions set downe and made knowne unto them, that they shall be placed in Leinster, and have land given them to occupy and to live upon, in such sort as shall become good subjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to

apply themselves to honest trades of civility, as they shall every one be found meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then a Gods name will you place them in Leinster? or will you finde out any new land there for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. No, I will place them all in the countrey of the Birnes and Tooles, which Pheagh Mac Hugh hath, and in all the landes of the Cavanaghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Majestie thereabouts, which I know to be very spacious and large enough to contain them, being * very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.

Eudox. But then what will you doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are joyned with them?

Iren. At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulster, will I have it also made to these, and upon their submission thereunto, I will take like assurance of them as of the other. After which, I will translate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulster, with all their creete, and what else they have left them, the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meete sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustaine himsele a while withall, untill, by his further travaile and labour of the earth, he shall be able to provide himsele better.

Eudox. But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former rebels? so may you perhaps make them also heires of all their former villainies and disorders: or how else will you dispose of them?

Iren. Not so: but all the lands will I give unto Englishmen, whom I will have drawne thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall be thought meete, and for such rent as shall eft-soones be rated; under every of those Englishmen will I place some of those Irish to be tenants for

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* *Very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.*] This carrieth no fit proportion for the transplantation intended by the author, considering the large extent of Ulster, and the narrow bounds heere limited.—SIR JAMES WARE.

a certaine rent, according to the quantity of such land, as every man shall have allotted unto him, and shall be found able to wield, wherein this speciall regard shall be had, that in no place under any land-lord there shall be many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered farre abroad thorough all the country: For that is the evill which now I finde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell together by their septs, and several nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will; whereas if there were English well placed among them, they should not be able once to stirre or to murmure, but that it should be knowne, and they shortened according to their demerites.

Eudox. You have good reason; but what rating of rents meane you? to what end doe you purpose the same?

Iren. My purpose is to rate the rent of all those lands of her Majesties, in such sort unto those Englishmen which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live thereupon,* to yeeld her Majesty reasonable chieffie, and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall be there left amongst them; for these souldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garrisons, I cast to maintaine upon the rent of those landes, which shall be escheated, and to have them divided thorough all Ireland, in such places as shall be thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course which the Romanes observed in the conquest of England, for they planted some of their legiones in all places convenient, the which they caused the countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reasonable rent, which they called Romescot, the which might not surcharge the tenant or free-holder, and might defray the pay of the garrison: and this hath beene alwayes observed by all princes in all countries to them newly subdued, to set garrisons amongst them, to containe them in dutie whose burthen they made them to beare; and the want of this ordinance in the first conquest

* To yeeld her Majesty reasonable chieffie.] *Chieffie* is a small rent paid to the Lord paramount.—JOHNSON.

quest of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cause of the so short decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Irish. Therefore by all meanes it is to be provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome me, in the late planting of Mounster, that no care was had of this ordinance nor any strength of garrison provided for, by a certain allowance out of all the saide landes, but onely the present profite looked into, and the safe continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a band of souldiours layde in Mounster, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a settled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes: for now that said rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the souldiours, but it is, by every other occasion comming betweene, converted to other uses, and the souldiours in time of peace discharged and neglected as unnecessary; whereas if the said rent were appointed and ordained by an establishment to this end onely, it should not be turned to any other; nor in troublous times, upon every occasion, her Majestie be so troubled with sending over new souldiours as she is now, nor the countrie ever should dare to mutinie, having still the souldiour in their neck, nor any foreine enemy dare to invade knowing there so strong and great a garrison allways ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you thinke that this Romescot of the pay of the souldiours upon the land to be both the readiest way to the souldiours, and least troublesome to her Majestie; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said lands rated, that both a rent may rise thereout unto the Queene, and also the souldiours receive pay, which (me thinkes) will be hard?

Iren. First we are to consider, how much land there is in all Ulster, that according to the quantity thereof we may cesse the said rent and allowance issuing thereout. Ulster (as the ancient records of that realme doe testifie) doth containe 9000 plowlands, every of which plowlands containeth 120 acres, after the rate of 21 foote to every perch of the

acre, every of which plowlands I will rate at 40s. by the yeare; the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to 18000l. besides 6s. 8d. chiefrie out of every plowland. But because the countie of Louth, being a part of Ulster, and containing in it 712 plowlands is not wholly to escheate to her Majestie, as the rest, they having in all their warres continued for the most part dutifull, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the rebels, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400 or 500 plowlands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40s. out of every plowland, like as the escheated lands doe, but yet shall pay for their composition of cesse towards the keeping of souldiours, 20s. out of every plowland, so as there is to be deducted out of the former summe 200 or 300l. yearly, the which may neverthelesse be supplied by the rent of the fishings, which are exceeding great in Ulster, and also by an increase of rent in the best lands, and those that lye in the best places neere the sea-coast. The which eighteen thousand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500 souldiours, with some over-plus towards the pay of their victuallers, which are to be employed in the victualling of these garrisons.

Eudox. So then belike you meane to leave 1500 souldiours in garrison for Ulster, to be payde principally out of the rent of those lands, which shall be there escheated unto her Majestie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garrisoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts, that is, 500 in every garrison, the which I will have to remaine in three of the same places, where they were before appointed, to wit, 500 at Strabane, and about Loughfoile, so as they may holde all the passages of that part of the countrey, and some of them be put in wardes, upon all the straights thereabouts, which I know to be such, as may stoppe all passages into the countrey on that side; and some of them also upon the Ban, up towards Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also other 500, at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them, which shall be layde at Fermanagh, at Bealick, at Ballyshannon, and all the straights towards

Connaght, the which I know doe so strongly command all the passages that way, as that none can pass from Ulster into Connaght, without their leave. The last 500 shall also remaine in their fort at Monaghan, and some of them be drawne into wardes, to keep the kaies of all that countrey, both downwards, and also towards O Relies countrie, and the pale; and some at Eniskillin, some at Belturbut, some at the Blacke Fort, and so along that river, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover at every of these forts, I would have the seate of a town layde forth and incompassed, in the which I would wish that there should inhabitants of all sortes, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, be placed, to whom there should charters and fraunchises be graunted to incorporate them. The which, as it will be no matter of difficultie to draw out of England persons which would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majestie much profit; for those places are so fit for trade and trafficke, having most convenient out-gates by divers rivers to the sea, and in-gates to the richest parts of the land, that they would soone be enriched, and mightfly enlarged, for the very seating of the garrisons by them; besides the safetie and assurance which they shall worke unto them, will also draw thither store of people and trade, as I have seen ensample at Mariborough and Philipstowne in Leinster, where by reason of those two fortes, though there were but small wardes left in them there are two good townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three such townes as you say, would do very well in those places with the garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would be able with little to in-wall themselves strongly; but, for the planting of all the rest of the countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring people out of England, which should inhabite the same; whereunto though I doubt not but great troopes would be ready to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are

most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to be chosen out of all partes of this realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the olde use in sending forth of colonies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisdome be thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which, I would have the land sett into seigniories, in such sort as it is now in Mounster, and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layde out into shires, as it was aunciently, viz. The countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Colerane, * the countie of Monoghan, the countie of Tyrone, the countie of Fermanagh, the countie of Donegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord President and a Councell to be placed, which may keep them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them justice and equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for Ulster, and now I desire to heare your like opinion for Connaght.

Iren. By that which I have already said of Ulster, you may gather my opinion for Connaght, being very answereable to the former. But for that the lands, which shall therein escheat unto her Majesty, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accompted in one summe, it needeth that they be considered severally. The province of Connaght in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of Dublin) 7200 plowlands of the former measure, and is of late divided into six shires or counties: The † countie of Clare, the countie of Leytrim, the countie of Roscoman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, and the countie of Sligo. Of the which all
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* *The county of Monoghan.*] This is now part of the countie of Londonderry.—
SIR JAMES WARE.

† *The county of Clare.*] The county of Clare was aunciently accounted part of the province of Mounster, whence it hath the name of *Tuormuon*, or Thomond, which signifieth North Mounster, and hath, at this day its peculiar governour, as being exempted from the presidences of Mounster and Connaght.—SIR JAMES WARE.

the countie of Sligo, all the countie of Maio, the most part of the countie of Roscoman, the most part of the countie of Leytrim, a great part of the countie of Galway, and some of the countie of Clare, is like to escheat to her Majestie for the rebellion of their present possessors. The which two counties of Sligo and Maio are supposed to containe almost 3000, plowlands, the rent whereof rateably to the former, I valew almost at 6000*l. per annum*. The countie of Roscoman, saving that which pertaineth to the house of Roscoman, and some few other English there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheate to her Majesty, saving those portions of English inhabitants, and even those English doe (as I understand by them) pay as much rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in Ulster, counting their composition money therewithall, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two counties: So that this county of Roscoman containing 1200 plowlands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 *li.* by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent, maketh about 8300 *l.* for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated lands of the county of Galway and Leytrim will rise unto, is yet uncertaine to define, till survey thereof be made, for that those lands are intermingled with the Earle of Clanricardes, and others lands, but it is thought they be the one halfe of both those counties, so as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000 plowlands; for so many the least county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 *li.* more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand pounds. The other 2 counties must remaine till their escheates appeare, the which letting passe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accompted for certaine, that the composition of these two counties, being rated at 20. *shil.* every plowland, will amount to above 2000 pounds more, all which being laide together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 pounds, the which summe, together with the rent of the escheated lands in the two last countyes, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no lesse than a thousand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely

unto 1000 men and their victuallers, and 1000 pounds over towards the Governour.

Eudox. You have (me thinkes) made but an estimate of those lands of Connaght, even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any certainty of charge to be raised upon the same.

Iren. Not altogether yet upon uncertainties; for this much may easily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the composition money of every plowland amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to understand, that my purpose is to rate all the lands in Ireland at 20 shil. every plowland, for their composition towards the garrison. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all Ireland (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 plowlands, the same shall amount to the summe likewise of 43920 pounds, and the rest to be reared of the escheated lands which fall to her Majesty in the said provinces of Ulster, Connaght, and that part of Leinster under the rebels; for Mounster we deale not yet withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay composition upon the escheated lands as you doe upon the rest? for so (me thinkes) you reckon altogether. And that sure were too much to pay 7 nobles out of every plowland, and composition money besides, that is 20 shill. out of every plowland.

Iren. No, you mistake me; I doe put onely 7 nobles rent and composition both upon every plowland escheated, that is 40 shill. for composition, and 6 shill. 8 pence for cheifrie to her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceive you; proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your garrisons in Connaght, and show us both how many and where you would have them placed.

Iren. I would have 1000 laide in Connaght, in 2 garrisons; namely, 500 in the county of Maio, about Clan Mac Costilagh, which shall keepe all Maio and the Bourkes of Mac William Eighter: The other 500 in the county of Galway, about Garrandough, that they may containe the Conhors and

the Bourkes there, the Kellies and Murries with all them thereabouts; for that garrison which I formerly placed at Loughearne will serve for all occasions in the county of Sligo, being neere adjoyning thereunto, so as in one nights march they may be almost in any place thereof, when neede shall require them. And like as in the former places of garrisons in Ulster, I wished three corporate townes to be planted, which under the safeguard of that strength should dwell and trade safely with all the countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of Connaght: and that besides, there were another established at Athlone, with a convenient ward in the castle there for their defence.

Eudox. What should that neede, seeing the Governour of Connaght useth to lye there alwayes, whose presence will be a defence to all that towneship?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lye so farre of, in the remotest place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the midst of the charge, that he might bothe looke out alike unto all places of his government, and also be soone at hand in any place where occasion shall demand him; for the presence of the Governour is (as you sayd) a great stay and bridle unto those that are ill-disposed: like as I see it is well observed in Mounster, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and for this cause also, doe I greatly mislike the Lord Deputies seating at Dublin, being the outest corner of the realme, and least needing the awe of his presence; whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he have care of all besides generally, that he should seate himselfe at Athie, or thereabouts, upon the skirt of that unquiet countrey, so that he might sit as it were at the very maine maste of his ship, whence he might easily overlooke and sometimes overreach the Moores, the Dempsies, the Connors, O'Carroll, O'Molloy, and all that heape of Irish nations which there lye huddled together, without any to overawe them, or containe them in dutie. For the Irishman (I assure you) feares the Government no longer then he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (me thinkes) herein you observe a matter of much importance more then I have heard ever noted, but sure that seemes so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overseene or omitted; but I suppose the instance of the citizens of Dublin is the greatest lett thereof.

Iren. Truely then it ought not so to be; for no cause have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them; for Dublin will be still, as it is the key of all passages and transportations out of England thitherto, no lesse profit of those citizens then it now is, and besides other places will hereby receive some benefit: But let us now (I pray you) come to Leinster, in the which I would wish the same course to be observed, that was in Ulster.

Eudox. You meane for the leaving of the garrisons in their forts, and for planting of English in all those countreyes, betweene the county of Dublin and the county of Wexford; but those waste wilde places I thinke when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seeke to inhabite.

Iren. Yes enough, (I warrant you); for though the whole tracke of the countrey be mountainous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongst them, fit for faire habitations, to which those mountaines adjoynd will be a great increase of pasturage; for that countrey is a great soyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onely for barley and oates, and some places for rye, and therefore the larger penny-worthes may be allowed to them, though otherwise the wildnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the soyle, so as I doubt not but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much doe you thinke that all those lands, which Feagh Mac Hugh houldeth under him, may amount unto, and what rent may be reared thereout, to the maintenance of the garrisons that shall be laide there?

Iren. Truely it is impossible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof, I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it please you) guesse thereat, upon ground onely of their judge-

ment which have formerly devided all that country into 2 sheires or countyes, namely the countie of Wicklow, and the * county of Fernes; the which 2 I see no cause but that they should wholly escheate to her Majesty, all save the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormond's auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his possession; for all the whole land is the Queénes, unlesse there be some grant of any part thereof, to be shewed from her Majesty: as I thinke there is onely of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterson, the rest, being almost 30 miles over, I doe suppose, can containe no lesse then 2000 plowlands, which I will estimate at 4000 pounds rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinster being 7 counties, to wit, the county of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlagh, Wexford, Kilkenny, the Kings and the Queenes county, doe contain in them 7400 plowlands, which amounteth to so many pounds for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole 11400 pounds, which summe will yeeld pay unto 1000 souldiours, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other lands of the Cavenaghes, which are to be escheated to her Majesty for the rebellion of their possessors, though otherwise indeede they be of her owne ancient demesne.

Eudox. It is great reason. But tell us now where you will wish those garrisons to be laide, whether altogether, or to be dispersed in sundry places of the country?

Iren. Marry, in sundry places, *viz.* in this sort, or much the like as may be better advised, for 200 in a place I doe thinke to be enough for the safeguard of that country, and keeping under all suddaine upstarts, that shall seeke to trouble the peace thereof; therefore I wish 200 to be laide at Bal-linecor, for the keeping of all bad persons from Glan-malor, and all the fastnes thereabouts, and also to containe all that shall be planted in those lands thenceforth. Another 200 at Knockelough in their former place of garrison, to keepe the Bracknagh and all those mountaines of the Cavenaghes; 200 more

* *County of Fernes.*] This is part of the county of Wexford.—SIR JAMES WARE.

more to lie at Fernes and upwards, inward upon the Slane; 200 to be placed at the fort of Leix, to restraints the Moores, Upper-Ossory, and O-Carrol; other 200 at the fort of Ofaly, to curbe the O-Connors, O-Molloyes, Mac-Coghlan, Mageoghagan, and all those Irish nations bordering thereabouts.

Eudox. Thus I see all your men bestowed in Leinster; what say you then of Meath?

Iren. Meath which containeth both East Meath and West Meath, and of late the Annaly, now called the county of Longford, is counted therunto: But Meath it selfe according to the old Records, containeth 4320 plowlands, and the county of Longford 947 which in the whole makes 5267 plowlands, of which the composition money will amount likewise to 5267 pounds to the maintenance of the garrison: But because all Meath, lying in the bosome of that kingdome is alwayes quiet enough, it is needelesse to put any garrison there, so as all that charge may be spared. But in the county of Longford I wish 200 footmen and 50 horsemen to be placed in some convenient seate, betweene the Annaly and the Breny, as about Lough Sillon, or some like place of that river, so as they might keepe both the O-Relies, and also the O-Ferrals, and all that out-skirt of Meath, in awe, the which use upon every light occasion to be stirring, and having continuall enmity amongst themselves, doe thereby oftentimes trouble all those parts, the charge whereof being 3400 and odde pounds is to be cut out of that composition money for Meath and Longford, the over-plus being almost 2000 pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majesty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkening unto: But now that you have done with Meath, proceede (I pray you) to Mounster, that we may see how it will rise there for the maintenance of the garrison.

Iren. Mounster containeth by Record at Dublin 16000 plowlands, the composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000 pounds by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000 souldiours to be maintained for the defence of that province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 12000 pounds by the yeare; the other 4000 pounds

will defray the charge of the Presidency and the Council of that province.

Eudox. The reckoning is easie, but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived; for, in this summe of the composition money, you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that province, who are, by their graunt from the Queene, to be free from all such impositions whatsoever, excepting their onelie rent, which is surely enough.

Iren. You say true, I did so, but the same 20 shil. for every plowland, I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majesty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majesty then it now is; for all that rent which she receives of them, she putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the Presidency there, the charge whereof it doth scarcely defray; whereas in this accompt both that charge of the Presidency, and also of a thousand souldiours more, shall be maintained.

Eudox. It should be well if it could be brought to that: But now where will you have your thousand men garrisoned?

Iren. I would have a hundred of them placed at the Bantry where is a most fit place, not onely to defend all that side of the west part from forraine invasion, but also to answeere all occasions of troubles, to which that countrey being so remote is very subject. And surely there also would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentifull fishing, and the land being already escheated to her Majesty, but being forcibly kept from her, by one that proclaimes himselfe the bastard son of the Earle of Clancar, being called Donnell Mac Carty, whom it is meete to foresee to: For whensoever the Earle shall die, all those lands (after him) are to come unto her Majesty, he is like to make a foule stirre there, though of himselfe no power, yet through supportance of some others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another hundred I would have placed at Castle Mayne, which should keepe all Desmond and Kerry; for it answereth them both most conveniently: Also about Kilmore in the county of Cork would I have 2 hundred placed, the which should breake that nest of thieves there, and answeere

equally both to the county of Limericke, and also the county of Corke: another hundred would I have lye at Corke, aswell to command the towne, as also to be ready for any forraine occasion: Likewise at Waterford, would I place 2 hundred, for the same reasons, and also for other privy causes, that are no lesse important: Moreover on this side of Arlo, near to Muskery Quirke, which is the countrey of the Burkes, about Kill-Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garrisoned, which should skoure both the White Knights country and Arlo, and Muskery Quirk, by which places all the passages of theives doe lye, which convey their stealth from all Mounster downewards towards Tipperary, and the English Pale, and from the English Pale also up unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common trade: Besides that, ere long I doubt that the county of Tipperary it selfe will neede such a strength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of some expected: And thus you see all your garrisons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aske you the reason, why in those citties of Mounster, namely Waterford and Corke, you rather placed garrisons, then in all others in Ireland? For they may thinke themselves to have great wrong to be so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you; those two cities above all the rest, do offer an in-gate to the Spaniard most fitly: But yet because they shall not take exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the corporate townes enjoying great franchizes and privileges from her Majesty, and living thereby not onely safe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, should live so free, as not to be partakers of the burthen of this garrison for their owne safety, specially in this time of trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened; (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities, towards their maintenance, the which her Majesty may (if she please) spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other costes, or else adde to the charge of the Presidency in the North.

Waterford,	C.	Clonmell,	X.	Dundalke,	X.
Corke,	L.	Cashell,	X.	Mollingare,	X.
Limericke,	L.	Fedard,	X.	Newrie,	X.
Galway,	L.	Kilkenny,	XXV.	Trim,	X.
Dinglecush,	X.	Wexford,	XXV.	Ardee,	X.
Kinsale,	X.	Tredagh,	XXV.	Kella,	X.
Yoghall,	X.	Rosse,	XXV.	Dublin,	C.
Kilmallock,	X.				

In all 580.

Eudox. It is easie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the cheife part of good advisement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them, I know to be so reasonable, as that it will not much be felt; for the port townes that have benefit of shipping may cut it easily off their trading, and inland townes of their corn and cattle; neither doe I see, but since to them especially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they especially should beare the burthen of their safeguard and defence, as we see all the townes of the Low-Countryes, doe cut upon themselves an excise of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though these are not to be compared in richesse, yet are they to be charged according to their povertie.

Eudox. But now that you have thus set up these forces of souldiours, and provided well (as you suppose) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may be victualled, and where purveyance thereof may be made; for, in Ireland it selfe, I cannot see almost how any thing is to be had for them, being already so pittifully wasted as it is with this short time of warre.

Iren. For the first two yeares, it is needefull indeede that they be victualled out of England thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, afore-hand. All which time the English Pale shall not be burdened at all, but shall have time to recover themselves; and Mounster also, being reasonably well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable weather,) be thoroughly well furnished to supply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plenty of corne sent over

sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would be glad to have money so neere hand, specially if they were streightly restrayned from transporting of it. Thereunto also there will be a great help and furtherance given, in the putting forward of husbandrie in all meete places, as heereafter shall in due place appeare. But heereafter when things shall grow unto a better strength, and the countrey be replenished with corne, as in short space it will, if it be well followed, for the countrey people themselves are great plowers, and small spenders of corne, then would I wish that there should be good store of houses and magazins erected in all those great places of garrison, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of souldiours, and shippes, as for all occasions of suddaine services, as also for preventing of all times of dearth and scarcitie; and this want is much to be complained of in England, above all other countreys, who, trusting too much to the usuall blessing of the earth, doe never fore-cast any such hard seasons, nor any such suddaine occasions as these troublous times may every day bring foorth, when it will be too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bring it perhappes from farre for the furnishing of shippes or souldiours, which peradventure may neede to be presently imployed and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a kingdome.

Eudox. Indeede the want of those magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondered at in other countreys, but that is nothing now to our purpose; but as for these garrisons which you have now so strongly planted throughout all Ireland, and every place swarming with souldiours, shall there be no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe see rather a countrey of warre, then of peace and quiet, which you erst pretended to worke in Ireland; for if you bring all things to that quietnesse that you said, what then needeth to maintaine so great forces, as you have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you, Eudoxus, in privitie discover the drift of my purpose: I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to settle an eternall peace in that countrey, and

also to make it very profitable to her Majestie, the which I see must be brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it runne in a steadfast course of government, which in this sort will neither be difficult nor dangerous; for the souldiour being once brought in for the service into Ulster, and having subdued it and Connaght, I will not have him to lay downe his armes any more, till he have effected that which I purpose, that is, first to have this generall composition for maintenance of these thoroughout all the realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this realme by the King of Spaine: And thereupon to bestow all my souldiours in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that realme shall be able to dare to * quinch: Then will I eftsoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon establish such a forme of government, as I may thinke meetest for the good of that realme, which being once settled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will runne on fairly. And though they would ever seeke to swerve aside, yet shall they not be able without forreine violence, once to remoove, as you your selfe shall soone (I hope) in your own reason readily conceive; which if it shall ever appeare, then may her Majestie at pleasure with-draw some of the garrisons, and turne their pay into her purse, or if she will never please so to doe (which I would rather wish) then shall she have a number of brave olde souldiours alwayes ready for any occasion that she will imploy them unto, supplying their garrisons with fresh ones in their steed; the maintenance of whome, shall be no more charge to her Majestie then now that realme is for all the revenue thereof; and much more she spendeth, even in the most peaceable times, that are there, as things now stand. And in time of warre, which is now surely every seventh yeare, she spendeth infinite treasure besides, to small purpose.

Eudox. I perceive your purpose; but now that you have thus strongly made way unto your reformation, and that I
see

* Quinch.] *Stir.*—JOHNSON.

see the people so humbled and prepared, that they will and must yeeld to any ordinance that shall be given them, I doe much desire to understand the same; for in the beginning you promised to shewe a meanes how to redresse all those inconveniences and abuses, which you shewed to be in that state of government, which now stands there, as in the lawes, customs, and religion, wherein I would gladly know first, whether, in steed of those lawes, you would have new lawes made; for now, for ought that I see, you may doe what you please.

Iren. I see, Eudoxus, that you well remember our first purpose, and doe rightly continue the course thereof. First therefore to speake of lawes, since we first beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it be in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make new; for that should breede a great trouble and confusion, aswell in the English there dwelling, and to be planted, as also in the Irish. For the English having beene alwayes trayned up in the English government, will hardly be inured to any other, and the Irish will better be drawne to the English then the English to the Irish government. Therefore sithence we cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the first institutions of common wealths it ought to be, we will apply the people, and fit them unto the lawes, as it most conveniently may be. The lawes therefore we resolve shall abide in the same sort that they doe, both Common Law and Statutes, onely such defects in the Common Law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning we noted, and as men of deeper insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new acts and ordinances to be by Parliament there confirmed: As those for tryalls of Pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances, and accessaries.

Eudox. But how will those be redressed by Parliament, when as the Irish which sway most in Parliament (as you said) shall oppose themselves against them?

Iren. That may well now be avoyded: For now that so many Free-holders of English shall be established, they together with Burgesses of townes, and such other loyal Irish-men, as may be preferred to be Knights of the shire,

and such like, will be able to beard and to counter-poise the rest, who also, being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such ordinances as shall be for the good of themselves, and that realme generally.

Eudox. You say well, for by the increase of Free-holders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented; but how shall it passe through the higher house, which still must consist of Irish?

Iren. Marry, that also may be redressed by ensample of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King Edward the Third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reason of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too strong for him, so as he could not for their frowardnesse order and reforme things as he desired, was advised to direct out his writts to certaine Gentlemen of the best ability and trust, entitling them therein Barons, to serve and sitt as Barons in the next Parliament. By which means he had so many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: The which Barons they say, were not afterwarde Lords, but onely Baronets, as sundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Majestie may now likewise curbe and cut short those Irish and unruly Lords, that hinder all good proceedings.

Eudox. It seems no lesse then for reforming of all those inconvenient statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redressing of all those evill customes; and lastly, for settling of sound religion amongst them, me thinkes you shall not neede any more to over-goe those particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might besides be remembered, but to leave all to the reformation of such a Parliament, in which, by the good care of the Lord Deputie and Councill they may all be amended. Therefore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that establishment, by which you said all men should be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wresting of things by sharpe punishments.

Iren. I will so at your pleasure, the which (me thinkes)

can by no meanes be better plotted then by ensample of such other realmes as have beene annoyed with like evils, that Ireland now is, and useth still to be. And first in this our realme of England, it is manifest by report of the Chronicles, and auncient writers, that it was greatly infested with robbers and out-lawes, which, lurking in woods and fast places, used often to breake forth into the highwayes, and sometimes into small villages to rob and spoyle. For redresse whereof it is written, that King Alured, or Aldred, did * divide the realme into shires, and the shires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentackes, and the wapentackes into tythings: So that tenne tythings make an hundred, and five made a lathe or wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borsolder, that is, the eldest pledge, became surety for all the rest. So that if any one of them did start into any undutiful action, the Borsolder was bound to bring him forth, when, joyning eft-soones with all his tything, would follow that loose person thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that tything fayled, then all that lathe was charged for that tything, and if that lathe fayled, then all that hundred was demaunded for them; and if the hundred, then the shire, who, joyning eft-soones together, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in that undutifull fellow, which was not amesnable to law. And herein it seemes, that that good Saxon King followed the Counsell of Jethro to Moyses, who advised him to divide the people into hundreds, and to set Captaines and wise men of trust over them, who should take the charge of them, and ease of that burthen. And so did Romulus (as you may read) † divide the Romanes into tribes, and the tribes into centuries

* *Divide the realm into shires.*] De his qui plura scire avet, consulat D. Hen. Spelmanni eq. aur. Archæologum, in Borsholder et Hundred.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *Divide the Romanes into tribes.*] Livie speaking of Romulus hath it thus, Populum in curias 30 divisit, &c. Eodem tempore et centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt. And so we have it in Sextus Aurel. Victor's booke, de viris illustribus urbis Romæ. Tres equitum centurias instituit (saith he) Plebem in triginta curias distribuit.—SIR JAMES WARE.

centuries or hundreths. By this ordinance, this King brought this realme of England, (which before was most troublesome,) unto that quiet state, that no one bad person could stirre but he was straight taken houlde of by those of his owne tything, and their Borsholder, who being his neighbor or next kinsman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which institution (if it were observed in Ireland) would worke that effect which it did in England, and keepe all men within the compasse of dutie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for as I remember, you said, that there was a great disproportion betweene England and Ireland, so as the lawes which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then that you would transference a principall institution from England to Ireland?

Iren. This law was not made by the Norman Conqueror, but by a Saxon King, at what time England was very like to Ireland, as now it stands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with robbers and out-lawes, which troubled the whole state of the realme, every corner having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, and spoyled all passengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath; so as, me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

Eudox. Then when you have thus tythed the communalty, as you say, and set Borsolders over them all, what would you doe when you came to the gentlemen? would you hold the same course?

Iren. Yea, marry, most especially; for this you must know, that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen, no lesse then the Welsh; for if he can derive himselfe from the head of any sept, (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bardes,) then he holdeth himselfe a gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to worke, or use any hard labour, which he saith, is the life of a peasant or churle; but thenceforth becommeth either an horse-boy, * or a stocah to some kerne,
inuring

* *Or a stocah to some kerne.*] The word *stocah*, as Dr. Johnson observes, is probably from the Erse *stockh*; but it is hardly used by Spenser in the sense of "one who

inuring himself to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of stealing, (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldest of them perhaps shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves, and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common use amongst some of their gentlemens sonnes, that so soone as they are able to use their weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or foure straglers, or kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idely the countrey, taking onely meate, he at last falleth unto some bad occasion that shall be offered, which being once made known, he is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage; whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young men, which, stirring him up with incouragement, provoke him shortly to flat rebellion; and this happens not onely sometimes in the sonnes of their gentle-men, but also of their noble-men, specially of them who have base sonnes. For they are not onely not ashamed to acknowledge them, but also boaste of them, and use them to such secret services, as they themselves will not be seene in, as to plague their enemyes, to spoyle their neighbours, to oppresse and crush some of their owne too stubburne free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

Eudox. Then it seemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole, is not onely fit for the gentlemen, but also for the noble-men, whom I would have thought to have beene of so honourable a mind, as that they should not neede such a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who should rather have held in and stayde all the other from undutifulnesse, then neede to be forced thereunto themselves.

Iren. Yet so it is, Eudoxus; but because that noblemen cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and also because a Borsolder over them should be not onely a
great

runs at a horseman's foot, or of a horseboy," as the context clearly proves; it may be in that of "an attendant or wallet-boy." So before: "The strength of all that nation, is the kerne, galloglasse, *stocah*, horseman, and horseboy, &c." Where the distinction is again preserved.—TODD.

great indignitie, but also a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely sureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby, if any shall swerve, his sureties shall for safeguard of their bonds either bring him in, or seeke to serve upon him; and besides this, I would wish them all to be sworne to her Majestie, which they never yet were, but at the first creation; and that oath would sure containe them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to shorter vengeance, for God useth to punish perjurie sharply: So I reade, that there was a corporall oath taken in the raignes of * Edward the Second, and of † Henry the Seventh, (when the times were very broken) of all the lords and best gentlemen, of fealtie to the Kings, which now is no lesse needfull because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privily to some bad purposes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene sworne to a priest, which they thinke bindeth them more then their allegiance to their Prince, or love of their countrey.

Eudox. This tything to the common-people, and taking sureties of lords and gentlemen, I like very well, but that it will be very troublesome; should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the lords and gentle-men to take all the meaner sort upon themselves? for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them starteth out.

Iren. This indeed, Eudoxus, hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongst them, to have all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen; but yet the worst order that ever was devised; for, by this booking of men, all the inferiour sort are brought under the command of their lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatsoever. Now
this

* *Edward the Second.*] Richard the Second.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *Henry the Seventh.*] The service was performed by Sir Richard Edgecombe being appointed thereunto by a speciall commission from K. Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his first landing at Kinsale the 27th of June, 1488, till his departure from Dublin the 30th of July next.—SIR JAMES WARE.

this you are to understand, that all the rebellions which you see from time to time happen in Ireland are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captaines of countries, upon pride or wilfull obstinacy against the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themselves bound to goe with them, because they have booked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in England you have few such bad occasions, by reason that the noble men, however they should happen to be evill disposed, have no commaund at all over the communalty, though dwelling under them, because that every man standeth upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme assurance: The which this manner of tything the poles will worke also in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into many small parts like little streames, that they cannot easily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had in Ireland, to keepe them from growing unto such a head, and adhering unto great men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot see how this can be well brought, without doing great wrong unto the noble men there; for, at the first conquest of that realme, those great seigniories and lordships were given them by the King, that they should be the stronger against the Irish, by the multitudes of followers and tennants under them; all which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and such services, whereby they are (by the first graunt of the King) made bounden unto them, and tyed to rise out with them into all occasions of service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputy hath raised any generall hostings, the noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of England, under the Greate Seal exhibited; so as the Deputies could not refuse them to have the leading of them, or, if they did, they would so worke as none of their followers should rise forth to the hostage.

Iren. You say true; but will you see the fruite of those grants? I have knowne when those lords have had the leading of their owne followers under them to the generall host-

ings, that they have for the same cut upon every plowland within their country 40 shil. or more, whereby some of them have gathered above seven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more into their purse, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themselves a number of loose kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainment, allowed by the countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the countreyes, and extort upon all men where they come; for that people will never aske better entertainment then to have a colour of service or imployment given them, by which they will pole and spoyle so outrageously, as the very enemy cannot doe much worse: and they also sometimes turne to the enemy.

Eudox. It seemes the first intent of those graunts was against the Irish, which now some of them use against the Queene her selfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can those graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of those lords, which had those lands and lordships given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lords, since their first graunts from the Kings by which those lands were given them, have sithence bestowed the most part of them amongst their kinsfolke, as every lord perhaps hath given in his time one or other of his principall castles to his younger sonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first graunt, which now neverthelesse they bring within the compasse thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their first demeanes all those kind of services, yea and the very wild exactions, * Coignie, Livery, Sorehon, and such like, by which they

* *Coignie, Livery, Sorehon.*] What Coigny and Livery doe signifie, has been already expressed. Sorehon was a tax laide upon the free-holders, for certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine stipends to the kerna, galloglasses, and horsemen.—SIR JAMES WARE.

they pole and utterly undoe the poore tennants and free-houlders unto them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or thorough greatnes of their new lords dare not challenge them; yea, and some lords of countreyes also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their vassals. As for example Arundell of the Stronde in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a great lord, and was able to spend 3500 pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by good recordes, is now become the Lord Barries man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that there were a commission graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seene one recorded in the old counsell booke of Mounster, that was sent forth, in the time of Sir William Drurie, unto persons of speciall trust and judgment to enquire throughout all Ireland, beginning with one county first, and so resting a while till the same were settled, by the verdict of a sound and substantiall jury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, so that every one should be admitted to shew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services he houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in soccage, or by knights service, or how else soever. Thereupon would appeare, first how all those great English lords doe claime those great services, what seigniories they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: And then, how those Irish captaines of countreyes have incroached upon the Queenes free-holders and tennants, how they have translated the tenures of them from English houlding unto Irish Tanistry, and defeated her Majesty of all her rights and dutyes, which are to acrew to her thereout, as wardships, liveries, marriages, fines of alienations, and many other commodities; which now are kept and concealed from her Majesty, to the value of 4000 pounds *per annum*, I dare undertake in all Ireland, by that which I know in one county.

Eudox. This, Irenæus, would seeme a dangerous commission, and ready to stirre up all the Irish in rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those lands

which they hould, but their swords, would rather drawe them then suffer the lands to be thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neither should their lands be taken away from them, nor the utmost advantages inforced against them: But this by discretion of the commissioners should be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaning to use any such extreamity, but onely to reduce things into order of English law, and make them hould their lands of her, and to restore to her her due services, which they detain out of those lands, which were aunciently held of her. And that they should not onely not be thrust out, but also have estates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thence-forth hould them rightfully, which they now usurpe wrongfully; and yet withall I would wish, that in all those Irish countryes there were some land reserved to her Majesties free disposition for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with English inhabitants and customes, that knowledge might still be had of them, and of all their doings, so as no manner of practise or conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should be given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practises prevented.

Eudox. Truly neither can the Irish, nor yet the English lords, thinke themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majesties absolutely, given to them with such equall conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof, better then they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her right utterly; for it is a great grace in a prince, to take that with conditions, which is absolutely her owne. Thus shall the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the great men which had such graunts made to them at first by the Kings of England, it was in regard that they should keepe forth the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subjects: but now seeing that, in stead of defending them, they robbe and spoyle them, and, in stead of keeping out the Irish, they doe not onely make the Irish their tennants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of themselves become meere Irish,

with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combyning with them against the Queene; what reason is there but that those graunts and priviledges should be either revoked, or at least reduced to the first intention for which they were graunted? for sure in mine opinion they are more sharpely to be chastised and reformed then the rude Irish, which, being very wilde at the first, are now become more civill; when as these, from civility, are growne to be wilde and meere Irish.

Iren. Indeede, as you say, Eudoxus, these doe neede a sharper reformation then the Irish, for they are more stubborne, and disobedient to law and governement, * then the Irish be.

Eudox. In truth, Irenæus, this is more then ever I heard, that any English there should be worse then the Irish: Lord, how quickly doth that countrey alter mens natures! It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke it no good policie to have that realme reformed, or planted with English, least they should grow so undutifull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: As appeareth by the ensamples of the Lacies in the time of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, to make him King of Ireland.

Iren. No times have beene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councell of England which you spake of, that they should keepe that realme from reformation, I thinke they are most lewdly abused; for their great carefulnesse, and earnest endeavours, doe witnesse the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the countrey to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men, who having beene brought up at home under a straight rule of duty and obedience, being alwayes restrayned by sharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, so soone

as

* *Then the Irish be.*] In the manuscript belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, there follow two very severe paragraphs. I prefer the text of Sir James Ware, who professes to follow the *best*, that is, I presume, a *corrected* manuscript.—TODD.

as they come thither, where they see lawes more slackely tended, and the hard restraint which they were used unto now slacked, they grow more loose and carelesse of their duty: and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, so they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiousnes, more boldly daring to disobey the law, thorough the presumption of favour and friendship, then any Irish dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, (me thinkes) your late advise-ment was very evill, whereby you wished the Irish to be sowed and sprinckled with English, and in all the Irish coun-tries to have English planted amongst them, for to bring them to English fashions, since the English sooner drawe to the Irish then the Irish to the English: For as you said before, if they must runne with the streame, the greater number will carry away the lesse: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reason it should be better to part the Irish and English then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, Eudoxus; but where there is no good stay of government, and strong ordinances to hould them, there indeede the fewer will follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore now, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translating of them and scattering them amongst the English, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, and for the most part will make an Irish man the tything-man, whereby he shall take the lesse exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lathe, him will I
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make

make an English man, or an Irish man of special assurance: As also when I come to appoint the Alderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I surely choose to be an English man of special regard, that may be a stay and pillar of all the borough under him.

Eudox. What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your borough? By that, that I have read in auncient records of England, an hundred did contain an hundreth villages, or as some say an hundreth plowlands, being the same which the Saxons called * Cantred; the which cantred, as I finde it recorded in the black booke of [the Exchequer of] Ireland did contain xxx. Villatas terræ, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villata can maintaine 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400 cowes to be divided into 4 heards, so as none of them shall come neere other: every Villata containing 18 plowlands, as is there set downe: And by that which I have read of a borough it signifieth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head-borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having, for the same, franchises and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free borough, and of the lawyers *franci-plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you said, Eudoxus, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue; for that which you spake of deviding

* *Cantred.*] Cantred is a Brittiſh word, answering to the Saxon Hun-tyeo. How much land a cantred containeth is variously delivered. Some hould that it containes 100 townes. So Gir. Barry or Cambrensis, in his Itinerary of Wales, (lib. 2. cap. 7.) "Dicitur autem cantredus, (saith he) composito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terra portio, quanta 100 villas continere solet." The author here cites a record which makes it containe but 80 towne-lands: and John Clynn, (if my copy therein be not mistaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. sometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multifernan, hath 80. "Quelibet cantreda (saith Clinne) continet xx. (al. xxx.) villatas terræ, quelibet villata potest sustinere 800 vaccas in pascuis, ita quod vaccæ in X. (al. 1111.) partes divisa, nulla alteri, appropinquabit, quelibet villata continet viii. carucatas." We finde also there the provinces of Ireland thus divided into cantreda. Ultonia continet 35 cantredas, Conacia 80, Lagenia 81, Midia 18, et Momonia 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir Hen. Spelman's excellent Glossary. As cantreds are diversly estimated, so are also carues or plowlands.—SIR JAMES WARE.

deviding the countrey into hundreds, was a devision of the lands of the realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: so that hundreth in this sense signifieth a 100 pledges, which were under the command and assurance of their alderman, the which (as I suppose) was also called a wapentake, so named of touching the weapon or speare of their alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others thinke that a wapentake was 10 hundreds or boroghs: Likewise a borogh, as I here use it, and as the old lawes still use, is not a borogh towne, as they now call it, that is a franchised towne, but a maine pledge of 100 free persons, therefore called a free borogh or (as you say) *franci-plegium*: For Borh in old Saxon signifieth a pledge or surety, and yet it is so used with us in some speeches, as Chaucer saith; St. John * to borrow, that is for assurance and warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the difference: But now that you have thus devided the people into these tythings and hundreths, how will you have them so preserved and continued? for people doe often change their dwelling places, and some must die, whilst other some doe growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. These hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every yeare with their pledges, and to present themselves before the justices of the peace, which shall be thereunto appointed, to be surveyed and numbered, to see what change hath happened since the yeare before; and, the defects to supplie, of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to be overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, so as pledges may be taken for them, and they put into order of some tything; of all which alterations note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now (me thinkes) Irenæus, you are to be warned to take heede lest unawares you fall into that inconvenience which

* To borrow.] Spenser uses the word in the same sense in his *Shepheards Calendar*.—TODD.

which you formerly found fault with in others: namely that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and, having broken their former strength, doe not unite them more strongly againe: For every alderman, having all these free pledges of his hundred under his command, may (me thinkes) if he be evill disposed drawe all his companie into an evill action. And likewise, by this assembling of them once a yeare unto their alderman by their weapentakes, take heede lest you also give them occasion and meanes to practise together in any conspiracys.

Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted; for their aldermen and headboroughs, will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither if he were, is his hundred at his commaund, further then his Princes service; and also every tything man may controll him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the hundred, much lesse is any danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some justice of peace, or some high constable to be thereunto appointed: So as of these tythings there can no perill ensue, but a certaine assurance of peace and great good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subjected to the Prince: Moreover for the better breaking of these heads and septs, which (I tould you) was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irish, me thinkes it should be very well to renewe that ould statute, which was made * in the raigne of the Edward the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all † men then used to be called by the name of their septs, according to the severall nations, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take upon himselfe a
severall

* *In the raigne of Edward.*] An. 5. Edw. 4.—SIR JAMES WARE.

† *All men.*] The statute referres onely to the Irish, dwelling among the English in the counties of Dublin, Meth, Uriel, and Kildare. Uriel, called also Ergallia, did anciently comprehend all that countrey which is now divided into the counties of Louth and Monaghan, although it may be conceived that Louth was onely intended by the statute, because Monaghan was then (in a manner) wholly possessed by the Irish.—SIR JAMES WARE.

severall surname, either of his trade and facultie, or of some quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learne quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithall would I also wish all the O's and the Mac's, which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same being an ordinance (as some say) first made by * O Brien for the strengthening of the Irish, the abrogating thereof will asmuch infeeble them.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other order will you take for their † manner of life.

Iren. The next that I will doe, shalbe to appoint to every one that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certaine trade of life, to which he shall finde himselfe fittest, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade he shalbe bound to follow, and live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kindes, manuall, intellectuall, and mixed. The first containeth all such as needeth exercise of bodily labour, to the performance of their profession. The second consisting only of the exercise of wit and reason. The third sort, part of bodily labor, and part of the wit, but depending most of industrie and carefulnes. Of the first sort be all handycrafts and husbandry labour. Of the second be all sciences, and those which be called the liberall arts. Of the third is merchandize and chafferie, that is, buying and selling; and without all these three, there is no common-wealth can almost

* *O Brien.*] The custome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe Irish surnames, began soon after the yeere M. in the raigne of Brien Boru (the son of Kenneth) king of Ireland. As for Mac in surnames, it beareth no other signification then Fitz doth among the French, and (from them) the English; and Ap with the Welsh. And although it were more anciently used then the other, yet it varied according to the father's name, and became not so soone fully settled in families.—
SIR JAMES WARE.

† *Manner of life.*] Another severe remark here follows in the manuscript mentioned in p. 573.—TODD.

almost consist, or at the least be perfect. But the realme of Ireland wanteth the most principall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therefore in seeking to reforme her state, it is specially to be looked unto. But because by husbandry, which supplyeth unto us all things necessary for food, wherby we chiefly live; therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that we are to draw these new tythed men into, ought to be husbandry. First, because it is the most easie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the body. Next, because it is most generall and most needful; then because it is most naturall; and lastly, because it is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquietnes: As the Poet saith,

— “ *bella execrata colonis:*”

for husbandry being the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industrie and labour, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travaile of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comfort unto the plough: therefore are those Kearne, Stocaghies, and Horse-boyes, to be driven and made to imploy that ablenesse of bodie, which they were wont to use to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little paine, they will finde such sweetnesse and happy contentment, that they will afterwarde hardly be haled away from it, or drawne to their wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to be countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but also provided that their children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succede in the roomes of their fathers. To which end * there is a Statute in Ireland already well provided, which commaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shall be trained up in their fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

Eudox. But doe you not count, in this trade of husbandry, pasturing of cattle, and keeping of their coves? for that is reckoned as a part of husbandrie.

Iren.

* *There is a Statute.*] Anno 25th Hen. 6.—SIR JAMES WARE.

Iren. I know it is, and needefully to be used, but I doe not meane to allow any of those able bodies, which are able to use bodily labour, to follow a few cowes grazeing. But such impotent persons, as being unable for strong travaile, are yet able to drive cattle to and fro to their pasture; for this keeping of cowes is of it selfe a very idle life, and a fit nurserie for a thiefe. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the Irish manner of keeping Boolies in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that savage sort. But if they will algate feede many cattle, or keepe them on the mountaines, let them make some townes neare to the mountaines side, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and be conversant in the view of the world. And to say truth, though Ireland be by nature counted a great soyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have such huge increase of cattle, and no increase of good conditions. I would therefore wish that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twentie kine, should keep a plough going; for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry, which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usuall stealthes in Ireland: For looke into all countreyes that live in such sort by keeping of cattle, and you shall finde that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and also greatly given to warre. The Tartarians, the Muscovites, the Norwegians, the Gothes, the Armenians, and many other doe witnesse the same. And therefore since now we purpose to draw the Irish, from desire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great custome of hardening, and augment their trade of tillage and husbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not be inforced to, but every man to be bound onely to follow one that he thinkes himselfe aptest for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very necessitie, and constrayned use of them; and so likewise will merchandize for the gaine thereof; but learning, and bringing up in liberall sciences, will not come of it selfe, but must be drawne on with streight lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were

meets that such an act were ordained, that all the sonnes of lords, gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in learning, should be trayned up therein from their childhoods. And for that end every parish should be forced to keepe a pettie schoole-master, adjoyning unto the parish church, to be the more in view, which should bring up their children in the first elements of letters: and that, in every countrey or baronie, they should keepe an other able schoole-master, which should instruct them in grammar, and * in the principles of sciences, to whom they should be compelled to send their youth to be disciplined, whereby they will in short space grow up to that civill conversation, that both the children will loath their former rudenesse in which they were bred, and also their parents will even by the ensample of their young children perceive the foulness of their own behaviour, compared to theirs: For learning hath that wonderfull power in it selfe, that it can soften and temper the most sterne and savage nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivill life sooner then learning and discipline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therefore I doe still expect, that you should come thereunto, and

* *In the principles of sciences.*] How requisite also an universitie is for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happinesse we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and establishing universities in Ireland, yet through want of meanes, which should have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have soone faded. So hapned it with that academy which Alexander de Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin erected (in S. Patrick's Church) in Dublin, and procured to be confirmed by Pope John the 12th. And no better succeeded that which was afterwards erected at Tredagh by Act of Parliament Anno 5. Edw. 4. (as appeares in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like priviledges, as the University of Oxford (in England) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Besides these we finde mention of others, farre more ancient, as at Armagh, and Ross. Carbry, or Ross. Alilthry, as it is called in the life of S. Faghman, the founder, who lived in the yeare 590. "Ipsæ Sanctus (saith the author) in australi Hiberniæ plagâ iuxta mare, in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in quâ semper manens magnum studium scholarium, quod dicitur Roscallithry, habitabat." But a further search were fit to be made touching those of the elder times.—SIR JAMES WARE.

and set some order for reformation of religion, which is first to be respected; according to the saying of CHRIST, "Seeke first the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousness thereof."

Iren. I have in minde so to doe; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which shall afterwarde be set for religion may abide the more firmly, and be observed more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest trade of life, which shall be particularly entered and set downe in the tything booke, yet perhappes there will be some stragglers and runnagates, which will not of themselves come in and yeeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishing of the present warre, and establishing of the garrisons in all strong places of the countrey, where their wonted refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out, or if they doe, they will shortly be brought in by the eares: But yet afterwarde, lest any one of them should swerve, or any that is tyed to a trade, should afterwarde not follow the same, according to this institution, but should straggle up and downe the countrey, * or mich in corners amongst their friends idely, as Carrowes, Bardes, Jestes, and such like, I would wishe that a Provost Marshall should be appointed in every shire, which should continually walke about the countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a score horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandering, whome he should punish by his owne authority, with such paines as the person shall seeme to deserve; for if he be but once so taken idely roguing, he may punish him more lightly, as with stockes, or such like; but if he be found againe so loytering, he may scourge him with whippes, or rodde, after which if he be againe taken, let him have the bitterness of marshall lawe. Likewise if any reliques of the olde rebellion be found by any, that either have
not

* *Or mich in corners.*] The word *micher* is used by Chaucer to denote a thief or vagabond, *Rom. R.* 6541 edit. Urr. And Mr. Tyrwhitt cites the following usage of the verb: "*Mychyn or pryvely stelyn smale thynga. Surripid. Prompt. Pare.*" See also Cotgrave in V. "*To miche, etre villain*"—TODD.

not come in and submitted themselves to the law, or that having once come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke disorderly, let them taste of the same cuppe in Gods name; for it was due to them for their first guilt, and now being revived by their later loosenesse, let them have their first desert, as now being found unfit to live in the common-wealth.

Eudox. This were a good ordinance: but me thinkes it is an unnecessary charge, and also unfit to continue the name or forme of any marshall law, when as there is a proper officer already appointed for these turnes, to wit the sheriffe of the shire, whose peculiar office it is to walke up and downe his bayliwicke, as you would have a marshall, to snatch up all those runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his gaole to be punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, me thinkes; for though the sheriffe have this authority of himselfe to take up all such stragglers, and imprison them, yet shall he not doe so much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall know to have power of life and death in such cases, and specially to be appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the sheriffe, the sheriffe may doe therein what he can, and yet the marshall may walke his course besides; for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet he may light upon the other: But this proviso is needefull to be had in this case, that the sheriffe may not have the like power of life, as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accustomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as, if the said loose liver have any goods of his owne, the Sheriffe is to seize thereupon, whereby it hath come to passe, that some who have not deserved judgement of death, though otherwise perhaps offending, have beene for their goods sake caught up, and carryed straight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittiful and horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have such authority, nor yet to imprison that lozell

till the sessions, for so all gaoles might soon be filled; but to send him to the Marshall, who, eftssoones finding him faultie, shall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

Eudox. I doe now perceive your reason well: But come we now to that whereof we earst spake, I meane, to religion and religious men; what order will you set amongst them?

Iren. For religion little have I to say, my selfe being (as I said) not professed therein, and it selfe being but one, so as there is but one way therein; for that which is true onely is, and the rest is not at all; yet, in planting of religion, thus much is needefull to be observed, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with terrour and sharpe penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildnesse and gentlenesse, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discreete Ministers of their owne countrey-men, be first sent over amongst them, which by their meeke perswasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to imbrace, the doctrine of their salvation; for if that the auncient godly fathers, which first converted them, when they were infidells, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganisme to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S. Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already professed? wherin it is great wonder to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popish Priests and the ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richesse is to be found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for credite and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they may doe, by winning soules to God, be drawne foorth from their warme

neastes, to looke out into Gods harvest, which is even ready for the sickle, and all the fields yellow long agoe; doubtlesse those good olde godly Fathers, will (I feare me) rise up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, it is great pittie, Irenæus, that there are none chosen out of the Ministers of England, good, sober, and discreet men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them, and that there is not asmuch care had of their soules as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over, they should doe small good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they be restrayned from sending their yong men abroad to other Universities beyond the sea, as Remes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and others from abroad be restrayned for comming into them, for they lurking secretly in their houses, and in corners of the countrey, doe more hurt and hinderance to religion with their private perswasions then all the others can doe good with their publike instructions; and though for these latter there be a good statute there ordained, yet the same is not executed; and as for the former there is no law nor order for their restraint at all.

Eudox. I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and not onely this, but that also which I remember you mentioned in your abuses concerning the profits and revenewes of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are sent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others against her Majestie, for which here in England there is good order taken; and why not then aswell in Ireland? For though there be no statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majestie, by her onely prerogative, seize the fruites and profites of those fugitives lands into her handes, till they come over to testifie their true allegiance.

Iren. Indeeede she might so doe; but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave considerations; but proceed we forward. Next care in religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined churches, whereof the most part lye even with the ground, and some that have bin lately repayred are so unhandsomely patched and thatched that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomelinesse thereof; therefore I would wishe that there were order taken to have them built in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late too nice fooles say, there is nothing in the seemely forme, and comely order of the church. And for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they be here in England, which should take the yearely charge both hereof, and also of the schoole-houses which I wish to be built neere the said churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meete that some small portion of lands were allotted, sith no more mortmaines are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them gownes, much lesse to yelde meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

Iren. There is no way to helpe that but to lay 2 or 3 of them together, untill such time as the countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the tythes, and other obventions, will also be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3 sorts of trades, and set a course for their good establishment; let us (if it please you) goe next to some other needefull points of other publicke matters no lesse concerning the good of the commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And first I wish, that order were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of 100 yards might be layde open in every of
- 180
them

them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perillous places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fordes marred and spilt, so as none might passe any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gate house set thereon, whereof this good will come that no night stealths which are commonly driven in by-wayses, and by blinde fordes unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they use, but they must passe by those bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to passe at all, by meanes of those gate-houses thereon: Also that in all straights and narrow passages, as betweene 2 boggs, or through any deepe foord, or under any mountaine side, there should be some little fortillage, or wooden castle set, which should keepe and commaund that straight, whereby any rebels that should come into the country might be stopped that way, or passe with great perill. Moreover, that all high wayes should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving onely 40 foote breadth for passage, so as none shall be able to passe but through the high wayes, whereby theeves and night robbers might be the more easily pursued and encountred, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolne cattle, but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there should be in sundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to be built, the which should be free Burgesses, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many places in the English Pale, and all the wayes about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should passe but through those townes: To some of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather to strengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth sooner cause civility in any countrie then many market townes, by reason that people repairing often thither for their needes, will dayly see and learne civil manners of the better sort: Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the country then such corporate

townes, as by prooffe in many rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countryes have swerved, the townes have stood fast, and yeelded good releife to the souldiours in all occasions of services. And lastly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or realme then many townes; for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruites of their trades, aswell to make money of them, as to supply their needefull uses; and the countrymen will also be more industrious in tillage, and rearing of all husbandry commodities, knowing that they shall have ready sale for them at those townes; and in all those townes should there be convenient innes, erected for the lodging and harbouring of travellers, which are now oftentimes spoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houses, for want of such safe places to shroude them in.

Eudox. But what profit shall your market townes reape of their market? when as each one may sell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their secret bargaines amongst themselves as now I understand they use.

Iren. Indeede, Eudoxus, they do so, and thereby no small inconvenience doth rise to the commonwealth; for now when any one hath stolne a cow or a garron, he may secretly sell it in the country without privity of any, whereas if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any cattle, but in some open market, (there being now market townes every where at hand,) upon a great penalty, neither should they likewise buy any corne to sell the same againe, unlesse it were to make malt thereof; for by such ingrossing and regrating we see the dearth that now commonly raigneth here in England to have beene caused. Hereunto also is to be added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all Ireland: That all men should marke their cattle with an open severall marke upon their flankes or buttockes, so as if they happened to be stolne, they might appeare whose they were, and they, which should buy them, might thereby suspect the owner, and be warned to abstaine from buying them of a suspected person, with such an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely these ordinances seeme very expedient, but specially that of free townes, of which I wonder there is so small store in Ireland, and that, in the first peopling and planting thereof, they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, through all places of the country convenient, many good townes seated, which thorough that inundation of the Irish, which I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the ruins are yet in many places to be seene, and of some no signe at all remaining, save onely their bare names; but their seats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then commeth it to passe, that they have never since been recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the rest, which have beene no lesse spoyled and wasted?

Iren. The cause thereof was, for that, after their desolation, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings, under colour to repaire them, and gather the poore reliques of the people againe together, of whom having obtained them, they were so farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waste, lest that, being repaired, their charters might be renewed, and their Burgesses restored to their lands, which they had now in their possession; much like as in those old monuments of abbeyes, and religious houses, we see them likewise use to doe: For which cause it is judged that King Henry the Eight bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never be able to rise againe. And even so doe these Lords, in these poore old corporate townes, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore, as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, so would I againe wish them to be free, not depending upon the service, nor under the command of any but the Governour. And being so, they will both strengthen all the country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better replenished and enriched, and also be as continuall houldes for her Majesty, if the people should revolt or breake out againe; for without such it is easie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be for ensample all those free-boroughes, in the low-countreyes, which are

now all the strength thereof. These and other like ordinances might be delivered for the good establishment of the realme, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easily kept and maintained, with small care of the Governours and Councell there appointed, so as it should in short space yeeld a plentifull revenue to the crowne of England; which now doth but sucke and consume the treasure thereof, through those unsound plots and changefull orders, which are dayly devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your discourse I have not marked any thing by you spoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wish the charge of the performance of all this to be committed: Onely I observed some fowle abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours, the reformation whereof you left of for this present place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magistrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wisdom of greater heads to be considered; only thus much I will speake generally thereof, to satisfie your desire, that the Government and cheife Magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth, to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Justice, for that it is a very safe kinde of rule; but there-withall I wish that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant, of some of the greatest personages in England, * such a one I could name, upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our last hopes now rest; who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes resident, may backe and defend the good course of that government against all maligners, which else will, through their cunning working under hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and desolation of that poore realme; and this Lieutenantcy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather

* *Such a one I could name, &c.*] Meaning the Earl of Essex.—TODD.

rather a strengthening of all his doings; for now the chiefe evill in that government is, that no Governour is suffered to goe on with any one course, but upon the least information here, of this or that he is either stopped and crossed, or other courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt: And therefore this should be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrouled power to doe any thing, that he with the advisement of the Councell should thinke meete to be done: For it is not possible for the Councell here, to direct a Governour there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the necessitie of present actions, and to take the suddaine advantage of time, which being once lost will not be recovered; whilst, through expecting direction from hence, the delays whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires most irksome, the opportunities there in the meane time passe away, and great danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped: And this (I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel in his discourses upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans Government, in giving absolute power to all their Councillors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearely answer: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italy; who use to limit their chiefe officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions, as they could never come unto againe: The like whereof, who so hath beene conversant in that government of Ireland, hath too often seene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be redressed, and yet not so but that in particular things he should be restrained, though not in the generall government; as namely in this, that no offices should be sould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of countryes, nor no shares of Bishopricks for nominating of Bishops, nor no forfeitures, nor dispensations with poenall

Statutes given to their servants or friends, nor no selling of licences for transportation of prohibited wares, and specially of corne and flesh; with many the like; which neede some manner of restraunte, or else very great trust in the honorable disposition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would serve me, run through the state of that whole country, both to let you see what it now is, and also what it may be by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of so great a kingdome, or prescribe rules to such wise men as have the handling thereof, but onely to shew you the evils, which in my small experience I have observed, to be the chiefe hinderance of the reformation; and by way of conference to declare my simple opinion for the redresse thereof, and establishing a good course for government; which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention to be onely followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of very wise Governours and Councillours, whom I have (sometimes) heard treat hereof: So have I thought good to set downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, and your satisfaction, that who so list to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiser then they which have thus advised of that state, yet at least by comparison hereof may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him, may follow after with more ease, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto, then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thank you, Irenæus, for this your gentle paines; withall not forgetting, now in the shutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promised, that hereafter when we shall meete againe, upon the like good occasion, you will declare unto us those your observations, which you have gathered of the antiquities of Ireland.*

* See several observations, relating to this View of the State of Ireland, in the Life of Spenser.—TODD.

**A DISCOVERIE
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND.**



A DISCOVERIE
OF THE STATE OF
IRELAND: with the true Causes
why that Kingdom was never
entirely subdued,
nor brought under Obedience of the *Crowne of ENG-*
LAND, untill the Beginning of his *Majesties*
moſt happie Raigne.



Printed for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling within Temple
Bar, at the Signe of the Hand and Star.

1613.

Dedicated
TO
THE KING,
BY
Sir JOHN DAVIS, Knight,
His M A J E S T I E S
Attorney Generall
of IRELAND. .

PRINCIPIS EST VIRTUS MAXIMA,
NÔSSE SVOS.

A Discovery of the true causes, why IRELAND was never entirely subdued, and brought under Obedience of the Crowne of ENGLAND, untill the beginning of his MAJESTIES happy raigne.



URING the time of my *Service* in IRELAND (which began in the first yeare of his Majesties raigne) I have visited all the Provinces of that *Kingdome*, in sundry journies and circuits. Wherein I have observed the good *Temperature* of the *Ayre*; the *Fruitfullness* of the *Soyle*; the pleasant and commodious *seats* for *habitation*; the safe and large *Ports* and *Havens* lying open for *Trafficke*, into all the West parts of the world; the long *Inlets* of many Navigable Rivers, and so many great *Lakes*, and fresh Ponds within the Land; (as the like are not to be seene in any part of *Europe*;) the rich *Fishings*, and Wilde *Fowle* of all kinds: and lastly, the *Bodies* and *Minds* of the people, endued with extraordinarie abilities of Nature.

THE observation whereof, hath bred in me some curiositie to consider what were the true causes why *this Kingdome*, whereof our Kings of *England* have berne the Title of *Soveraign Lords* for the space of foure hundred and odde

yeares (a period of time wherein divers great Monarchies have risen from Barbarisme to Civillitie, and fallen againe to ruine) was not in all that space of time, thoroughly subdued and reduced to Obedience of the Crowne of *England*, although there hath been almost a continuall warre between the *English* and the *Irish*; and why the manners of the meere *Irish* are so little altered since the dayes of King *Henry* the Second, as appeareth by the description made by *Giraldus Cambrensis* (who lived and wrote in that time), albeit, there have bin since that time, so many *English Colonies* planted in *Ireland*, as that, if the people were numbered at this day by the Poll, such as are descended of English race would be found more in number then the ancient Natives.

AND truly, upon consideration of the conduct and passage of affaires in former times, I find, that the *State of England* ought to be cleared of an imputation, which a vulgar error hath cast upon it in one point; namely, *That Ireland long since might have been subdued and reduced to Civillity, if some Statesmen, in policy, had not thought it more fit to continue that Realme in Barbarisme.* Doubtlesse, this vulgar Opinion (or report) hath no true ground, but did first arise either out of Ignorance, or out of Malice. For it will appeare by that which shall hereafter be laide downe in this discourse, that ever since *Our Nation* had any footing in this Land, the *State of England* did earnestly desire, and did accordingly endeavour from time to time, to perfect the Conquest of this kingdom, but that in every age there were found such impediments and defects in both Realmes, as caused almost an impossibility, that things should have bin otherwise than they were.

Two maine
impedi-
ments of
the con-
quest.
Simile.

THE *Defects* which hindred the *Perfection* of the Conquest of *Ireland*, were of two kinds, and consisted: first, *in the faint prosecution of the warre*, and next, *in the loosenesse of the civill Government.* For, the Husbandman must first breake the Land, before it be made capeable of good seede: and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not

forthwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wilde againe, and beare nothing but Weeds. So a barbarous Country must be first broken by a warre, before it will be capeable of good Government; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the Conquest, it will eft-soones return to the former Barbarisme.

TOUCHING the carriage of the *Martiall Affaires*, from the seventeenth yeare of King *Henry* the Second, when the first overture was made for the Conquest of *Ireland* (I meane the first after the Norman Conquest of *England*) untill the nine and thirtieth yeare of Queene *ELIZABETH*, when that Royal army was sent over to suppress *Tirones* Rebellion, which made in the end an universall and absolute conquest of all the *Irishrie*: it is most certaine, that the English forces sent *hither*, or raised heere from time to time, were ever too weake to subdue and master so many warlike nations (or *Septs*) of the Irish, as did possesse this Island; and besides their weakenesse, they were *Ill paide*, and *worse Governed*. And if at any time there came over an army of competent strength and power, it did rather terrifie then breake and subdue this people, being ever *broken* and *dissolved* by some one accident or other, before the perfection of the Conquest.

The faint prosecution of the warre.

FOR, that I call a *Perfect Conquest* of a Country, which doth reduce all the people thereof to the Condition of *Subjects*: and those I call *Subjects*, which are governed by the ordinary Lawes and Magistrates of the *Sovereigne*. For, though the Prince doth beare the Title of *Sovereign Lord* of an entire country (as our Kings did of all *Ireland*) yet if there be two third parts of that Countrey wherein he cannot punish Treasons, Murders, or Thefts, unlesse he send an Army to do it; if the Jurisdiction of his ordinary Courts of Justice doth not extend into those parts to protect the people from wrong and oppression; if he have no certaine Revennew, no Escheats or Forfeitures out of the same, I cannot justly say, that such a Country is wholly conquered.

What is a perfect conquest.

How the
war hath
bin prosecuted since
the 17
yeare of
Henry the
Second

FIRST then, that we may judge and discern whether the *English* forces in *Ireland* were at any time of sufficient strength, to make a full and finall Conquest of that Land, let us see what extraordinary armies have bin transmitted out of *England* thither, and what ordinarie forces have beene maintained there, and what service they have performed from time to time, since the seaventeenth yeare of King *Henry* the Second.

In the
time of
Henry the
Second.

IN that yeare, *Mac Murugh* Lord of *Leinster*, being oppressed by the Lords of *Meth* and *Conaght*, and expelled out of his territorie, mooved King *Henry* the Second to invade *Ireland*, and made an overture unto him for the obtaining of the Sovereaign Lordship thereof. The King refused to undertake the Warre himself, to avoid the charge (as King *Henry* the Seventh refused to undertake the discovery of the *Indies* for the same cause) but he gave license by his Letters Patents, that such of his Subjects might passe over into *Ireland* as wold at their owne charge become adventurers in that enterprize.

Giraldus
Cambrensis.

The first
attempt
but an ad-
venture of
private
Gentlemen.

So as the *first attempt to conquer this Kingdome, was but an adventure of a few private Gentlemen*. *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Girald* first brake the yce, with a party of three hundred ninety men. The Earle *Strongbow* followed them with twelve hundred more, whose good successe upon the Sea-coasts of *Leinster* and *Mounster*, drew over the King in person the next year after, *cum quingentis Militibus*, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* reporteth, who was present in *Ireland* at that time. Which if they were but five hundred souldiers, seemeth too small a traine for so great a Prince. But admit they were five hundred Knightes, yet because in those dayes every Knight was not a Commaunder of a Regiment or Company, but most of them served as private men (sometimes a hundered Knightes under a *Speare*) as appeareth by the Lists of the ancient armies, we cannot conjecture his army to have beene so great, as might suffice to conquer all *Ireland*, being divided into so many Principalities, and having so manie *Hydraes* heads, as it had at that time.

With what
forces the
K. him-
selfe came
over.

Archiv.
Remem.
Regis apud
Westm.

For albeit, *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* doth report, that *Agricola* having subdued the greatest part of *Great Britaine*, did signifie to the Senat of *Rome*, that he thought *Ireland* might also be conquered with one Legion, and a few ayds: I make no doubt, but that if he had attempted the conquest thereof with a farre greater army, he would have found himselfe deceived in his conjecture. "For, a Barbarous Country is not so easily conquered as a Civill, whereof *Cæsar* had experience in his warres against the *Gaules*, *Germanes*, and *Britaines*, who were subdued to the Roman Empire, with farre greater difficultie than the rich kingdoms of *Asia*. And againe, a Countrey possessed with many pettie Lordes and States, is not so soone brought under entirely, as an entire Kingdome Governed by one Prince or Monarch. And therefore, the late King of *Spaine* could sooner win the Kingdome of *Portugall* then reduce the States of the *Low Countries*.

BUT let us see the successe of King *Henry* the Second. Doubtlesse his expedition was such, as he might have said with *Cæsar*: *Veni, vidi, vici*. For, upon his first arrival, his very *Prerence* without drawing his sword, prevailed so much, as all the *Petty-Kings*, or *Great Lords* within *Leinster*, *Conaght*, and *Mounster*, submitted themselves unto him, promised to pay him tribute, and acknowledged him their chiefe and Sovereigne Lord. Besides, the better to assure this inconstant Sea-Nymph (who was so easily wonne) the Pope would needs give her unto him with a Ring; *Conjugio jungam stabili, propriamque dicabo*. But as the Conquest was but slight and superficiall, so the *Popes Donation* and the *Irish Submissions* were but weake and fickle assurances. For, as the Pope had no more interest in this kingdome, then *He* which offered to Christ all the kingdomes of the earth; so the Irish pretend, *That by their Law, a Tanist might do no Act that might bind his successor*. But this was the best assurance he could get from so many strong Nations of people, with so weake a power: and yet he was so well pleased with this title of the *Lordship* of *Ireland*, as he placed it in his *Royall Stile*, before the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*.

aine. And so being advertised of some stirs raised by his unnatural sonnes in *England*, within five months after his first arrivall, he departed out of *Ireland*, without striking one blow, or building one Castle, or planting one Garrison among the Irish, neither left he behinde him one true subject more than those he found there at his coming over, which were onely the *English Adventurers* spoken of before, who had gained the Port Townes in *Leinster* and *Mounster*, and possessed some scopes of land thereunto adjoyning, partly by *Strongbowes* alliance with the Lord of *Leinster*, and partly by plaine invasion and Conquest.

And this is that Conquest of King *Henry* the Second so much spoken of by so many Writers, which though it were in no other manner then is before expressed, yet is the entire Conquest of all *Ireland* attributed unto him.

But the troth is, the Conquest of *Ireland* was made peece and peece, by slow steppes and degrees, and by severall attempts, in severall ages. There were sundry revolutions, as well of the English fortunes as of the Irish; some-whiles one prevailing, some-whiles the other, and it was never brought to a full period, till his Majesty that now is came to the Crowne.

As for King *Henry* the Second, he was farre from obtaining that Monarchy Royall, and true Soveraigntie which his Majesty (who now raigneth) hath over the Irish. For the Irish Lords did onely promise to become Tributaries to King *Henry* the Second. And such as pay onely *Tribute*, though they be placed by *Bodin*, in the first degree of *Subjection*, are not properlie *Subjects* but *Soveraignes*. For, though they be lesse and inferiour unto the Prince to whom they pay *Tribute*, yet they hold all other pointes of Soveraignty; and having paid their *Tribute* which they promised, to have their peace, they are quit of all other duties, as the same *Bodin* writeth. And therefore, though King *Henry* the Second had the title of *Soveraigne Lorde* over the Irish, yet did he not put those thinges in execution, which are the true markes and differences of *Soveraigntie*.

*Bodin de
Repub.*

The true
markes of

For, to give Lawes unto a people, to institute Magistrats and Officers over them; to punish and pardon Malefactors;

to have the sole authority of making warre and peace, and the like; are the true markes of Sovereignty; which King *Henry* the Second had not in the Irish Countreyes, but the Irish Lords did still retaine all these prerogatives to themselves. Sovereignty.

For they governed their people by the *Brehon Law*: they made their owne Magistrates and Officers; they pardoned and punished all Malefactours within their severall Countries; they made warre and peace one with another, without controulment; and this they did not onely during the raigne of King *Henry* the Second, but afterwarde in all times, even untill the raigne of Queen *Elizabeth*: And it appeareth what maner of Subjects these Irish Lords were, by the Concorde made betweene King *Henry* the Second, and *Rodericke* ô *Connor* the Irish King of *Conaght*, in the yeare 1175, which is recorded by *Hoveden* in this forme: *Hic est finis et Concordia, inter Dominum regem Angliæ Henricum, filium Imperatricis et Rodoricum Regem Conactæ, scilicet, quod Rex &c., Angliæ concessit prædicti Roderico Ligeo homini suo, ut sit Rex sub eo paratus ad servitium suum, ut homo suus, &c.* Hoveden in Henrico Secundo. fol. 812. And the Commission, whereby King *Henry* the Second made *William Fitz-Adelme* his Lieutenant of Ireland, hath this direction: *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Regibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis in Hibernia, Salutem.* Whereby it is manifest, that he gave those Irish Lords the title and stile of *Kinges*.

King *John* likewise did grant divers Charters to the King of *Conaght*, which remaine in the Tower of London. And afterwards in the time of King *Henry* the Third, we finde in the Tower, a graunt made to the King of *Thomond*, in these words: *Rex Regi Tosmond salutem. Concessimus vobis terram Tosmond quam prius tenuistis, per firmam centum et triginta marcarum; Tenendum de nobis usque ad ætatem nostram:* And in the pipe Rols remaining in *Bremighams* Tower in the Castle of *Dublin*, upon sundrie Accompts of the Seneshal of *Ulster* (when that earledome was in the *Kinges* handes, by reason of the minority of the Earle) the entry of all such charges as were made upon *Oneale*, for Rent-Beeves, or for aids towards the maintenance of the *Kinges* warres, are in this forme. *Oneal Regulus 400 vaccas pro arreragio Reddit; Oneal Regulus, 100 li. de Auxilio* 6 Johannis Claus. membrana, 18.
17 Johannis Chart. m. 8.
6 Hen. 3. chart. m. 2.
Archib. in Castro Dublin.
42 Hen. 3. Comptus

*Will. de la
Zouch.*

*36 Hen. 3.
Comptotus
Huberti de
Rouly.*

Domini Regis ad guerram suam in Wasconia sustinendam.

And in one Rol the 36 of Henry the Third, *Oneale Rex*, 100 li. *de auxilio domini Regis ad guerram suam in Wallia Sustinendam.* Which seemed strange to me, that the Kings civill Officer should give him that stile upon Record, unlesse he meant it in that sense as *Maximilian* the Emperor did, when speaking of his disobedient Subjects; "The Title (saide he) of *Rex Regum*, doth more properly belong to me then to any mortall Prince, for all my subjects do live as Kings they obey me in nothing, but do what they list." And truely, in that sense, these Irish Lords might not unfitly be tearmed Kings. But to speake in proper termes, we must say with the Latine Poet, *Qui rex est, Regem, Maxime non habeat.* But touching these Irish Kings, I will adde this note out of an ancient *Manuscript*, the blacke Booke of Christ-Church in *Dublin*. *Isti Reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicuius ordinis, nec unctionis Sacramento, nec iure, hereditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi et armis quilibet Regnum suum obtinuit:* and therefore, they had no just cause to complaine, when a stronger King then themselves, became a King and Lord over them. But let us returne to our purpose, and see the proceeding of the Martiall affaires.

How the
war was
prosecuted
in the time
of King
John.

*Giraldus
Cambrensis.*

King *Henry* the Second, being returned into England, gave the Lordship of *Ireland* unto the Lord *John* his youngest sonne, sur-named before that time, *Sans Terre*. And the Pope confirming that guift, sent him a Crowne of Peacockes feathers (as Pope *Clement* the Eight, sent the Feather of a *Phœnix* (as he called it) to the Traitor *Tirone*.) This young Prince, the Kings sonne, being but twelve years of age, with a traine of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the number of 300, but not with any maine army, came over to take possession of his new Patrimony, and being arrived at *Waterford*, divers Irish Lords (who had submitted themselves to his father) came to performe the like duty to him. But that youthfull company using them with scorne, because their demeanors were but rude and barbarous, they went away much discontented, and raised a generall rebellion against him. Whereby it was made manifest, that the *Submission of*

*Giraldus
Cambrensis.*

the Irish Lords, and the Donation of the Pope, were but slender and weake assurances for a kingdom.

Hereupon this young Lord was revoked, and Sir *John de Courcy* sent over, not with the kings armie, but with a company of *Voluntaries*, in number foure hundred, or thereabout. With these he attempted the conquest of *Ulster*, and in foure or five encounters, did so beate the Irishry of that Province, as that he gained the *Maritime* Coasts thereof, from the *Boyne* to the *Bann*; and thereupon, was made Earle of *Ulster*. So as now the English had gotten good footing in all the Provinces of *Ireland*. In the first three Provinces of *Leinster*, *Mounster*, and *Conaght*, part by the sword, and part by submission and alliance. And lastly, in *Ulster*, by the invasion and victories of Sir *John de Courcy*. *Giraldus Cambrensis*

From this time forward, untill the seventeenth year of King *John* (which was a space of more than 30 yeares) there was no army transmitted out of England, to finish the Conquest. Howbeit in the meane time, the English Adventurers and Colonies already planted in *Ireland*, did winne much ground upon the Irish; Namely, the Earle *Strongbow*, having married the Daughter of *Mac Murrough*, in *Leinster*; the *Lacies* in *Meth*; the *Giraldines*, and other Adventurers in *Mounster*, the *Audeleys*, *Gernons*, *Clintons*, *Russels*, and other *Voluntaries* of Sir *John de Courcies* retinue, in *Ulster*; and the *Bourkes* (planted by *William Fitz-Adelme*) in *Conaght*. Yet were the English reputed but Part Owners of *Ireland* at this time, as appeareth by the Commission of the Popes Legate in the time of King *Richard* the first, whereby he had power to exercise his Jurisdiction, in *Anglia*, *Wallia*, *ac illis Hibernia partibus, in quibus Johannes Moretonii Comes potestatem habet et dominium*, as it is recorded by *Mat. Paris*. *Math. Paris in Richardo primo so. 1519.*

King *John* in the twelfth year of his raigne, came over again into *Ireland*: the stories of that time say with a great army, but the certaine numbers are not recorded: yet it is credible, in regard of the troubles wherewith this King was distressed in England, that this army was not of sufficient strength to make an entire Conquest of *Ireland*; and if it had been of sufficient strength, yet did not the King stay a sufficient *Math. Paris.*

sufficient time to perform so great an action, for he came over in June, and returned in Septem. the same yeare. Howbeit in that time, the Irish Lords for the most part, submitted themselves to him, as they had done before to his Father: which was but a meere mockery and imposture. For his backe was no sooner turned, but they returned to their former Rebellion: and yet this was reputed a *second Conquest*. And so this King giving order for the building of some Castles upon the Borders of the English Colonies, left behinde him the *Bishop of Norwich*, for the civill government of the lande; but he left no standing army to prosecute the conquest: only the English Colonies which were alreadie planted, were left to themselves to maintaine what they had got, and to gaine more if they could.

The personall presence of these two great Princes, King *Henry* the Second, and King *John*, though they performed no great thing with their armies, gave such countenance to the English Colonies, which encreased dayly by the coming over of new voluntaries and adventurers out of *England*, as that they enlarged their Territories verie much. Howbeit after this time the Kings of *England*, either because they presumed that the English Colonies were strong enough to roote out the Irish by degrees, or else because they were diverted or disabled otherwise (as shall be declared hereafter) never sent over any Royal armie, or any numbers of men worthy to be called an army into *Ireland*, untill the thirty six yeare of King *Edward* the Thirde, when *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the kings second sonne, having married the daughter and heyre of *Ulster*, was sent over with an extraordinary power in respect of the time (for the wars betwixt *England* and *Fraunce*, were then in their heate) aswell to recover his Earldome of *Ulster*, which was then over-run and possest by the Irish, as to reforme the English Colonies, which were become strangely degenerate throughout the whole kingdome.

This
Charter
yet remain-
eth perfect

For though King *Henry* the Thirde, gave the whole Land of *Ireland* to *Edward* the Prince, his eldest son, and his heyres, *Ita quod non Separetur a Corona Anglia*. Where-

upon it was styled the Land of the Lorde *Edwarde*, the kings eldest sonne: and all the Officers of the Land were called the Officers of *Edward Lord of IRELAND*; and though this *Edward* were one of the most active Princes that ever lived in England, yet did he not either in the life time of his father, or during his own raign, come over in person, or transmit any armie into Ireland, but on the other side, he drew sundry ayds and supplies of men out of *Ireland* to serve him in his warres in *Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne*. And again, though King *Edward* the Second sent over *Piers Gaveston* with a great retinue, it was never intended he should perfect the Conquest of Ireland; for the King could not want his company so long a time, as must have been spent in the finishing of so tedious a worke.

So then, in all that space of time, betweene the twelfth yeare of King John, and the 36 yeare of King *Edward* the Third containing 150 years, or thereabouts, although there were a continuall bordering war between the English and the Irish, there came no royal army out of *England*, to make an end of the warre. But the chiefe Governors of the realme, who were at first called *Custodes Hiberniæ*; and afterwards *Lords Justices*, and the English Lordes who had gotten so great possessions and Royalties, as that they presumed to make warre and peace without direction from the State, did levie all their forces within the land. But those forces were weakly supplied and Ill Governed, as I said before. Weakly supplied with men and Money; and governed with the worst Discipline that ever was seene among men of warre. And no marvell, for it is an infallible rule, that *an army ill paide is ever unruly, and ill governed*. The standing forces heere, were sildome or never re-enforced out of *England*, and such as were either sent from thence, or raised heere, did commonly do more hurt and damage to the *English* Subjects, then to the Irish enemies, by their continuall *Sesse* and *Extortion*. Which mischiefe did arise, by reason that little or no Treasure was sent out of *England*, to pay the soldiers wages: Onely the Kings revennew in Ireland was spent, and wholly spent in the publicke service; and therefore, in all the ancient Pipe-

with an entire Seale in the Treasury at Westminster.

Archiv. in. Castro Dublin.

et Archiv. Turr. 52.

Hen. 3.

patent. m. 9.

How the martiall affayres were carried from the 12 yeare of King John to the 36 yeare of King Edward the 3.

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

Statut. 10.
H. 7. cap.
4. Rot.
Parliam.
in Castro
Dublin.

Annales
Hibernia
in Camden.

Baron
Finglas
Manus.
Stat. 10.
H. 7. cap.
4. Rot.
Parliam.
in Castro
Dublin.

Rols in the times of *Henry the Third, Edward the First, Edward the Second, Edward the Third*, betweene the Receipts and allowances, there is this entrie; *In Thesauro nihil*. For the officers of the State and the Army spent all; so as there was no surplusage of Treasure; and yet that *All* was not sufficient. For in default of the Kings pay, aswell the ordinary forces which stood continually, as the extraordinarie, which were levied by the chiefe Governor, upon journeyes, and generall hoastings, were for the most part laid upon the poore subject descended of *English* race; howbeit this burden was in some measure tolerable in the time of King *Henry the Third*, and King *Edward the First*; but in the time of King *Edward the Second, Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond*, being chiefe Commander of the army against the Scots, began that wicked extortion of *Coigne and Livery*, and pay, that is: He and his army tooke Horse-meate and Mans-meate, and money, at their pleasure, without any Ticket, or other satisfaction. And this was after that time, the generall fault of all the Governors and Commanders of the army in this Lande. Onely the golden saying of Sir *Thomas Rookesby*, who was Justice in the thirtieth yeare of King *Edward the Third* is recorded in all the Annales of this kingdome, *That he would eate in wooden dishes, but would pay for his Meat, Gold and Silver*. Besides, the English Colonies being dispersed in everie Province of this kingdome, were enforced to keep continuall guards upon the Borders and Marches round about them; which *Guardes*, consisting of idle souldiers, were likewise imposed as a continuall burthen uppon the poore *English* Freeholders, whome they oppressed and impoverished in the same manner. And because the great English Lords and Captaines had power to impose this charge, when, and where they pleased, manie of the poore Freeholders, were glad to give unto those Lords a great part of their Lands, to hold the rest free from that extortion: And many others, not being able to endure that intollerable oppression, did utterly quit their freeholds, and returned into *England*. By this meane, the English Colonies grew poore and weake, though the English Lords grew rich and mighty: for they placed Irish Tenants uppon

the Landes relinquished by the English; upon them they levied all Irish exactions; with them they married, and fostered, and made Gossips: so as within one age, the English, both Lords and Free-holders, became degenerate and meer Irish in their Language, in their apparell, in their armes and manner of fight, and all other Customes of life whatsoever.

By this it appeareth, why the extortion of *Coigny* and *Livery*, is called in the old Statutes of *Ireland*, *A Damnable custome*; and the imposing and taking thereof, made *High Treason*. And it is saide in an ancient discourse *Of the Decay of Ireland*, that though it were first invented in *Hell*, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in *Ireland*, it had long since destroyed the very kingdome of *Belzebub*. In this manner was the warre of *Ireland* carried, before the comming over of *Lionel Duke of Clarence*.

This young Prince, being Earle of *Ulster*, and Lord of *Conaght*, in right of his wife (who was daughter and heire of the Lord *William Bourke*, the last Earle of *Ulster* of that family slaine by treachery at *Knockfergus*) was made the kings Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and sent over with an army, in the 36 year of King *Edward* the third. The Rol and List of which Army, doth remaine of Record in the Kings Remembrauncers office in *England* (in the presse de *Rebus tangentibus Hiberniam*) and dooth not containe above fiteene hundred men by the Poll; which because it differs somewhat from the manner of this age, both in respect of the *Command* and the *Entertainment*, I thinke it not impertinent to take a brieve view thereof.

The Lord *Lionel* was Generall, and under him *Raulf* Earle of *Stafford*, *James* Earle of *Ormond*, Sir *John Carew*, Banneret, Sir *William Windsor*, and other knights were commanders.

The entertainment of the Generall upon his first arrivall, was but six shillings eight pence, *per diem*, for himselfe; for five Knights, two shillings a peece, *per diem*; for 64 Esquires, xij.d. a peece. *per diem*; for 70 Archers, vj.d. a peece, *per diem*. But being shortly after created *Duke of Clarence* (which honor was conferred upon him beeing heere in *Ireland*) his

Statut. 11.
Henry 4.
cap. 6.
Baron
Finglas.
M.S.

The Armie
transmitted
with Lionel
Duke of
Clarence,
the 36 of
Edward
the 3.
Archiv.
Rome.
regis apud
Westm.

entertainment was raised to xij.s. iiij.d. *per diem*, for himselfe, and for 8 Knights, ij.s. a peece *per diem*, with an encrease of the numbers of his Archers, viz., 360 Archers on horsebacke, out of *Lancashire*, at vj.d. a peece *per diem*, and 23 Archers out of *Wales*, at ij.d. a peece *per diem*.

The Earle of *Staffords* entertainment, was for himselfe vi.s. viij.d. *per diem*, for a Banneret, iiij.s. *per diem*, for xvij. Knights, ij.s. a peece *per diem*, for 78 Esquires, xij.d. a peece *per diem*, for 100 Archers on horsebacke, vj.d. a peece *per diem*. Besides, he had the command of 24 Archers out of *Staffordshire*, 40 Archers out of *Worcestershire*, and 6 Archers out of *Shropshire*, at iiij.d. a peece *per diem*.

The entertainment of *James Earle of Ormond*, was for himselfe iiij.s. *per diem*, for two Knights, ij.s. a peece *per diem*, for 27 esquires xij.d. a peece *per diem*, for 20 Hoblers armed (the Irish Horsemen were so called, because they served on *Hobbies*) vj.d. a peece *per diem*, and for 20 Hoblers not armed, iiij.d. a peece *per diem*.

The entertainment of *Sir John Carew* Banneret, was for himselfe iiij.s. *per diem*, for one Knight, ij.s. *per diem*, for eight Esquires, xij.d. a peece *per diem*, for ten Archers on horsebacke, vj.d. a peece *per diem*.

The entertainment of *Sir William Winsore*, was for himselfe ij.s. *per diem*, for two Knights, ij.s. a peece *per diem*, for 49 Squires xij.d. a peece *per diem*, for six Archers on horseback, vj.d. a peece *per diem*.

The like entertainment rateably, were allowed to divers Knights and Gentlemen upon that List, for themselves and their severall retinewes, whereof some were greater, and some lesse, as they themselves could raise them among their Tenants and Followers.

The manner of levying Souldiers in former ages.

For in ancient times, the King himselfe did not levy his armies by his owne immediate Authority or Commission, but the Lords and Captaines did by Indenture Covenant with the King, to serve him in his Wars with certain numbers of men, for certaine wages and entertainments, which they raised in greater or lesse numbers, as they had favour or power with

the people. This course hath been changed in later times upon good reason of State: For the Barons and Chiefe Gentlemen of the realme, having power to use the Kings prerogative in that point, became too popular; whereby they were enabled to raise forces even against the Crown itself, which since the Statutes made for levying and mustering of souldiers by the Kings speciall commission, they cannot so easily performe, if they should forget their duties.

THIS Lord Lieutenant, with this small army, performed no great service; and yet upon his comming over, all men who had Land in Ireland, were by Proclamation remaunded backe out of England thither, and both the Clergy and Laity of this Land, gave two yeares profits of all their Landes and Tithes, towards the maintenance of the war heere: only he suppressed some Rebels in Low Leinster, and recovered the Maritime parts of his erldome of Ulster. But his best service did consist in the well governing of his army, and in holding that famous Parliament at Kilkenny; wherein the extortion of the souldier, and the degenerat manners of the English (briefly spoken of before) were discovered, and Lawes made to reforme the same: Which shall be declared more at large heereafter.

What service Lionel Duke of Clarence performed. *Archiv. Turr. 36. Edward. 3. Claus. m. 21 in dorso, and m. 30.*

THE next Lieutenant, transmitted with any forces out of England, was Sir William Winsore; who in the 47 yeare of King Edward the Third, undertook the Custodie, not the Conquest of this Land (for now the English made rather a defensive then an invasive war) and withal, to defray the whol charge of the kingdom, for eleaven thousand two hundred thirteene pounds, six shillings and eight pence, as appeareth by the Indenture between him and the King, remaining of Record in the Tower of London. But it appeareth by that which Froissard reporteth, that Sir William Winsore was so farre from subduing the Irish, as that himselfe reported: That he could never have accesse to understande and know their Countries, albeit he had spent more time in the service of Ireland then any Englishman then living.

Sir Wm. Winsore Lieutenant, 47 Ed. 3. his forces and service. 47 Edw. 3. Claus. m. 1. Stow. in Richd. 2.

AND heere I may well take occasion, to shewe the vanity of the Re-

vennue of
Ireland, in
the time of
Edw. 3.
Wal-
ling-
ham in
Richd. 2.

of that which is reported in the Story of *Walsingham*, touching the revennue of the Crown in *Ireland*, in the time of King *Edward* the Third. For he setting forth the State of things there, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, writeth thus: *Cum Rex Angliæ illustris, Edwardus tertius illic posuisset Bancum suum atq. ; Judices, cum Scaccario, percepit inde ad Regalem Fiscum annuatim triginta millia librarum ; modò propter absentiam ligeorum, et hostium potentiam, nihil inde venit : sed Rex per annos singulos, de suo Marsupio, terræ defensoribus soluit Triginta millia marcarum, ad regni sui dedecus et fisci gravissimum detrimentum.*

Archie.
Turr.
11 *Hon.* 3.
patent
m. 3.
21 *Edw.* 3.
m. 41.

If this Writer had knowne, that the Kings Courts had beene established in *Ireland* more then a hundred yeares before King *Edward* the Third was borne, or had seene eyther the Parliament Rols in *England*, or the Records of the receits and yssues in *Ireland*, he had not left this vaine report to posterity. For both the Benches and the Exchequer were erected in the twelfth year of King *John*. And it is recorded in the Parliament Rols of 21 of *Edward* the Third, remaining in the Tower, that the Commons of *England* made petition, that it might be enquired why the King received *no benefit* of his land in *Ireland*, considering he possessed more there then any of his Ancestors had before him. Now, if the King at that time, when there were no Standing forces maintained there, had received 30000 pound yearely at his Exchequer in *Ireland*, he must needs have made profit by that land, considering that the whole charge of the kingdome in the 47 yeare of *Edward* the Third (when the King did pay an army there) did amount to no more than eleven thousand and two hundred pounds *per annum*, as appeareth by the contract of Sir *William Winsore*.

47 *Edw.* 3.
claus. pers.
2 m. 24 and
26.

Besides, it is manifest by the Pipe-Rolles of that time, whereof many are yet preserved in *Breminghams* Tower; and are of better credite then any Monkes story, that during the raigne of King *Edward* the Third, the revennue of the Crowne of *Ireland*, both certaine and casuall, did not rise unto 10000 li. *per annum*, though the *Medium* be taken of the best seven years that are to be found in that Kings time. The like Fable hath *Hollingshead* touching the revennue of the Earledome

Archie. in
Castro
Dublin.

Hollings-
head in
Richd. 2.

of *Ulster*; which (saith he) in the time of King *Richard* the Second was thirty thousand Markes by the yeare; whereas in truth, though the Lordships of *Conaght* and *Meth* (which were then parcell of the inheritaunce of the Earle of *Ulster*) be added to the accompt, the revennue of that earledome came not to the thirde part of that he writeth. For the Accompt of the profits of *Ulster* yet remayning in *Breminghams* Tower, made by *William Fitz-warren*, Seneshall and Farmour of the Landes in *Ulster*, seized into the Kings hands after the death of *Walter de Burgo*, Earle of *Ulster*, from the fifth yeare of *Edward* the Third, untill the eight Yeare, doe amount but to 900 and odde pounds, at what time the Irishry had not made so great an invasion upon the earledom of *Ulster*, as they had done in the time of King *Richard* the Second.

*Archiv. in
Castro.
Dublin.
5 Edw. 3.*

As vaine a thing it is that I have seen written in an ancient *Manuscript*, touching the customes of this realme in the time of King *Edward* the Third, that those duties in those days should yearly amount to 10000 markes, which by mine owne search and view of the Records heere, I can justly controll. For upon the late reducing of this ancient inheritance of the crown which had beene detained in most of the Port Townes of this Realme, for the space of a hundred yeares and upwardes, I tooke some paines (according to the duty of my place) to visit all the Pipe-Rolles, wherein the Accompts of Customes are contained, and found those duties aunswered in every Port, for 250 Yeares together, but did not find that at any time they did exceed a thousand pound *per annum*; and no marvel, for the subsidie of Pondage was not then known, and the greatest profite did arise by the Cocquet of Hides; for Wooll, and Wooll-fells were ever of little value in this Kingdome.

But now againe let us see how the Martiall affayrs proceeded in Ireland. Sir *William Winsore* continued his government till the latter end of the raign of King *Edward* the Thirde, keeping, but not enlarging, the English borders.

In the beginning of the raigne of King *Richard* the Second, the State of *England* began to thinke of the recovery of Ireland. For then was the first Statute made against *Absen-*

*How the
war pro-
ceeded in
the time*

of King
Richd. 2.
3 Richd. 2.
Archiv.
Turr.
Rot. Par-
liam. 42.

tees, commanding all such as had Land in Ireland, to returne and reside thereupon, upon paine to forfeite two third parts of the profit thereof. Againe this King, before himselfe intended to passe over, committed the Government of this Realme to such great Lordes successively, as he did most love and favor: First to the Earle of *Oxford* his Chiefe Minion, whom he created Marquesse of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*: next to the Duke of *Surrey* his halfe Brother: and lastly, to the Lord *Mortimer*, Earle of *March* and *Ulster*, his Cosin and heyre apparent.

Pat. 2.
por. 9.
Richd. 2.
m. 24.

Among the Patent Rolles in the Tower, the ninth yeare of *Richard* the Second we finde five hundred men at armes at xij.d. a peece *per diem*; and a 1000 Archers at vi.d. a peece *per diem*, appointed for the Duke of Ireland, *Super Conquestu illius terre per duos annos*: For those are the wordes of that Record; but for the other two Lieutenants, I do not find the certaine numbers whereof their armies did consist. But certaine it is, that they were scarce able to defend the English borders, much lesse to reduce the whol Island. For one of them; namely, the Earle of *March*, was himselfe slain upon the borders of *Meth*; for revenge of whose death, the King himselfe made his second voyage into *Ireland*, in the last yeare of his raigne. For his first voyage in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne (which was indeed a Voyage-Royal) was made upon another motive and occasion, which was this: upon the vacancy of the Empire, this King having married the King of *Bohemiaes* Daughter (whereby he had great alliance in *Germany*) did by his Ambassadors solicit the Princes Electors to choose him Emperour: But another being elected and his Ambassadors returned, he would needes know of them the cause of his repulse in that Competition: they tolde him plainly, that the Princes of *Germany* did not thinke him fit to commaund the Empire, who was neither able to hold that which his Ancestours had gained in *France*, nor to rule his insolent Subjects in *England*, nor to Master his rebellious people of *Ireland*. This was enough to kindle in the heart of a young Prince a desire to performe some great enterprise. And therefore finding it no fit time to attempt *France*, he resolved

• *Walsing-*
ham in
Richd. 2.
Annales
Tho. Otter-
bourne
Manu-
script.

to finish the Conquest of *Ireland*; and to that end, he levied a mightie armie, consisting of foure thousand men at Armes, and 30000 Archers, which was a sufficient power to have reduced the whole Island, if he had first broken the Irish with a warre, and after established the English Lawes among them, and not have beene satisfied with their light submissions onely, wherewith, in all ages they have mockt and abused the State of *England*. But the Irish Lords knowing this to be a sure pollicie to dissolve the forces which they were not able to resist (for their Ancestors had put the same trick and imposture upon King *John*, and King *Henry* the Second,) as soone as the King was arrived with his army, which he brought over under *S. Edwards* Banner (whose name was had in great veneration amongst the Irish) they all made offer to submit themselves. Whereupon the Lorde *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of *Nottingham*, and Marshall of *England*, was authorized by speciall commission to receive the homages and Oaths of fidelity, of all the Irishrie of *Leinster*. And the King himself having received humble Letters from *O Neale* (wherein he styleth himself Prince of the Irishry in *Ulster*, and yet acknowledgeth the King to be his Sovereign Lorde, *et perpetuus Dominus Hiberniæ*) removed to *Drogheda*, to accept the like submissions from the Irish of *Ulster*. The men of *Leinster*, namely, *Mac Murrough*, *O Byrne*, *O Moore*, *O Murrough*, *O Nolan*, and the chiefe of the *Kinshelagh*es, in an humble and solemn manner did their homages, and made their Oaths of fidelity to the Earl Marshall, laying aside their girdles, their skeins and their caps, and falling downe at his feet upon their knees. Which when they had performed, the Earle gave unto each of them *Osculum pacis*.

*Stow in
Richd. 2.
Archiv. in
officio Re-
memorat.
regis apud
Westmon.*

Besides, they were bound by several Indentures, upon great paines to be paid to the Apostolique Chamber, not onely to continue loyall subjects, but that by a certaine day prefixed, they and all their Sword-men should clearly relinquish and give up unto the King and his successors all their Landes and Possessions which they held in *Leinster*, and (taking with them only their movable goods) should serve him in his warres against his other Rebels. In consideration whereof,

the King should give them pay and pensions during their lives, and bestow the inheritance of all such lands upon them as they should recover from the Rebels, in any other part of the Realme. And thereupon, a pension of eighty Markes *per annum*, was graunted to *Art' Mac Murrough*, chiefe of the *Kavanaghes*; the Enroulement whereof, I found in the White Booke of the Exchequer heere. And this was the effect of the service performed by the Earle *Marshall*, by vertue of his Commission. The King in like manner received the submissions of the Lords of *Ulster*, namely, *O Neal*, *O Hanlon*, *Mac Donel*, *Mac Mahon*, and others; who with the like Humility and Ceremony, did homage and fealtie to the Kings owne person; the words of *O Neales* homage as they are recorded are not unfit to be remembered: *Ego Nelanus Oneal Senior tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota Natione mea et Parentelis meis, et pro omnibus subditis meis devenio Ligeus homo vester, &c.* And in the Indenture betweene him and the King, he is not onely bound to remaine faithfull to the Crowne of England, but to restore the *Bonaght* of *Ulster*, to the Earle of *Ulster*, as of right belonged to that Earledome, and usurped among other things by the *O Neales*.

These Indentures and submissions, with many other of the same kinde (for there was not a Chieftaine or head of an Irish sept, but submitted himselfe in one forme or other) the King himselfe caused to be enrolled and testified by a Notary publique, and delivered the enroulements with his owne hands to the Byshop of *Salisbury*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, so as they have beene preserved, and are now to be found in the Office of the Kings Remembrancer there.

With these humilities they satisfied the young King, and by their bowing and bending, avoyded the present storme, and so brake that Army, which was prepared to brake them. For the King having accepted their submissions, received them in *Osculo pacis*, feasted them, and having given the honor of Knighthood to divers of them, did breake up and dissolve his armie, and returned into *England* with much honor, and small profit, (saith *Froissard*.) For though he had spent a huge masse of Treasure in transporting his army, by the

countenance whereof, he drew on their submissions, yet did he not encrease his revenue thereby one sterling pound, nor enlarged the *English* borders the bredth of one Acre of Land; neither did he extend the Jurisdiction of his Courtes of Justice one foote further then the English Colonies, wherein it was used and exercised before. Besides, he was no sooner returned into *England*, but those *Irish* Lords laide aside their maskes of humility, and scorning the weake forces which the King had left behinde him, beganne to infest the borders; in defence whereof, the Lord *Roger Mortimer* being then the Kings Lieutenant, and heire apparent of the Crowne of *England* was slaine, as I said before. Whereupon the King being moved with a just appetite of revenge, came over againe in person, in the 22 yeare of his raigne, with as potent an armie as he had done before, with a full purpose to make a full Conquest of Ireland: He landed at *Waterford*, and passing from thence to *Dublin*, through the wast Countries of the *Murroghes*, *Kinshelagh*, *Cavanagh*, *Birnes*, and *Tooles*, his great armie was much distressed for want of victuals and carriages, so as he performed no memorable thing in that journey; onely in the *Cavanagh* Countrey, he cut and cleared the paces, and bestowed the honor of Knighthood upon the Lord *Henry*, the Duke of *Lancasters* Son, who was afterwards King *Henry* the Fift, and so came to *Dublin*, where entring into Counsell how to procede in the warre, he received newes out of *England*, of the arrival of the banished Duke of *Lancaster* at *Ravenspurgh*, usurping the Regall Authority, and arresting and putting to death his principall Officers.

Hollingshead in Richd. 2.

This advertisement suddainely brake off the Kings purpose touching the prosecution of the warre in Ireland, and transported him into England, where shortly after he ended both his raigne and his life. Since whose time, untill the 39 yeare of Queen *Elizabeth*, there was never any armie sent over of a competent strength or power to subdue the Irish, but the warre was made by the English Colonies, onely to defend their borders; or if any forces were transmitted over, they were sent onely to suppress the rebellions of such as were

descended of English race, and not to enlarge our Dominion over the Irish.

Henry 4.
The Lord
Thomas of
Lancaster
his service.

DURING the raigne of King *Henry* the Fourth, the Lord *Thomas of Lancaster*, the Kings second sonne, was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who for the first eight yeares of that Kings raign, made the Lord *Scroope*, and others his Deputies, who onely defended the Marches with forces levied within the Land. In the eight yeare that Prince came over in person with a small retinue. So as wanting a sufficient power to attempt or performe any great service, he returned within seven moneths after into *England*. Yet during his personall abode there, he was hurt in his owne person within one mile of *Dublin*, upon an incounter with the Irish enemy. He tooke the submissions of *O Birne* of the Mountaines, *Mac Mahon*, and *O Rely*, by severall Indentures, wherein *O Birne* doth covenant, that the King shall quietly enjoy the Mannor of *New Castle*; *Mac Mahon* accepteth a State in the *Ferny* for life, rendering ten pound a yeare; and *O Rely* doth promise to performe such duties to the Earle of *March* and *Ulster*, as were contained in an Indenture dated the 18 of *Richard* the Second.

Archiv.
Rememorat.
regis apud
Westm.

Henry 5.
The Lord
Furnival
his service.
Alb. libr.
Seacc.
Dublin.

IN the time of King *Henry* the Fift, there came no forces out of *England*. Howbeit the Lord *Furnival* being the Kings Lieutenant, made a martial circuit, or journey, round about the Marches and Borders of the Pale, and brought all the Irish to the Kinges Peace, beginning with the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, and *Cavanaghes* on the South, and so passing to the *Moores*, *O Connors* and *Offerals* in the West; and ending with the *O Relies*, *Mac Mahons*, *O Neales*, and *O Hanlons* in the North. He had power to make them seeke the Kings peace, but not power to reduce them to the Obedience of Subjects: yet this was then held so great and worthy a service, as that the Lords and chiefe Gentlemen of the Pale, made certificate thereof in French unto the King, being then in *France*: which I have seen Recorded in the *white Booke* of the Exchequer at *Dublin*. Howbeit his Armie was so ill paid and governed, as

the English suffered more dammage by the Sesse of his Souldiers (for now that *Monster Coigne*, and *Liverie*, which the Statute of *Kilkenny* had for a time abolished, was risen againe from hell) then they gained profit or security, by abating the pride of their enemies for a time.

DURING the minority of King *Henry* the Sixt, and for the *Henry 6.* space of seven or eight yeares after, the Lieutenants and Deputies made only a bordering warre upon the Irish, with small and scattered forces; howbeit, because there came no treasure out of *England* to pay the Soldier, the poore English subject did beare the burthen of the men of warre in every place, and were thereby so weakned and impoverished, as the State of thinges in Ireland stood very desperate.

Whereupon, the Cardinall of *Winchester* (who after the death of *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, did wholly sway the State of *England*) being desirous to place the Duke of *Somerset* in the Regencie of *Fraunce*, tooke occasion to remoove *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* from that government, and to send him into *Ireland*, pretending that he was a most able and willing person, to performe service there, because he had a great inheritance of his owne in Ireland; namely, the Earledom of *Ulster*, and the Lordships of *Conaght* and *Meth*, by discent from *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*. *Richard Duke of Yorke his service.*

We do not finde that this great Lord came over with any numbers of waged souldiers, but it appeareth upon what good termes he tooke that Government, by the Covenants betweene the King and him, which are recorded and confirmed by Acte of Parliament in Ireland, and were to this effect: *Archiv. in Castro Dublin.*

1. That he should be the Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for ten yeares.
2. That to support the charge of that Countrey, he should receive all the Kings revennues there, both certaine and casual, without accompt.
3. That he should be supplied also with treasure out of *England*, in this manner; he should have four thousand Markes for the first yeare, whereof he should be imprested

2000 li. before hand; and for the other nine yeares, he should receive 2000 li. *per annum*.

4. That he might Let to Ferme the Kinges Landes, and place and displace all Officers at his pleasure.
5. That he might levy and wage what numbers of men he thought fit.
6. That he might make a Deputy, and returne at his pleasure.

We cannot presume that this Prince kept any great army on foote, aswell because his means out of *England* were so meane, and those ill paide, as appeareth by his passionate letter written to the Earl of *Salisbury* his brother in Law; the Coppy whereof is Registred in the Story of this time: as also because the whole Lande, except the English Pale, and some part of the Earldome of *Ulster*, upon the Sea-Coasts, were possest by the Irish. So as the Revennue of the Kingdome, which he was to receive, did amount to little. He kept the Borders and Marches of the Pale with much adoo; he held many Parliaments wherein sundry Lawes were made for erecting of castles in *Louth*, *Meth*, and *Kildare*, to stop the incursions of the Irishrie. And because the souldiers for want of pay were sessed and laide upon the subjects against their willes; upon the prayer and importunitie of the Commons, this extortion was declared to be *High Treason*. But to the end, that some meanes might be raised to norish some forces for defence of the Pale, by another Acte of Parliament, everie twenty pound Land was charged with the furnishing and maintenance of one Archer on horsebacke.

Hollingshead in Henry 6.

Rot. Parliament. in Castro Dublin.

Archiv. Tur. 17. Henry 6. Claus.m.20.

Manuscript of Baron Finglas.

Besides, the native subjects of *Ireland* seeing the kingdome utterly ruined, did passe in such numbers into *England*, as one Law was made in *England*, to transmit them backe againe: and another Law made heere to stop their passage in every Port and creeke. Yet afterwards, the greatest partes of the Nobility and Gentry of *Meth*, past over into England, and were slaine with him at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*.

Lastly, the state of England was so farre from sending an army to subdue the Irish at this time, as among the articles of greevances exhibited by the Duke of *Yorke* against King

Henry the Sixt, this was one: That divers Lords about the King had caused his Highnesse to write Letters unto some of his Irish enemies; whereby they were encouraged to attempt the conquest of the said Land. Which Letters, the same Irish enemies had sent unto the Duke; marvailing greatlie that such Letters should be sent unto them, and speaking therein great shame of the Realme of *England*.

After this, when this great Lorde was returned into *England*, and making claime to the Crowne, beganne the Warre betwixt the two Houses. It cannot be conceived, but that the kingdome fell into a worse and weaker estate.

WHEN *Edward* the Fourth was settled in the kingdome of *England*, he made his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*. This Prince was born in the Castle of *Dublin*, during the Government of his Father the Duke of *Yorke*; yet did he never passe over into this kingdome, to governe it in person, though he held the Lieutenancie many yeares. But it is manifest, that King *Edward* the Fourth did not pay any army in *Ireland* during his raigne; but the men of war did pay themselves by taking Coigne and Livery upon the Countrey: which extortion grew so excessive and intolerable, as the Lord *Tiptoft* being Deputy to the Duke of *Clarence* was enforced to execute the Law upon the greatest Earle in the Kingdome; namely, *Desmond*; who lost his head at *Drogheda* for this offence. Howbeit, that the State might not seeme utterly to neglect the defence of the Pale, there was a fraternity of men at armes, called *the Brotherhood of S. George*, erected by Parliament the 14 of *Edward* the Fourth, consisting of thirteene the most Noble and woorthy persons within the foure shires. Of the first foundation were *Thomas* Earle of *Kildare*, Sir *Rowland Eustace*, Lord of *Port-lester*, and Sir *Robert Eustace* for the County of *Kildare*; *Robert* Lord of *Howth*, the Major of *Dublin*, and Sir *Robert Dowdall*, for the County of *Dublin*; the Viscount of *Gormanston*, *Edward Plunket*, Seneshall of *Meth*; *Alexander Plunket* and *Barnabe Barnewale*, for the County of *Meth*; the Major of *Drogheda*, Sir *Lawraunce Tuaffe* and *Richard Bellewe*, for

Hollings-head in Henry VI.

Edward 4. How the war was maintained in the time of King Edward 4.

Hollings-head in Edward 4. Booke of Howth. Manus.

The fraternity of Saint George in Ireland. 14 Edw. 4. Rot. Parliament. Dublin.

the County of *Louth*. These and their Successors were to meet yearly upon *S. Georges* day; and to choose one of themselves to be Captaine of that Brother-hood, for the next yeare to come. Which Captaine should have at his commaund, 120 Archers on horsebacke, 40 horsemen, and 40 Pages, to suppress Out-lawes and rebels. The Wages of every Archer should be *vj.d. per diem*; and every horseman *v.d. per diem*; and foure Markes *per Annum*. And to pay these entertainments, and to maintain this new fraternity, there was granted unto them by the same Act of Parliament a subsidie of Pondage, out of all Marchandizes exported or imported thoroughout the Realme (hydes, and the Goods of Free-men of *Dublin* and *Drogheda* only excepted). These 200 men were all the standing forces that were then maintained in Ireland. And as they were Natives of the kingdom, so the kingdom itselfe did pay their wages without expecting any treasure out of *England*.

Henry 7.
How the
war was
prosecuted
in the time
of King
Henry 7.

BUT now the warres of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* being ended, and *Henrie* the Seventh being in the actuall and peaceable possession of the kingdome of *England*, let us see if this king did send over a Competent Armie to make a perfect Conquest of *Ireland*. Assuredly, if those two Idolles or counterfets which were set up against him in the beginning of his raign, had not found footing and followers in this Lande, King *Henry* the Seventh had sent neither horse nor foote hither, but let the Pale to the Guard and defence of the fraternitie of *Saint George*, which stood till the tenth yeare of his raigne. And therefore, upon the erection of the first idoll, which was *Lambert* the Priests boy, he transmitted no forces, but sent over Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, with Commission to take an Oath of allegiance of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens of this kingdom; which service he performed fully, and made an exact returne of his Commission to the King. And immediately after that, the King sent for all the Lordes of Parliament in this realme; who repaying to his presence, were first in a Kingly manner reprooved by him; for among other things he told them, that if their king were still absent from

Archiv.
Remem.
Regis apud.
W'estm.

The Booke
of *Howth.*
Manus.

them, they would at length crowne apes; but at last entertained them, and dismissed them graciously. This course of clemency he held at first. But after, when *Perkin Warbecke*, who was set up, and followed chiefly by the *Giraldines* in *Leinster*, and the Citizens of *Corke* in *Mounster*; to suppress this counterfaite, the King sent over *Sir Edward Poynings*, with an Army (as the Histories call it) which did not consist of a thousand men by the Pol; and yet it brought such terrour with it, as all the Adherents of *Perkin Warbecke* were scattered, and retyred for succour into the Irish countries: To the marches whereof, he marched with his weake forces, but eft-soone returned and held a Parliament. Wherin among many good Lawes, one Act was made; That no subject should make any warre or peace within the Land, without the speciall License of the Kings Lieutenant or Deputie. A manifest argument, that at that time the bordering Warres in this kingdome, were made altogether by Voluntaries, upon their own head, without any pay or entertainment, and without any Order or Commission from the State. And though the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, in the 19 yeare of this Kings raigne, joyned the famous battel of *Knocktow* in *Conaght*; wherein *Mac William*, with 4000 of the Irish, and degenerate English were slaine; yet was not this journey made by warrant from the King, or upon his charge (as it is expressed in the Booke of *Howth*) but only upon a private quarrell of the Earle of *Kildare*: so loosely were the martiall affaires of *Ireland* carried, during the raigne of King *Henry* the Seventh.

Hollingshead in Henry 7. Sir Edward Poynings service. Rot. Parliament. in Castro Dublin.

The Booke of Howth. The battel of Knocktow.

IN the time of King *Henry* the Eight, the Earle of *Surrey*, *Henry* 8. Lorde Admirall, was made Lieutenant; and though he were the greatest Captain of the English Nation then living; yet brought he with him rather an honorable Guard for his person, then a competent armie to recover Ireland. For he had in his retinue 200 tall Yeomen of the Kings Guard: But because he wanted meanes to performe any great action, he made means to returne the sooner: yet in the mean time he was not idle, he passed the short time he spent heere in holding a

How the war was carried during the raigne of King Henry 8. The Earle of Surries service.

The Lord
Leonard
Grays
service.

Parliament, and divers journies against the rebels of *Leinster*; insomuch as he was hurt in his own person, upon the borders of *Leix*. After the revocation of this honourable personage, King *Henry* the Eight sent no forces into *Ireland*, till the rebellion of the *Giraldines*, which hapned in the 27 year of his raigne. Then sent he over Sir *William Skevington* with five hundred men onely to quench that fire, and not to enlarge the border, or to rectifie the Government. This Deputy dyed in the midst of the service, so as the Lord *Leonard Gray* was sent to finish it: who arriving with a supply of 200 men, or thereabouts, did so prosecute the Rebels, as the Lord *Garret* their Chiefetaine, and his five Unckles, submitted themselves unto him, and were by him transmitted into England.

The fight at
Belahoo.
Booke of
Hovth.
Manus.

But this service being ended, that active Nobleman with his little army, and some ayds of the Pale, did oftentimes repell *O Neale* and *O Donel*, attempting the invasion of the Civill Shires, and at last made that prosperous fight at *Belahoo*, on the Confines of *Meth*; the memory whereof is yet famous, as that he defeated (well-nie) all the power of the North; and so quieted the border for many yeares.

Hitherto then it is manifest, that since the last transfretation of King *Richard* the Second, the Crowne of England never sent over, either numbers of men, or quantities of treasure, sufficient to defend the small territory of the Pale, much lesse to reduce that which was lost, or to finish the Conquest of the whole Island.

Sir *Anthony*
S. Leger.
Sir *Edw.*
Bellingham
in the time
of King
Edward 6.

After this Sir *Anthony S. Leger* was made chiefe Governor, who performed great service in a civill course, as shall be expressed hereafter. But Sir *Edward Bellingham*, who succeeded him, proceeded in a Martiall course against the Irishry, and was the first Deputy, from the time of King *Edward* the Third, till the raign of King *Edward* the Sixt, that extended the border beyond the limits of the English Pale, by beating and breaking the *Moores* and *Connors*, and building the Forts of *Leix* and *Offaly*. This service he performed with sixe hundred horse; the monthly charge whereof, did arise to 770 li., and 400 foote, whose pay did amount to 446 li. *per mens-*
sem; as appeareth upon the Treasurers accompt, remaining

in the Office of the Kinges Remembrauncer in England. Yet were not these Countries so fully recovered by this Deputy, but that *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex* did put the last hand to this worke; and rooting out these two rebellious *Septs*, planted English Colonies in their roomes, which in all the tumultuous times since, have kept their Habitations, their Loyalty, and Religion.

*Archiv.
Remem.
Regis apud
Westm.
Thomas
Earle of
Sussex, in
the time of
Queen
Mary.*

And now are we come to the time of *Queen ELIZABETH*, who sent over more men, and spent more treasure to save and reduce the Lande of *Ireland*, then all her progenitors since the Conquest.

*Queen
Elizabeth.*

DURING her raigne, there arose three notorious and maine Rebellions, which drewe severall armies out of England. The first of *Shane O Neale*; the second of *Desmond*; the last of *Tyrone*; (for the particular insurrections of the Viscount *Baltinglasse*, and Sir *Edmund Butler*; the *Moore*s; the *Cavanagh*s; the *Birnes*, and the *Bourkes* of *Conaght*, were all suppressed by the standing forces heere.)

*How the
War was
prosecuted
in the time
of Queen
Elizabeth.*

To subdue *Shane O Neale*, in the height of his rebellion, in the yeare, 1566 Captaine *Randal* transported a Regiment of 1000 men into *Ulster*, and planted a Garrison at *Loughfoile*. Before the coming of which supply (*viz.*) in the yeare 1565 the list of the standing army of horse and foot, English and Irish, did not exceed the number of 1200 men, as appeareth by the Treasurers accompt of Ireland, now remaining in the Exchequer of England. With these forces did Sir *Henry Sidney* (then Lord Deputy) march into the farthest parts of *Tirone*, and joyning with Captaine *Randal*, did much distresse (but not fully defeate) *O Neale*, who was afterward slain upon a meere accident by the Scottes, and not by the Queenes army.

*Shane O
Neales
Rebellion.*

*Archiv.
Remem.
Regis apud
Westm.*

To prosecute the Warres in *Munster*, against *Desmond* and his Adherents, there were transmitted out of *England* at severall times, three or four thousand men, which together with the standing Garrisons, and some other supplies raised heere, made at one time, an army of six thousand and upwards:

*Desmonds
Rebellion.*

Tirones
Rebellion.

which with the vertue and valour of *Arthur Lorde Gray*, and others the Commanders, did prove a sufficient power to extinguish that rebellion. But that being doone, it was never intended that these forces should stand, till the rest of the kingdome were settled and reduced: onely, that army which was brought over by the Earle of *Essex*, Lord Lieutenant and Governour Generall of this kingdome, in the 39 yeare of Queen *Elizabeth*, to suppress the Rebellion of *Tirone*, which was spread universally over the whole Realme: That armie, I say (the command whereof, with the government of the Realme, was shortly after transferred to the commaund of the Lord *Mountjoy*, afterwards Earl of *Devonshire*, who, with singular wisdom, valour and industry, did prosecute and finish the Warre) did consist of such good men of warre, and of such numbers, being wel-ny 20000 by the Pol, and was so royally supplied and paid, and continued in full strength so long a time, as that it brake, and absolutely subdued all the Lordes and Chieftaines of the Irishry, and degenerate or rebellious English. Whereupon, the multitude, who ever loved to be followers of such as could master and defend them, admyring the power of the Crowne of England, being brai'd (as it were) in a Morter, with the *Sword*, *Famine*, and *Pestilence* altogether, submitted themselves to the English Government, received the Lawes and Magistrates, and most gladly embraced the Kings pardon and peace in all parts of the Realme, with demonstration of joy and comfort; which made indeede, an entire, perfect, and final Conquest of *Ireland*. And though upon the finishing of the warre, this great armie was reduced to less numbers, yet hath his Majestie in his wisdom, thought it fit, still to maintaine such competent forces heere, as the Law may make her progresse and Circuit about the Realme, under the protection of the sword (as *Virgo*, the figure of Justice, is by *Leo* in the *Zodiack*) until the people have perfectly learned the Lesson of Obedience, and the Conquest be established in the hearts of all men.

Thus farre have I endeavoured to make it manifest, that from the first adventure and attempt of the English (to sub-
due

due and conquer Ireland) until the last warre with *Tirone*, (which as it was royally undertaken, so it was really prosecuted to the end) there hath bin foure maine defects in the carriage of the martiall affayres heere. First, the armies for the most part, were too weake for a Conquest: Secondly, when they were of a competent strength (as in both the journies of *Richard* the Second) they were too soone broken up and dissolved: Thirdly, they were ill paid: And fourthly, they were ill governed, which is alwayes a consequent of ill payment.

Four maine defects in the prosecution of the warre.

BUT why was not this great worke perfourmed, before the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* raigne, considering that many of the Kings her Progenitors, were as great Captaines as any in the world, and had else-where larger Dominions and Territories? First, who can tell whether the Divine Wisdom, to abate the glory of those Kings, did not reserve this Worke to be done by a Queen, that it might rather appeare to be his owne immediate worke? And yet for her greater Honor, made it the last of her great actions, as it were, to Crowne al the rest? And to the end, that a secure peace might settle the Conquest, and make it firme and perpetuall to posteritie; caused it to be made in that fulnesse of time, when *England* and *Scotland* became to be united under one imperiall Crowne; and when the Monarchy of Great *Britainy* was in league and amity with all the worlde. Besides, the Conquest at this time, doth perhaps fulfill that prophesie, wherein the four great Prophets of *Ireland* do concur, as it is recorded by *Giraldus Cambrensis*; to this effect: That after the first invasion of the English, they shold spend many ages, in *crebris conflictibus, longoque certamine et multis cædibus*. And that, *Omnes fere Anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur: nihilominus orientalia maritima semper obtinebunt; Sed vix Paulo antè diem Judicii; plenam Anglorum populo victoriam compromittunt; Insula Hibernica de mari usque ad mare de toto subacta et incastellata*. If *S. Patrick* and the rest did not utter this prophesy; certainly *Giraldus* is a Prophet, who hath reported it. To this, we may adde the prophesy

Why none of the Kinges of England, before Queen *Elizabeth*, did finish the conquest of Ireland.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

of *Merlin*, spoken of also by *Giraldus*. *Sextus mœnia Hiberniæ subvertet, et regiones in Regnum redigentur*. Which is performed in the time of King *James* the Sixt; in that all the paces are cleared, and places of fastnesse laid open, which are the proper Wals and Castles of the Irish, as they were of the British in the time of *Agricola*; and withal, the Irish Countries being reduced into Counties, make but one entire and undevided kingdome.

But to leave these high and obscure causes, the plaine and manifest trueth is; that the Kings of *England* in al ages, had bin powerfull enough to make an absolute conquest of *Ireland*, if their whole power had been employed in that enterprise: but still there arose sundry occasions, which divided and diverted their power som other way.

How the
severall
Kinges of
England
were di-
verted from
the con-
quest of
Ireland.

Let us therefore take a briefe view of the severall impediments which arose in every Kinges time, since the first overture of the Conquest, whereby they were so employed and busied, as they could not intend the finall Conquest of *Ireland*.

King
Henry 2.

KING *Henrie* the Second, was no sooner returned out of *Ireland*, but all his foure Sonnes conspired with his enemies, rose in Armes, and moved warre against him, both in *Fraunce* and in *England*.

The Booke
of Howth.
Manus.

This unnatural treason of his sons, did the King expresse in an Embleme painted in his Chamber at *Winchester*, wherein was an Eagle, with three Eglets tiring on her brest, and the fourth pecking at one of her eyes. And the troth is, these ungracious practises of his sonnes, did impeach his journey to the Holy Land, which he had once vowed, vexed him all the dayes of his life, and brought his gray haire with sorrow to the grave. Besides, this King having given the Lordship of *Ireland* to *John* his youngest sonne; his ingratitude afterwards made the king carelesse to settle him in the quiet and absolute possession of that kingdome.

Richard 1.

RICHARD the First, which succeeded *Henrie* the Second in the kingdome of *England*, had lesse reason to bend his power
36
towards

towards the Conquest of this Land, which was given in perpetuity to the Lord *John* his brother. And therefore, went he in person to the holy warre; by which journey, and his captivity in *Austria*, and the heavy ransom that he paid for his libertie, he was hindred, and utterly disabled to pursue any so great an action as the Conquest of *Ireland*; and after his delivery and returne, hardly was he able to maintaine a frontier warre in Normandy, where by hard fortune he lost his life.

KING *John* his Brother, had greatest reason to prosecute *King John*. the warre of *Ireland*, because the Lordship thereof was the portion of his inheritance, given unto him, when he was called, *John Sans-Terre*. Therefore he made two journies thither; one when he was Earle of *Morton*, and very yong, about twelve years of age; the other, when he was King, in the 12 yeare of his raigne. In the first, his own youth, and his youthfull company, *Roboams* Counsellours, made him hazard the losse of al that his father had won. But in the later, he shewed a resolution to recover the entire kingdome, in taking the submissions of al the Irishry, and setling the estates of the English, and giving order for the building of many Castles and Forts, whereof some remaine until this day. But he came to the Crowne of England, by a defeasible Title, so as he was never well settled in the hearts of the people, which drew him the sooner back out of *Ireland* into *England*: where shortlie after, he fell into such trouble and distresse; The Clergy cursing him on the one side; and the Barons rebelling against him on the other, as he became so farre unable to returne to the Conquest of *Ireland*, as besides the forfeiture of the territories in *Fraunce*, he did in a manner loose both the kingdomes. For he surrendered both to the Pope, and tooke them backe againe to hold in Fee-farme; which brought him into such hatred at home, and such contempt abroad, as all his lifetime after, he was possest rather with feare of loosing his head, than with hope of reducing the kingdome of *Ireland*.

Henry 3. DURING the infancy of *Henry* the Third the Barons were troubled in expelling the French, whom they had drawne in against King *John*. But this prince was no sooner come to his majority, but the Barons raised a long and cruell warre against him.

Into these troubled waters the Bishops of *Rome* did cast their Nets, and drew away all the wealth of the realme by their provisions, and infinite exactions, whereby the kingdome was so impoverished, as the king was scarce able to feed his own housholde and traine, much lesse to nourish armies for the conquest of forren kingdoms. And albeit he had given this Land to the Lord *Edward* his eldest sonne, yet could not that woorthy Prince ever finde meanes or opportunity to visit this kingdome in person. For, from the time he was able to beare armes, he served continually against the Barons, by whom he was taken prisoner at the battell of *Lewes*. And when that rebellion was appeased, he made a journey to the Holy Land (an employment which in those daies diverted all Christian Princes from performing any great actions in *Europe*) from whence he was returned, when the Crowne of England descended upon him.

Edward 1. THIS King *Edward* the First, who was a Prince adorned with all vertues, did in the managing of his affayres, shew himselfe a right good husband: who being Owner of a Lordship ill husbanded, doth first enclose and manure his demesnes neere his principall house, before he doth improve his wasts afarre off. Therefore, he began first to establish the Commonwealth of England, by making many excellent Lawes, and instituting the forme of publique Justice, which remaineth to this day. Next he fullie subdued and reduced the Dominion of Wales; then by his power and authoritie he settled the kingdome of *Scotland*; and lastly, he sent a royall armie into *Gascoigne*, to recover the Duchy of *Aquitaine*. These foure great actions did take up all the raigne of this Prince. And therefore, we find not in any Record, that this King transmitted any forces into Ireland; but on the other side, we finde it recorded both in the Annalles, and in the Pipe-Rolles

of this kingdome, that three severall armies were raised of the Kings subjects in Ireland, and transported one into *Scotland*; another into *Wales*; and the third into *Gascoigne*; and that severall aydes were levied heere, for the setting forth of those armies.

Archiv. in Castro Dublin. Annales Hibernie in Camden.

THE sonne and successor of this excellent Prince, was *Edward 2.* *Edward* the Second, who much against his will sent one smal armie into Ireland; not with a purpose to finish the Conquest, but to garde the person of his Minion, *Piers Gaveston*, who being bannished out of England, was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, that so his exile might seem more honourable.

He was no sooner arrived heere, but he made a journey into the Mountaines of *Dublin*; brake and subdued the Rebels there; built New-Castle in the *Birnes* Country, and repaired *Castlekevin*; and after passed up into *Mounster* and *Thomond*, performing everie where great service, with much Vertue and Valour. But the King, who could not live without him, revokt him within lesse than a yeare. After which time, the invasion of the *Scots*, and rebellion of the Barons, did not onely disable this King to be a Conqueror, but deprived him both of his kingdome and life. And when the Scottish Nation had overrun all this land under the conduct of *Edward le Bruce* (who stiled himselfe King of *Ireland*) England was not then able to send either men or money to save this Kingdome. Onely *Roger de Mortimer* then Justice of Ireland, arrived at *Youghall*, cum 38 milit. saith *Friar Clinn* in his Annalles.

Annales Hibernie in Camden. Archiv. in Castro. Dublin.

Manuscript of Friar Clinn.

But *Bremingham*, *Verdon*, *Stapleton*, and some other privat Gentlemen, rose out with the Commons of *Meth* and *Uriell*, and at *Fagher* neere *Dondalke*, a fatall place to the enemies of the Crowne of England, overthrew a potent armie of them. *Et sic* (saith the Red Booke of the Exchequer, wherein the victory was briefly recorded) *per manus communis populi et dextram dei, deliberatur populus dei a servitute machinata et præcogitata.*

Rubr. libr. Scac. Dublin.

In the time of King *Edward* the Third, the impediments of *Edward 3.* the

the Conquest of Ireland are so notorious as I shall not neede to expresse them; to wit, the warre which the King had with the Realmes of *Scotland*, and of *Fraunce*; but especially the Warres of *Fraunce*, which were almost continuall for the space of fortie yeares. And indeede, *Fraunce* was a fairer mark to shoot at then Ireland, and could better reward the Conqueror. Besides, it was an inheritance newly descended upon the King; and therefore he had great reason to bend all his power, and spend all his time and treasure, in the recovery thereof. And this is the true cause why *Edward* the Third sent no armie into Ireland, till the 36 yeare of his raigne, when the Lorde *Lionell* brought over a Regiment of 1500 men, as is before expressed: which, that wise and warlike Prince did not transmit as a competent power to make a full conquest, but as an honorable retinue for his soone; and withall, to enable him to recover some part of his Earledome of *Ulster*, which was then overrun with the Irish. But on the other part, though the English Colonies were much degenerated in this kings time, and had lost a great part of their possessions, yet lying at the siede of *Callis*, he sent for a supply of men out of Ireland, which were transported under the conduct of the Earle of *Kildare*, and *Fulco de la Freyn*, in the yeare 1347.

*Annales
Hibernie in
Camden.*

Richard 2. AND now are we come again to the time of King *Richard* the Second; who for the first tenne yeares of his raigne was a Minor, and much disquieted with popular Commotions; and after that, was more trobled with the factions that arose between his Minions, and the Princes of the bloud. But at last he tooke a resolution to finish the Conquest of this Realme. And to that end he made two Royall voyages hither. Upon the first, he was deluded by the faigned submissions of the Irish; but upon the latter, when he was fully bent to prosecute the warre with effect, he was diverted and drawn from hence by the return of the Duke of *Lancaster* into England, and the general defection of the whole realme.

Henry 4.

As for *Henry* the Fourth, he being an Intruder upon the
40 Crowne

Crowne of England, was hindered from all forraigne actions, by sundry Conspiracies and Rebellions at home, moved by the house of *Northumberland* in the North; by the Dukes of *Surrey* and *Exeter* in the South; and by *Owen Glendour* in Wales; so as he spent his short raigne in establishing and settling himselfe in the quiet possession of England, and had neyther leisure nor opportunity to undertake the final conquest of Ireland. Much lesse could King *Henry* the Fift Henry 5. performe that worke: for in the second yeare of his raigne, he transported an armie into *Fraunce*, for the recovery of that kingdome, and drew over to the siedge of *Harflew*, the Annales Hibernie in Camden. Priour of *Kilmaineham*, with 1500 Irish. In which great action this victorious Prince spent the rest of his life.

AND after his death, the two noble Princes, his Brothers, Henry 6. the Duke of *Bedford* and *Glocester*, who during the minority of King *Henry* the Sixt, had the Government of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Fraunce*, did employ all their Counsels and endeavours to perfect the Conquest of *Fraunce*; the greater part whereof being gained by *Henry* the Fift, and retained by the Duke of *Bedford*, was againe lost by King *Henry* the Sixt; a manifest argument of his disability to finish the Conquest of this Land. But when the civill Warre between the two Houses was kindled; the Kings of *England* were so farre from reducing al the Irish under their Obedience, as they drew out of Ireland (to strengthen their parties) al the Nobility and Gentry descended of English race: which gave opportunitie to the Irishry to invade the Lands of the English Colonies, and did hazard the losse of the whole kingdome. For, though the Duke of *Yorke* did, while he lived Hollingshead in Henry 6. in *Ireland*, carrie himselfe respectfully towards all the Nobility, to win the generall love of all, bearing equal favour to the *Giraldines* and the *Butlers* (as appeared at the Christning of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was borne in the Castle of *Dublin*, where he made both the Earle of *Kildare* and the Earle of *Ormond* his Gossips:) And having occasion divers times to passe into *England*; he left the sword with *Kildare* at one time, and with *Ormond* at another: and when he lost

Manu-
script of
Baron
Finglas.

his life at *Wakefield*, there were slaine with him divers of both those families. Yet afterwards, those two Noble houses of *Ireland*, did severally follow the two Royall houses of *England*; the *Giraldines* adhering to the house of *Yorke*, and the *Butlers* to the house of *Lancaster*. Whereby it came to passe, that not onely the principall Gentlemen of both those Surnames, but all their friendes and dependants, did passe into *England*, leaving their Lands and possessions to be over-run by the Irish. These impediments, or rather impossibilities of finishing the Conquest of *Ireland*, did continue till the Warres of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* were ended: which was about the 12 yeare of King *Edward* the Fourth.

Thus hitherto the Kings of *England* were hindred from finishing this Conquest by great and apparant impediments: *Henry* the Second, by the rebellion of his sonnes: King *John*, *Henry* the Third, and *Edward* the Second, by the Barons warres: *Edward* the First by his warres in *Wales* and *Scotland*: *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fift, by the warres of *Fraunce*: *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Sixt, and *Edward* the Fourth, by domestick contention for the Crowne of *England* itselfe.

Edward 4. BUT the fire of the civill warre being utterly quenched, and King *Edward* the Fourth settled in the peaceable possession of the Crowne of *England*, what did then hinder that warlike Prince from reducing of *Ireland* also? First, the whole Realme of *England* was miserably wasted, depopulated and impoverished by the late civil dissentions; yet as soon as it had recovered itselfe with a little peace and rest, this King raised an Army and revived the Title of *Fraunce* againe: howbeit, this Army was no sooner transmitted and brought into the field, but the two Kings also were brought to an interview. Whereupon, partly by the faire and white promises of *Lewes* the Eleventh, and partly by the corruption of some of King *Edwards* Minions, the English forces were broken and dismissed, and King *Edward* returned into *England*, where shortly after finding himselfe deluded and abused by the French, he dyed with melancholy, and vexation of spirit.

I omit to speake of *Richard* the Usurper, who never got *Richard 3.* the quiet possession of *England*, but was cast out by *Henry* the Seaventh, within two yeares and a halfe after his Usurpation.

AND for King *Henry* the Seaventh himselfe, though he made *Henry 7.* that happy union of the two houses, yet for more then half the space of his raign, there were walking Spirites of the house of *Yorke*, aswell in *Ireland* as in *England*, which he could not conjure downe, without expense of some bloud and treasure. But in his later times, he did wholly studie to improve the Revenues of the Crowne in both Kingdomes; with an intent to provide means for some great action which he intended: which doubtlesse, if he had lived, would rather have improved a journey into *Fraunce* then into *Ireland*, because in the eyes of all men, it was a fayrer enterprize.

THEREFORE King *Henry* the Eight, in the beginning of his *Henry 8.* raigne, made a Voyage Royall into *Fraunce*; wherein he spent the greatest part of that treasure, which his father had frugally reserved; perhaps for the like purpose. In the latter end of his raigne, he made the like journey, being enricht with the Revenues of the Abbey Lands. But in the middle time between these two attemptes, the great alteration which he made in the State ecclesiasticall, caused him to stand upon his guard at home; the Pope having solicited al the Princes of Christendom to revenge his quarrell in that behalf. And thus was King *Henry* the Eight detained and diverted from the absolute reducing of the kingdome of *Ireland*.

LASTLY, the infancie of King *Edward* the Sixt, and the *King Edward 6 and Queen Mary.* Coverture of Queen *Mary* (which are both *Non abilities* in the Lawe) did in fact disable them to accomplish the Conquest of *Ireland*.

So as now this great worke did remaine to be performed *Queen Elizabeth.* by Queen ELIZABETH; who though she were diverted by suppressing

suppressing the open rebellion in the North; by preventing divers secret Conspiracies against her person; by giving ayds to the *French* and States of the Low-Countries; by maintaining a Navall warre with *Spaine* for many yeares together: yet the sundry rebellions, joyned with forraign invasions upon this Island, whereby it was in danger to be utterly lost, and to be possessed by the enemies of the Crowne of *England*, did quicken her Majesties care for the preservation thereof; and to that end, from time to time during her raigne she sent over such supplies of men and treasure, as did suppress the Rebels, and repell the invaders. Howbeit, before the transmitting of the last great army, the forces sent over by Queen *Elizabeth*, were not of sufficient power to break and subdue all the Irishry, and to reduce and reforme the whole Kingdome; but when the generall defection came, which came not without a special providence for the final good of that kingdome (though the second causes thereof, were the faint prosecution of the warre against *Tyrone*; the practises of Priests and Jesuites, and the expectation of the ayds from *Spaine*.) Then the extreame perill of loosing the kingdome: the dishonor and danger that might thereby growe to the Crowne of *England*; together with a just disdain conceived by that great-minded Queene, that so wicked and ungratefull a Rebell should prevayle against *Her*, who had ever been victorious against all her enemies, did move, and almost enforce her to send over that mighty army: and did withall enflame the hearts of the Subjects of *England*, chearefully to contribute towards the maintaining thereof, a Million of sterling poundes at least: which was done with a purpose onely to *Save*, and not to *Gain* a kingdome; To keep and retaine that *Soveraigntie* which the Crowne of *England* had in *Ireland* (such as it was) and not to recover a more absolute Dominion. "But, as it falleth out many times, that when a house is on fire, the Owner to save it from burning, pulleth it downe to the ground; but that pulling downe, doeth give occasion of building it up againe in a better forme:" So, these last warres, which to save the Kingdome did utterly breake and destroy this

people, produced a better effect then was at first expected. For, *every Rebellion, when it is suppress, dooth make the subject weaker, and the Prince stronger.* So, this general revolt when it was overcom, did produce a generall Obedience and Reformation of al the Irishrie, which ever before had beene disobedient and unreformed; and thereupon ensued the final and full conquest of *Ireland.*

And thus much may suffice to be spoken, touching the defects in the martiall affayres and the *weake and faint prosecution of the warre*; and of the severall *Impediments* or *Employments*, which did hinder or divert every King of *England* successively, from reducing *Ireland* to their absolute subjection.

It now remaineth, that we shew *the defects of the Civill Pollicy and Government*, which gave no lesse impediment to the perfection of this Conquest.

2
The defects
in the civill
pollicy and
govern-
ment.

THE first of that kinde, doeth consist in this: *That the Crowne of England did not from the beginning give Lawes to the Irishry*; whereas to give Lawes to a conquered people, is the principall marke and effect of a perfect Conquest. For, albeit King *Henry* the Second, before his returne out of *Ireland*, held a Counsell or Parliament at *Lissemore*; *Ubi Leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ, et Juratoria Cautione præstita confirmatæ*, as *Matth. Paris* writeth.

1. The
Lawes of
England
were not
given to
the meere
Irish.

Matth.
Paris
Histor.
major. fol.
121.

And though King *John* in the 12 yeare of his raigne, did establish the English Lawes and Customes heere, and placed Sheriffes and other Ministers to rule and govern the people according to the Law of *England*: and to that end, *Ipse duxit secum viros discretos et legis peritos, quorum communi consilio statuit et præcepit, leges Anglicanas teneri in Hibernia, &c.* as we finde it recorded among the Patent Rolles in the Tower. 11 *Henry* 3, m. 3. Though likewise, King *Henry* the Third did graunt and transmit the like Charter of liberties to his subjects of *Ireland*, as himselfe and his father had graunted to the subjects of *England*, as appeareth by another Recorde in the Tower, 1 *Henry* 3, Pat. m. 13. And

Matth.
Paris
Histor.
major fol.
220 b.

11 Hen 3.
pat. m. 3.

afterwards, by a speciall Writ, did commaund the Lord Justice of Ireland, *Quod convocatis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, &c. Coram eis legi faceret Chartam Regis Johannis; quam ipse legi fecit et jurari à Magnatibus Hiberniæ, de legibus et Constitutionibus Angliæ observandis, et quod leges illas teneant et observent* 12 Henry 3, *Claus. m. 8.* And after that againe, the same King by Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England, did confirme the establishment of the English Lawes made by King John in this forme: *Quia pro Communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, ac unitate terrarum, de Communi Consilio provisum sit, quod omnes leges et consuetudines quæ in regno Angliæ tenentur, in Hiberniâ teneantur, et eadem terra ejusdem legibus subiaceat, ac per easdem regatur, sicut Johannes Rex, cum illuc esset, Statuit et firmiter mandavit: ideo volumus quod omnia brevia de Communi Jure, quæ currunt in Anglia, similiter currant Hibernia, sub novo sigillo nostro, &c. Teste meipso apud Woodstocke, &c.* Which confirmation is found among the Patent-Rolles in the Tower, Anno 30, Hen. 3. Notwithstanding, it is evident by all the Records of this Kingdome, that onely the English Colonies, and some few *Septs* of the Irishry, which were enfranchised by special Charters, were admitted to the benefit and protection of the Lawes of England; and that the Irish generally, were held and reputed *Aliens*, or rather enemies to the Crowne of England; in-somuch as they were not only disabled to bring anie actions, but they were so farre out of the protection of the Lawe, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a meere Irish-man in the time of peace.

30 H. 3.
pat. m. 20.

The meere
Irish not
admitted to
have the
benefit of
the Lawes
of England.

The meere
Irish repu-
ted Aliens.

That the meere Irish were reputed *Aliens*, appeareth by sundrie records; wherein Judgement is demanded, if they shall be answered in actions brought by them: and likewise, by the Charters of Denization, which in all ages were purchased by them.

In the common Plea-Rolles of 28 Edward the Third (which are yet preserved in *Bremingham's* Tower) this case is adjudged. *Simon Neal* brought an action of trespasse against *William Newlagh* for breaking his Close in *Clandalkin*, in the

County of *Dublin*; the Defendant doth plead, that the Plaintiff is *Hibernicus et non de Quinque sanguinibus*; and demandeth Judgement, if he shall be answered. The Plaintiff replieth; *Quod ipse est de quinque sanguinibus*; (*viz.*) *De les Oneiles de Ulton, qui per Concessionem progenitorum Domini Regis; Libertatibus Anglicis gaudere debent et utuntur, et pro liberis hominibus reputantur.* The Defendant rejoyneth; that the Plaintiff is not of the *O Neales* of *Ulster*, *Nec de quinq.; sanguinibus.* And thereupon they are at yssue. Which being found for the Plaintiff, he had Judgement to recover his damages against the Defendant. By this record it appeareth that five principal blouds, or Septs of the Irishry, were by speciall grace enfranchised and enabled to take benefit of the Lawes of England; And that the Nation of *O Neales* in *Ulster*, was one of the five. And in the like case, 3 of *Edward* the Second, amongst the Plea-Rolles in *Breminghams* Tower: All the 5 Septs or blouds, *Qui gaudeant lege Anglicana quoad brevia portanda*, are expressed, namely, *Oneil de Ultonia; O Molaghlin de Midia; O Connoghor de Connacia; O Brien de Thotmonia; et Mac Murrough de Lagenia*: And yet I finde, that *O Neale* himselfe long after, (*viz.*) in 20 *Ed.* 4 upon his marriage with a daughter of the house of *Kildare* (to satisfie the friends of the Lady,) was made denizen by a special Act of Parliament, 20 *Ed.* 4. C. 8.

Againe, in the 29 of *Ed.* 1, before the Justices in *Eire* at *Drogheda*, *Thomas de Botteler* brought an action of *Detinue* against *Robert de Almain*, for certaine goods. The Defendant pleadeth, *Quod non tenetur ei inde respondere, eo quod est Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine. Et predictus Thomas dicit, quod Anglicus est, et hoc petit quod inquiretur per patriam, Ideo fiat inde Jurat, &c. Jurat dicunt super Sacrament' suum, quod predict' Thomas Anglicus est, ideo consideratum est quod recuperet, &c.*

These two Records among many other, do sufficiently shewe, that the Irish were disabled to bring any Actions at the common Lawe. Touching their denizations, they were common in everie Kinges raigne, since *Henry* the Second, and were never out of use, till his Majesty that now is came

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

to the Crowne. Among the Pleas of the Crowne, 4 of *Ed.* 2 we finde a confirmation made by *Edw.* 1 of a Charter of Denization granted by *Henry* the Second, to certain *Oostmen*, or *Easterlings* who were *Inhabitants* of *Waterford* long before *Henry* 2 attempted the Conquest of *Ireland*. *Edwardus dei gratia, &c. Justitiario suo Hiberniæ Salutem: Quia per Inspectionem Chartæ Dom. Hen. Reg. filii Imperatricis quondam Dom. Hiberniæ proavi nostri nobis Constat, quod Ostmanni de Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere, et secundum ipsam legem Judicari et deduci debent: vobis mandamus quod Gillicrist Mac Gilmurrii, Willielmum et Johannem Mac Gilmurrii et alios Ostmannos de civitate et Comitatu Waterford, qui de predictis Ostmannis prædict. Dom. Henry proavi nostri originem duxerunt, legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem Chartæ prædict. habere, et eos secundum ipsam legem (quantum in nobis est, deduci faciatis) donec aliud de Consilio nostro inde duxerimus ordinand. In cujus rei, &c. Teste meipso apud Acton Burnell. 5 Octobris anno regni nostri undecimo.*

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

Againe, among the Patent Rolles, of 1 *Ed.* Fourth, remaining in the Chancery here, we find a Patent of Denization graunted, the 13 of *Edward* the First, in these words; *Edwardus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, Dux Aquitaniæ, &c. Omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis in Hibernia, Salutem: Volentes Christophero filio Donaldi Hibernico gratiam facere specialem, concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod idem Christopherus hanc habeat libertatem, (viz.) Quod ipse de cætero in Hibernia utatur legibus Anglicanis, et prohibemus ne quisquam contra hanc concessionem nostram dictum Christopherum vexet in aliquo vel perturbet. In cujus rei Testimonium, &c. Teste meipso apud West. 27 die Junii, anno regni nostri 13.*

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

In the same Roll, we finde another Charter of Denization, graunted in the first of *Edw.* 4, in a more larger and beneficiall forme. *Edw. Dei gratia, &c. Omnibus Ballivis, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos volentes Willielmum O Bolgir capellanum de Hibernica Natione existentem, favore prosequi gratioso, de gratia nostra speciali, &c. Concessimus eidem*

Willielmo, quod ipse liberi sit Status, et liberæ conditionis, et ab omni servitute Hibernicâ liber et quietus, et quod ipse legibus Anglicanis in omnibus et per omnia uti possit et gaudere, eodem modo, quo homines, Anglici infra dictam terram eas habent, et iis gaudent et utuntur, quodque ipse respondeat, et respondeatur, in quibuscumque Curiis nostris: ut omnimod. terras, tenementa, redditus, et servitia perquirere possit sibi et hæredibus suis imperpetuum, &c.

If I should Collect out of the Records, all the Charters of this kind, I should make a Volume thereof; but these may suffice to shew, That the meere Irish were not reputed free subjects; nor admitted to the benefit of the Lawes of *England*, until they had purchased Charters of Denization.

Lastly, the meere Irish were not onely accompted *Aliens*, but *Enemies*; and altogether out of the protection of the Law; so as it was no capitall offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many Records. At a *Gaol* delivery at *Waterford*, before *John Wogan*, Lord Justice of Ireland, the 4 of *Edward* the Second, we finde it recorded among the pleas of the Crown of that yeare, *Quod Robertus le Wayleys rectatus de morte Johannis filii Ivor Mac Gillemory felonice per ipsum interfecti, &c. Venit et bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit: dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, &c. Et cum Dominus dicti Johannis (cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit) die quo interfectus fuit, solutionem pro ipso Johanne Hibernico suo sic interfecto petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erit ad respondend' de solutione prædict. prout Justitia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poer, et dicit pro Domino Rege, quod prædict. Johannes filius Ivor Mac Gillemory, et antecessores sui de cognomine prædict. à tempore quo Dominus Henricus filius Imperatricis, quondam Dominus Hiberniæ, Tritavus Domini Regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem Judicari et deduci debent.* And so pleaded the Charter of Denization graunted to the *Ostmen* recited before: All which appeareth at large in the saide

That the meere Irish were reputed enemies to the crowne.

Archio. in Castro Dublin.

Record: Wherin we may note, that the killing of an Irish man, was not punnished by our Lawe, as Man-slaughter, which is felony and capitall, (for our Law did neither protect his life, nor revenge his death) but by a fine or pecuniary punishment, which is called an *Ericke*, according to the *Brehon*, or Irish Law.

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

Againe, at a *Gaol*-delivery before the same Lord Justice at *Limericke*, in the Roll of the same year, we find, that *Willielmus filius Rogeri rectatus de morte Rogeri de Cauteton felonice per ipsum interfecti, venit et dicit, quod feloniam per interfectionem prædictam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod prædict. Rogerus Hibernic. est, et non de libero sanguine; dicit etiam quod prædict. Rogerus fuit de cognomine de Ohederiscall et non de cognomine de Cautetons, et de hoc ponit se super patriam, &c. Et Jurati dicunt super Sacram. suum quod prædictus Rogerus Hibernicus fuit et de cognomine de Ohederiscall et pro Hibernico habebatur tota vita sua. Ideo prædict. Willielmus quoad feloniam prædict. quietus. Sed quia prædictus Rogerus Ohederiscall fuit Hibernicus Domini Regis, prædict. Willielmus recommittatur Gaole, quousque plegios invenerit de quinque marcis solvendis Domino Regi pro solutione prædicti Hibernici.*

Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.

But on the other side, if the Jurie had found, that the party slaine had beene of English race and Nation, it had bin adjudged felony; as appeareth by a Record of 29 of *Edward* the First, in the Crowne-Office heere. *Coram Waltero Lenfant et sociis suis Justitiariis Itinerantibus apud Drogheda in Comitatu Louth. Johannes Laurens indictat. de morte Galfridi Douedal venit et non dedicit mortem prædictam: sed dicit quod prædict. Galfridus fuit Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, et de bono et malo ponit se super patriam, &c. Et Jurat. dicunt super Sacram. suum quod prædict. Galfridus Anglicus fuit, et ideo prædict. Johannes culpabilis est de morte Galfridi prædict. Ideo suspend. Catalla 13 s. unde Hugo de Clinton Vicecom. respondet.*

Hence it is, that in all the Parliament Rolles which are extant from the fortieth yeare of *Edward* the Thirde, when the Statutes of *Kilkenny* were enacted, till the raigne of

King *Henry* the Eight, we finde the degenerat and disobedient English, called *Rebeldes*; but the Irish which were not in the Kings peace, are called Enemies. *Statute Kilkenny, c. 1, 10, and 11; 11 Hen. 4, c. 24; 10 Hen. 6, c. 1, 18; 18 Hen. 6, c. 4; 5 Edw. 4. c. 6; 10 Hen. 7, c. 17.* All these Statutes speak of *English* Rebels, and Irish Enemies; as if the Irish had never bin in condition of Subjectes, but alwaies out of the protection of the Law; and were indeede in worse case then *Aliens* of any forren Realme that was in amity with the Crowne of England. For, by divers heavie pænall Lawes, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make Gossippes with the Irish; or to have anie Trade, or commerce in their Markets or Fayres; nay, there was a Law made no longer since, then the 28 yeare of *Henrie* the Eight, that the English should not marry with any person of Irish blood, though he had gotten a Charter of Denization, unlesse he had done both homage and fealty to the King in the Chancery, and were also bound by Recognisaunce with sureties, to continue a loyal subject. Whereby it is manifest, that such as had the Government of *Ireland* under the Crowne of *England*, did intend to make a perpetuall separation and enmity betweene the English and the Irish; pretending (no doubt) that the English should in the end roote out the Irish: which the English not being able to do, did cause a perpetuall Warre betweene the nations: which continued foure hundered and odde yeares, and would have lasted to the Worlds end; if in the end of Queene *Elizabeths* raigne, the Irishry had not beene broken and conquered by the *Sword*. And since the beginning of his Majesties raigne, had not bin protected and governed by the *Law*.

*Archiv. in
Castro.
Dublin.*

*Stat. de
Kilkenny,
c. 2 et 3.
10 Henry
6, c. 1.
28 Hen. 8,
c. 18.*

BUT perhaps the Irishry in former times did wilfully refuse to be subject to the Lawes of England, and would not be partakers of the benefit thereof, though the Crowne of *England* did desire it; and therefore, they were reputed Aliens, Outlawes, and enemies. Assuredly, the contrarie doth appeare, aswell by the Charters of Denization purchased by the Irish in all ages, as by a petition preferred by them to the King,

*The Irish
did desire
to be ad-
mitted to*

the benefit
and protec-
tion of the
English
Lawes, but
could not
obtaine it.
2 *Edw.* 8,
claus. 17.

Anno 2 Edward the Third: desiring, that an Act might passe in Ireland, whereby all the Irishrie might be inabled to use and enjoy the Lawes of England, without purchasing of particular Denizations, uppon which petition, the King directed a speciall Writ to the Lorde Justice; which is found amongst the Close-Rolles in the Tower of London, in this forme; Rex dilecto et fideli suo Johannis Darcile Nepieu Justic. suo Hibernie, Salutem. Ex parte quorundam hominum de Hibernia nobis extitit supplicatum, ut per Statutum inde faciendum concedere velimus, quod omnes Hibernici qui voluerint, legibus utantur Anglicanis: ita quod necesse non habeant super hoc Chartas alias à nobis impetrare: nos igitur Certiorari volentes si sine alieno præjudicio præmissis annuere valeamus, vobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terr. illius in proximo Parlamento nostro ibidem tenendo super hoc cum diligentia perscrutari facias: et de eo quod inde inveneritis una cum Consilio et advisamento nobis certificetis, &c. Whereby I collect, that the great Lordes of Ireland had informed the King that the Irishry might not be naturalized, without damage and prejudice either to themselves, or to the Crowne.

The Coun-
sell Booke
of Ireland.
34 *Hen.* 8.

But I am well assured, that the Irishry did desire to be admitted to the benefit of the Law, not onely in this petition exhibited to King *Edward* the Third; but by all their submissions made to King *Richard* the Second, and to the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaster* before the warres of the two Houses; and afterwards to the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and Sir *Anthony Saint Leger*, when King *Henry* the Eight began to reforme this kingdome. In particular, the *Birnes* of the Mountaines, in the 34 of *Henry* the Eight, desire that their Countrey might be made Shire-ground, and called the County of *Wicklow*: And in the 23 of *Henry* the Eight, *O Donnel* doth Covenant with Sir *William Skeffington*, *Quod si Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam*, (whereof it should seeme he made some doubt) that he and his people would gladly be governed by the Lawes of England. Onely that ungrateful Traitour *Tirone*, though he had no colour or shadowe of Title to that great lordship, but only by grant from the Crowne, and by

the Law of England (for by the Irish Law he had been ranked with the meanest of his Sept) yet in one of his Capitulations with the State, he required that no Sheriffe might have jurisdiction within *Tirone*; and consequently, that the Lawes of England might not be executed there: Which request, was never before made by *O Neale*, or any other Lorde of the Irishry, when they submitted themselves: but contrariwise they were humble sutors to have the benefit and protection of the English Lawes.

THIS then I note as a great defect in the Civill policy of this kingdom, in that for the space of 350 yeares at least after the Conquest first attempted, the English lawes were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. For, as long as they were out of the protection of the Lawe; so as every English-man might oppresse, spoyle, and kill them without controulment, how was it possible they should be other then Out-Lawes and Enemies to the Crown of Englande? If the King would not admit them to the condition of Subjects, how could they learne to acknowledge and obey him as their Sovereigne? When they might not converse or commerce with any Civill men, nor enter into any Towne or Citty without perrill of their Lives; whither should they flye but into the Woods and Mountaines, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the English Magistrates would not rule them by the Law which doth punish Treason, and Murder, and Theft with death; but leave them to be ruled by their owne Lords and Lawes, why should they not embrace their own *Brehon* Lawe, which punisheth no offence, but with a Fine or *Ericke*? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of Freeholds or Inheritance, which might descend to their Children, according to the course of our Common Lawe, must they not continue their custome of *Tanistrie*? which makes all their possessions uncertaine, and brings Confusion, Barbarisme, and Incivility? In a word, if the English would neither in peace governe them by the Law, nor could in War root them

What mischief did grow by not Communicating the English Lawes to the Irish.

53 out

out by the sword; must they not needes be prickes in their eyes, and thornes in their sides, till the Worlds end? and so the Conquest never be brought to perfection.

What good
would have
ensued, if
the meere
Irish had
bin govern-
ed by the
English
Lawes.

Three ge-
nerall sub-
missions of
the Irish.

BUT on the other side; If from the beginning, the Lawes of *England* had beene established, and the *Brehon* or Irish Law utterly abolished, aswell in the Irish Countries, as the English Colonies; if there had been no difference made betweene the Nations in point of Justice and protection, but all had beene governed by one Equall, Just, and Honourable Lawe, as *Dido* speaketh in *Virgill*; *Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine habetur*. If upon the first submission made by the Irish Lordes to King *Henry* the Second; *Quem in Regem et Dominum receperunt*, saith *Matth. Paris*; or upon the second submission made to King *John*, when, *Plusquam viginti Reguli maximo timore perterriti homagium ei et fidelitatem fecerunt*, as the same Author writeth: or upon the third general submission made to King *Richard* the Second; when they did not only do homage and fealty, but bound themselves by Indentures and oaths (as is before expressed) to become and continue loyall subjects to the crown of *England*; If any of these three Kings, who came each of them twice in person into this kingdome, had upon these submissions of the Irishry, received them all, both Lords and Tenants, into their mediate protection, devided their severall Countries into Counties; made Sheriffs, Coroners, and Wardens of the peace therein: sent Justices Itinerants halfe yearly into every part of the Kingdome, aswell to punish Malefactors, as to heare and determine causes betweene party and party, according to the course of the Lawes of *England*; taken surrenders of their Lands and territories, and graunted estates unto them, to holde by English Tenures; graunted them Markets, Fayres, and other Franchises, and erected Corporate Townes among them; all which, hath bin performed since his Majesty came to the Crowne,) assuredly, the Irish Countries had long since beene reformed and reduced to Peace, Plenty, and Civility, which are the effects of Lawes and good Government: they hadde builded Houses, planted Orchards and
54
Gardens:

Gardens: erected Towne-shippes, and made provision for their posterities; there had beene a perfect Union betwixt the Nations, and consequently, a perfect Conquest of *Ireland*. For the Conquest is never perfect, till the war be at an end; and the war is not at an end till there be peace and unity; and there can never be unity and concord in any one Kingdom, but where there is but one King, one Allegiance, and one Law.

TRUE it is, that King *John* made xii. shires in *Leinster* and *Mounster*: namely, *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Meth*, *Uriel*, *Catherlogh*, *Kilkenny*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Corke*, *Limeric*, *Kerrie*, and *Tipperary*. Yet these Counties did stretch no farther then the Landes of the English Colonies did extend. In them onely, were the English Lawes published and put in Execution; and in them onely did the Itinerant Judges make their circuits and visitations of Justice, and not in the countries possessed by the Irishry which contained two third partes of the Kingdome at least. And therefore King *Edward* the First, before the court of Parliament was established in Ireland, did transmit the Statutes of *England* in this forme: *Dominus Rex mandavit Breve suum in hæc verba: Edwardus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, &c. Cancellario suo Hiberniæ, Salutem. Quædam statuta per nos de assensu Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum et Communitat. regni nostri nuper apud Lincolne; et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eborum facta, quæ in dicta terra nostra Hiberniæ ad Communem utilitatem populi nostri ejusdem terræ observari volumus, vobis mittimus sub sigillo nostro, mandantes quod statuta illa in dicta Cancellaria nostra Custodiri, ac in rotulis ejusdem Cancellariæ irrotulari, et ad singulas placeas nostras in terra nostra Hiberniæ, et singulos Comitatus ejusdem terræ mitti faciatis ministris nostris placearum illarum, et Vicecomitibus dictorum Comitatum: mandantes, quod statuta illa coram ipsis publicari et ea in omnibus et singulis Articulis suis observari firmiter faciatis. Teste meipso apud Nottingham, &c.* By which Writt, and by all the Pipe-Rolles of that time, it is manifest, that the Lawes of *England* were published

The English Lawes were executed onely in the English Colonies.

Archiv. in Castro Dublin.

lished and put in execution onely in the Counties, which were then made and limited, and not in the Irish Countries, which were neglected and left wilde; and have but of late yeares bin devided in one and twenty Counties more.

*Statut. de
Kilkenny.
c. 4.*

Againe, true it is, that by the Statute of *Kilkenny*, enacted in this kingdome, in the fortith yeare of King *Edward* the Thirde, the *Brehon* Law was condemned and abolished, and the use and practice thereof made High-Treason. But this Lawe extended to the English onely, and not to the Irish: For the Lawe is penned in this forme: Item, *Forasmuch as the diversity of Government by divers Lawes in one Land, doth make diversity of ligeance and debates between the people, It is accorded and established, that hereafter no Englishman have debate with another Englishman, but according to the course of the Common Law; And that no Englishman be ruled in the definition of their debates, by the March-Law, or the Brehon Law, which by reason ought not to be named a Law, but an evill custome; but that they be ruled as right is, by the common Lawe of the Land, as the Lieges of our Sovereigne LORD the King; And if any do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, and he be taken and imprisoned and judged as a Traitor: And that hereafter there be no diversity of ligeance betweene the English borne in Ireland and the English borne in England, but that all be called and reputed, English, and the Lieges of our Sovereigne Lord the KING, &c.* This Law, was made onely to reforme the degenerat English, but there was no care taken for the reformation of the meer Irish; no ordinance, no provision made for the abolishing of their barbarous Customes and Manners. Insomuch as the Law then made for Apparell, and riding in Saddles, after the English fashion, is penal onely to English men, and not to the Irish. But the *Romaine* State, which conquered so many Nations both barbarous and Civill; and therefore knewe by experience, the best and readiest way of making a perfect and absolute conquest, refused not to communicate their Lawes to the rude and barbarous people whom they had Conquered; neither did they put them out of their protection, after they had once submitted themselves. But contrary-wise, it is said of *Julius*

The Romaines did communicate their Lawes to the nations which they conquered.

Cæsar : *Qua, vicit, victos protegit ille, manu.* And againe,
of another Emperor :

*Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam,
Profuit invitis te dominante capi;
Dumq. offers victis proprii consortia Juris,
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.*

And of *Rome* itself;

*Hæc est, in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fouit,
Matris, non dominæ, ritu; Civesque vocavit,
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.*

Therefore (as *Tacitus* writeth) *Julius Agricola* the Romaine *Tacitus in
vita Agri-
cola.* Generall in *Brittany* used this pollicy to make a perfect Con-quest of our Ancestours, the ancient *Brittaines*; They were (sayth he) rude, and dispersed; and therefore prone upon every occasion to make warre, but to induce them by pleasure to quietness and rest, he exhorted them in private, and gave them helps in common, to builde Temples, Houses, and places of publique resort. The Noblemens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the Liberall Sciences, &c. preferring the wits of the *Brittaines*, before the Students of *France*; as being now curious to attaine the Eloquence of the Romaine Language, whereas they lately rejected that speech. After that, the *Roman* Attire grew to be in account, and the *Gowne* to be in use among them; and so by little and little they proceeded to curiosity and delicacies in Buildings, and furniture of Houshold; in Bathes, and exquisit Banquets; and so being come to the height of Civility, they were thereby brought to an absolute subjection.

LIKEWISE, our Norman Conqueror, though he oppressed the English Nobility very sore, and gave away to his servants, the Lands and possessions of such as did oppose his first invasion, though he caused all his Actes of Counsel to be published in *French*; and some legall proceedings and pleadings to be framed and used in the same tongue, as a marke

William
the Con-
querour
governed
both the
Normans
and the
English
under one
Law.

*Camden in
Northfolke.*

and badge of a conquest; yet he governed all, both English and Normans, by one and the same Law; which was the auncient common Law of England, long before the Conquest. Neither did he denie any Englishman (that submitted himselfe unto him:) The benefit of that Law though it were against a Norman of the best ranke, and in greatest favour (as appeared in the notable Controversie betweene *Warren the Norman*, and *Sherburne* of *Sherburne* Castle in *Norfolke*; for the Conqueror had given that Castle to *Warren*; yet when the Inheritors thereof had alledged before the King, that he never bore Armes against him; that he was his subject, aswell as the other, and that he did inherit and hold his Landes by the rules of that Law which the King had established among all his Subjects; The king gave judgement against *Warren*, and commanded that *Sherburne* should hold his land in peace. By this meane, him-selfe obtained a peaceable possession of the kingdom within few yeares; whereas, if he had cast all the English out of his protection, and held them as Aliens and Enemies to the Crowne, the Normans (perhaps) might have spent as much time in the Conquest of *England*, as the English have spent in the Conquest of *Ireland*.

*King Edw.
I did communicate
the English
Lawes to
the Welsh-
men.*

THE like prudent course hath bin observed in reducing of Wales; which was performed partly by King *Edward* the First, and altogether finished by King *Henry* the Eight. For, we finde by the Statute of *Rutland*, made the 12 of *Edward* the First, when the Welshmen had submitted themselves, *De alto et Basso*, to that King, he did not reject and cast them off, as Out-lawes and Enemies, but caused their Lawes and Customes to be examined which were in many points agreeable to the Irish or *Brehon* Law. *Quibus diligenter auditis et plenius intellectis, quasdam illarum* (saith the King in that Ordinance) *Consilio procerum dilevimus; quasdam permissimus; quasdam correximus; ac etiam quasdam alias adjiciendas et faciend. decrevimus*; and so established a Commonwealth among them, according to the forme of the English Governement. After this, by reason of the

sundry

sundry insurrections of the Barons; the Warres in *France*; and the dissention betweene the two houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, the State of England neglected or omitted the execution of this Statute of *Rutland*; so as a great part of Wales grew wilde and barbarous again. And therefore King *Henry* the Eight, by the Statutes of the 27 and 32 of his raign, did revive and recontinue that Noble worke begun by King *Edward* the First; and brought it indeed to full perfection; For he united the Dominion of Wales to the Crown of England, and devided it into Shires, and erected in every Shire, one Borough, as in England; and enabled them to send Knights and Burgesses to the Parliament; established a Court of Presidency; and ordained that Justices of Assise, and *Gaol-deliverie*, should make their halfe yearly Circuits there, as in England; made all the Lawes and Statutes of *England*, in force there; and among other Welsh Customes, abolished that of *Gavel-kinde*: whereby the Heyres-Females were utterlie excluded, and the Bastards did inherit, aswell as the Legitimate, which is the very Irish *Gavel-kinde*. By means whereof that entire Country in a short time was securely settled in peace and Obedience, and hath attained to that Civility of Manners, and plentie of all things, as now we find it not inferiour to the best parts of *England*.

I will therefore knit up this point with these conclusions; First, that the Kings of *England*, which in former Ages attempted the Conquest of *Ireland*, being ill advised and counsell'd by the great men heere, did not upon the submissions of the Irish, communicate their Lawes unto them, nor admit them to the state and condition of Free subjects: Secondly, that for the space of 200 yeares at least, after the first arrival of *Henry* the Second in *Ireland*, the Irish would gladly have embraced the Lawes of England, and did earnestly desire the benefite and protection thereof; which being denied them, did of necessitie cause a continual bordering warre between the English and the Irish. And lastly, if according to the examples before recited they had reduced as well the Irish Countries, as the English Colonies, under one forme of Civill government (as now they are,) the Meres and Bounds

*Giraldus
Cambrensis
lib. 2 de
Hibernia
expugnata.*

of the Marches and Borders, had beene long since worne out and forgotten, (for it is not fit, as *Cambrensis* writeth, that a King of an Island should have any Marches or Borders, but the foure Seas) both Nations had beene incorporated and united; *Ireland* had beene entirely conquered, Planted, and improoved; and returned a rich Revennew to the Crowne of *England*.

2
The Landes
conquered
from the
Irish were
not well
distributed.

THE next error in the Civill pollicy which hindered the perfection of the Conquest of *Ireland*, did consist in the *Distribution* of the Landes and possessions which were woonne and conquered from the Irish. For, the *Scopes of Land* which were graunted to the first Adventurers, *were too Large*; and the *Liberties* and *Royalties*, which they obtained therein, *were too great for Subjects*; though it stood with reason that they should be rewarded liberally out of the fruites of their owne Labours, since they did *Militare propriis stipendiis*, and received no pay from the Crowne of England. Notwithstanding there ensued divers inconveniences, that gave great impediment to the Conquest.

The proportions of Land graunted to the first Adventurers, were too large.
Giraldus Cambrensis lib. 2 de Hibernia expugnata. In Archiv. Tur. 5. Edw. 3. Escheat numero 104. 2 Johannis Chart. m. 15 et m. 38. 6 Johannis Chart. m. 1. 7 Johannis Chart. m. 12 et n. 109. 6 Ed. 1 Chart. m.

FIRST, the Earle *Strongbow* was entituled to the whole Kingdome of *Leinster*; partly by Invasion, and partly by Marriage; albeit he surrendered the same entirely to King *Henry* the Second his Sovereigne; for that with his license he came over; and with the Ayde of his Subjects, he had gayned that great inheritance; yet did the King re-grant backe againe to him and his heyres all that Province, reserving onely the City of *Dublin*, and the Cantreds next adjoyning, with the Maritime Townes, and principall Forts and Castles. Next, the same King granted to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Miles Cogan*, the whole Kingdome of *Corke* from *Lismore* to the Sea. To *Philip le Bruce*, he gave the whole Kingdome of *Limericke*, with the Donation and Byshop-rickes and Abbeys (except the Citie, and one Cantred of Land adjoyning.) To Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, all *Meth*. To Sir *John de Courcy*, all *Ulster*: to *William Burke Fitz-Adelm*, the greatest part of *Conaght*. In like manner, Sir *Thomas de Clare*, obtained a graunt of all *Thomond*; and *Otho de Grandison* of all *Tip-*

perary; and Robert le Poer, of the territory of Waterford, (the Citie itselfe, and the Cantred of the Ostmen only excepted.) And thus was all Ireland Cantonized among tenne persons of the English Nation; And though they had not gained the possession of one third part of the whole Kingdome, yet in Title they were Owners and Lords of all, so as nothing was left to be graunted to the Natives. And therefore we do not find in any Record or storie for the space of three hundred yeares, after these Adventurers first arrived in Ireland, that any Irish Lorde obtained a grant of his Country from the Crowne, but onely the King of Thomond, who had a grant but during King Henry the Third his Minority: and Roderick O Connor, King of Conaght, to whom King Henry the Second, before this distribution made, did graunt (as is before declared.) *Ut sit Rex sub eo; and moreover, Ut teneat terram suam Conactiæ ita bene et in pace, sicut tenuit antequam Dominus Rex intravit Hiberniam.* And whose successour, in the 24 of Henry the Third, when the Bourkes had made a strong plantation there, and had wel-ny expelled him out of his territory, he came over into England, (as Matth. Paris writeth) and made complaint to King Henry the Third of this invasion made by the Bourkes uppon his Land, insisting uppon the grauntes of King Henry the Second, and King John; and affirming that he had duely paide an yearly tribute of five thousand markes for his Kingdome. Whereupon the King called unto him the Lord Maurice Fitz-Girald, who was then Lord Justice of Ireland, and President in the Court; and commanded him that he should roote out that unjust plantation, which Hubert Earle of Kent had in the time of his greatnesse, planted in those parts; and wrote withall to the great men of Ireland to remoove the Bourkes, and to establish the King of Conaght in the quiet possession of his Kingdome. Howbeit I do not read that the King of Englands commandment or direction in this behalfe, was ever put in execution. For, the troth is; Richard de Burgo had obtained a graunt of all Conaght, after the death of the King of Conaght, then living. For which he gave a thousand pounde, as the Record in the Tower reciteth, the

19. 18 Ed.
1, m. 29.
Girald.
Camb. lib. 2.
de Hibernia
expug.
All Ireland
distributed
to ten per-
sons of the
English
Nation.

6 H. 3.
Chart. m. 2.

Hovedon in
H. 2 fol.
802 Ar-
chie. turr.
17 Johannis
Chart. m. 3.

6 Johannis
Claus. m.
18.

Matth.
Paris in
Henry 3.

8 Henry 3.

The Liberties granted to the first adventurers were too great. 8 Counties Palatines in Ireland at one time.

Annales Hibernie in Camden.

In Archiv. Turr. 11. Edw. 3. Escheat n. 28.

5 Counties Palatines in Leinster.

Archiv. in Castro Dublin. Archiv. Turr. pal. 3 E. 3 m. 28.

Archiv. in Castro Dublin.

third of *Henry 3 claus. 2.* And besides, our great English Lords could not endure that any Kings should raigne in Ireland, but themselves; nay, they could hardly endure that the Crown of *England* itselfe, should have any Jurisdiction or Power over them. For many of these Lordes, to whome our Kings had granted these petty kingdomes, did by Vertue and colour of these Grants, claime and exercise *Jura Regalia* within their Territories; insomuch, as there were no lesse then eight Counties Palatines in Ireland, at one time.

For *William Marshall*, Earle of *Pembroke*, who married the daughter and heyre of *Strongbow*, being Lord of all *Leynster*, had Royal Jurisdiction throughout al that Province.

This great Lord had five sonnes and five daughters; every of his sonnes enjoyed that Seigniori successively, and yet al died without Issue. Then this great Lordship was broken and divided, and partition made between the five daughters, who were married into the Noblest Houses of *England*. The Countie of *Catherlogh* was allotted to the eldest; *Wexford* to the second; *Kilkenny* to the third; *Kildare* to the fourth; the greatest part of *Leix*, nowe called the Queenes County, to the fifth: In every of these portions, the Coparceners severally exercised the same Jurisdiction Royall, which the Earle Marshall and his Sonnes had used in the whole Province.

Whereby it came to passe, that there were five County Palatines erected in *Leinster*. Then had the Lord of *Meth* the same Royall libertie in all that Territory; the Earle of *Ulster* in all that Province; and the Lorde of *Desmond* and *Kerry* within that County. All these appeare uppon Record, and were all as ancient as the time of King *John*; onely the liberty of *Tipperary*, which is the onely liberty that remaineth at this day, was granted to *James Butler* the first Earle of *Ormond* in the thirde yeare of King *Edward* the Third. These absolute Palatines made Barons and Knights, did exercise high Justice in all points within their Territories, erected Courts for criminal and civill Causes, and for their owne Revennews; in the same forme as the Kings Courts were established at *Dublin*: made their own Judges, Seneshals, Sheriffes, Corroners, and Escheators; so as the Kings

Writt did not run in those Counties (which took up more then two partes of the English Colonies) but onely in the Church Lands lying within the same, which were called the *Crosse*, wherein the King made a Sheriffe: And so, in each of these Counties Palatines, there were two Sheriffes; one, of the *Liberty*, and another of the *Crosse*: As in *Meth* we finde a Sheriffe of the Liberty, and a Sheriffe of the Crosse: And so in *Ulster*, and so in *Wexford*: And so at this day, the Earle of *Ormond* maketh a Sheriffe of the Liberty, and the King a Sheriffe of the Crosse of *Tipperary*. Heereby it is manifest, how much the Kings Jurisdiction was restrained, and the power of these Lords enlarged by these High Privileges. And it doth further appear, by one Article among others, preferred to King *Edward* the Third, touching the reformation of the state of Ireland, which we finde in the Tower, in the words; *Item les franchises grantes in Ireland, que sunt Roialles, telles come Duresme et Cestre, vous oustont cybien de les profits, Come de graunde partie de Obeissance des persons enfranchises; et en quescun franchisee est Chancellerie Chequer et Conusans de pleas, cybien de la Coronne, come autres communes, et grantont auxi Charters de pardon; et sont souent per ley et reasonable cause seisses envostre main, a grand profit de vous; et leigerment restitues per maundement hors de Engleterre, a damage, &c.* Unto which Article the King made answer: *Le Roy voet que les franchises que sont et serront per juste cause prises en sa main, ne soent my restitues, avant que le Roy soit certifie de la cause de la prise de icelles.* 26 Ed 3. *Claus. m.* 1, Again, these great Undertakers, were not tied to any forme of plantation, but all was left to their discretion and pleasure. And although they builded Castles, and made Freeholders, yet were there no tenures or services reserved to the Crowne; but the Lords drew all the respect and dependencie of the Common people unto *Themselves*. Now let us see what inconveniences did arise by these large and ample Grauntes of Landes and Liberties, to the first adventurers in the Conquest.

ASSUREDLY by these Grauntes of whole Provinces and The inconveniences
63 pettie

which grew
by the
large
graunts of
Lands and
Liberties.

The Eng-
lish Lords
in Ireland
made war
and peace
at their
pleasure.

pettie Kingdomes, those few English Lordes pretended to be proprietors of all the Land, so as there was no possibility left of setting the Natives in their possessions, and by consequence the Conquest became impossible, without the utter extirpation of all the Irish; which these English Lords were not able to doe, nor perhaps willing, if they had bin able. Notwithstanding, because they did still hope to become Lordes of those Lands which were possessed by the Irish, whereunto they pretended Title by their large Graunts; and because they did feare, that if the Irish were received into the Kings protection, and made Liege-men and Free-subjects, the state of *England* woulde establish them in their possessions by Graunts from the Crowne; reduce their Countries into Counties, ennoble some of them; and enfranchise all, and make them amesneable to the Lawe, which woulde have abridged and cut off a great part of that greatnesse which they had promised unto themselves: they perswaded the King of *England*, that it was unfit to Communicate the Lawes of *England* unto them; that it was the best pollicie to holde them as Aliens and Enemies, and to prosecute them with a continuall warre. Heereby they obtained another Royal prerogative and power: which was, to make Warre and peace at their pleasure in every part of the Kingdome. Which gave them an absolute Commaund over the Bodies, Landes, and Goods of the English subjectes heere. And besides, the Irish inhabiting the Lands fully Conquered and reduced, being in condition of slaves and Villaines, did render a greater profit and Revennew, then if they had bin made the Kings Free-subjects.

And for these two causes last expressed, they were not willing to root out all the Irishry. We may not therefore mervaile, that when King *Edward* the Third, upon the petition of the Irish (as is before remembred) was desirous to be certified, *De voluntate magnatum suorum in proximo Parlamento in Hibernia tenend. si sine alieno præjudicio concedere possit, quod per statut. inde fact. Hibernici utantur legibus Anglicanis, sive chartis Regiis inde Impetrandis*, that there was never any Statute made to that effect. For the troth is,

that those great *English* Lordes did to the uttermost of their power, crosse and withstand the enfranchisement of the Irish, for the causes before expressed; Wherein I must stil cleare and acquit the Crown and State of England, of negligence or ill pollicy, and lay the fault uppon the Pride, Covetousnesse, and ill Counsell of the English planted heer, which in all former ages have bin the chiefe impediments of the final Conquest of *Ireland*.

AGAINE, those large scopes of Land, and great Liberties, with the absolute power to make warre and peace, did rise the English Lordes to that height of Pride and Ambition, as that they could not endure one another, but grew to a mortall warre and dissention among themselves: as appeareth by all the Records and Stories of this Kingdome. First, in the yeare, 1204, the *Lacies* of *Meth*, made Warre upon Sir *John Courcy*; who having taken him by treachery, sent him prisoner into *England*. In the yeare, 1210, King *John* comming over in person, expelled the *Lacis* out of the Kingdome, for their tiranny and oppression of the English: howbeit, uppon payment of great Fines, they were afterward restored. In the yeare, 1228, that family beeing risen to a greater height (for *Hugh de Lacy* the younger, was created Earle of *Ulster*, after the death of *Courcy* without yssue) there arose dissention and warre betweene that house, and *William Marshall* Lorde of *Leinster*; whereby all *Meth* was destroyed and layd wast. In the yeare, 1264, Sir *Walter Bourke* having married the Daughter and heire of *Lacy*, whereby he was Earle of *Ulster* in right of his Wife, had mortall debate with *Maurice Fitz-Morice* the *Geraldine*, for certaine Lands in *Conaght*. So as all *Ireland* was full of Wars between the *Bourkes* and the *Geraldines* (say our Annalles.) Wherein *Maurice Fitz-Morice* grew so insolent, as that uppon a meeting at *Thistledermot*, he took the Lord Justice himselfe, Sir *Richard Capell*, prisoner, with divers Lords of *Mounster* beeing then in his Company. In the yeare, 1288, *Richard Bourke*, Earle of *Ulster*, (commonly called the *Red Earle*) pretending title to the Lordship of

The war and dissention of the English Lordes one with another.

Annalles Hibernias in Camden.

*Annales
Hiberniae in
Camden.*

Meth, made warre upon Sir *Theobald de Verdun*, and besieged him in the Castle of *Athlone*. Againe, in the yeare, 1292, *John Fitz-Thomas* the *Geraldine*, having by contention with the Lorde *Vesci*, gotten a goodly inheritance in *Kildare*, grew to that beighth of imagination (saith the Story) as he fell into difference with divers great Noblemen; and among many others, with *Richard* the Red Earle, whom he took prisoner, and detained him in Castle *Ley*; and by that dissention, the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, did wast and destroy all the Countrey.

*Annales
Johannis
Clymoe.
Manuscript.*

After, in the yeare, 1311, the same Red Earle (comming to besiege *Bonratty* in *Thomond*, which was then held by Sir *Richard de Clare* as his inheritance) was againe taken prisoner: and all his Army (consisting for the most part of English) overthrown and cut in pieces, by Sir *Richard de Clare*. And after this againe, in the yeare, 1327, most of the great Houses were banded one against another, (viz:) The *Geraldines*, *Butlers*, and *Breminghams*, on the one side, and the *Bourkes* and *Poers* on the other. The ground of the quarrell beeing none other, but that the Lord *Arnold Poer*, had called the Earle of *Kildare*, Rimer: But this quarrell was prosecuted with such malice and violence, as the Counties of *Waterford* and *Kilkenny* were destroyed with fire and sword, till a Parliament was called of purpose, to quiet this dissention.

Shortly after, the Lord *John Bretingham*, who was not long before made Earle of *Louth*, for that notable service which he performed upon the Scots, betweene *Dundalke* and the *Faher*, was so extreamly envied by the *Gernons*, *Verdons*, and others of the ancient Colony, planted in the County of *Louth*, as that in the yeare, 1329, they did most wickedly betray and murder that Earle, with divers principall Gentlemen of his name and Family; using the same speech that the Rebellious Jewes are saide to use in the Gospell:

Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.

After this the *Geraldines* and the *Butlers* being become the most potent families in the Kingdome (for the great Lordshippe of *Leinster* was divided among Coparceners, whose

heires for the most part lived in England; and the Earledom of *Ulster*, with the Lordship of *Meth*, by the match of *Lionell Duke of Clarence*, at last discended upon the Crowne) had almost a continual warre one with another. In the time of King *Henry the Sixt* (saith *Baron Finglas* in his Discourse of the Decay of *Ireland*;) in a fight betweene the Earles of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, almost all the Townesmen of *Kilkenny* were slain. And as they followed contrary parties during the Warres of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, so after that civill dissention ended in England, these Houses in Ireland continued their opposition and feud still, even till the time of King *Henry the Eight*: when by the Marriage of *Margaret Fitz-Girald* to the Earl of *Ossory*, the houses of *Kildare* and *Ormond* were reconciled, and have continued in amity ever since.

*Baron
Finglas,
Manuscript.*

Thus these great Estates and Royalties graunted to the English Lords in Ireland, begat Pride; and Pride, begat Contention among themselves, which brought forth divers mischiefs, that did not only disable the English to finish the Conquest of all Ireland, but did endaunger the losse of what was already gained; And of Conquerors, made them slaves to that Nation which they did intend to Conquer. For, whensoever one English Lorde had vanquished another, the Irish waited and tooke the opportunity, and fell upon that Country which had received the blow; and so daily recovered some part of the lands, which were possessed by the English Colonies.

Besides, the English Lords to strengthen their parties, did ally themselves with the Irish, and drewe them in to dwell among them; gave their Children to be fostered by them; and having no other meanes to pay or reward them, suffered them to take Coigne and Livery upon the English Freeholders; which Oppression was so intollerable, as that the better sort were enforced to quit their freeholds and fly into England; and never returned, though many Lawes were made in both Realmes, to remaunde them backe againe: and the rest which remained, became degenerat and meer Irish, as is before declared. And the English Lords finding

*Stat. 10
Henry 7,
c. 4.
Rot. Par-
liam. in
Castro
Dublin.*

Baron
Finglas,
Manuscript.

Archiv.
Turr. 5
Edward 3.
claus. m. 4.

Archiv.
Turr. 15
Edward 3.
claus. m. 4.

Annales
Hibernie
in Camden.

the Irish exactions to be more profitable then the English rents and services; and loving the Irish tyranny, which was tyed to no rules of *Law* or *Honor*, better than a just and lawfull Seigniory, did reject and cast off the English Law and Government, received the Irish Lawes and Customes, tooke Irish Surnames, as *Mac William*, *Mac Pheris*, *Mac Yoris*, refused to come to the Parliaments which were summoned by the King of Englands Authority, and scorned to obey those English Knights which were sent to commaund and governe this Kingdome; Namely, Sir *Richard Capel*, Sir *John Morris*, Sir *John Darcie*, and Sir *Raphe Ufford*. And when Sir *Anthony Lucie*, a man of great Authoritie in the time of King *Edward* the Thirde, was sent over to reforme the notorious abuses of this Kingdom, the King doubting that he should not be obeyed, directed a speciall Writt or Mandate to the Earle of *Ulster*, and the rest of the Nobility to assist him. And afterwarde, the same King (upon good advise and counsell) resumed those excessive Graunts of Lands and Liberties in Ireland, by a special ordinance made in England, which remaineth of Record in the Tower, in this form: *Quia plures excessivæ donationes terrarum et libertatum in Hibernia ad subdolan machinationem petentium factæ sunt, &c. Rex delusorias hujusmodi machinationes volens elidere, de consilio peritorum sibi assistentium, omnes donationes Terrarum et libertatum prædict. duxit revocandas, quousque de meritis donatariorum et causis ac qualitatibus donationum melius fuerit informat et ideo mandatum est Justiciario Hiberniæ quod seisiari faciat, &c.* Howbeit, there followed upon this resumption, such a division and faction between the *English* of birth, and the English of bloud and race, as they summoned and held severall Parliaments apart one from the other. Whereuppon, there had risen a general war betwixt them, to the utter extinguishing of the English Name and Nation in *Ireland*, if the Earle of *Desmond*, who was head of the faction against the English of birth, had not beene sent into England, and detained there for a time; yet afterwarde, these liberties being restored by direction out of England, the 26 of *Edward* the Thirde, complaint was made to the King

of the easie restitution; whereunto the King made aswere, as is before expressed; so as we may conclude this point with that which we finde in the Annalles, published by Maister Camden: *Hibernici debellati et consumpti fuissent, nisi seditio Anglicorum impedivisset.* Whereunto I may adde this note, that though some are of opinion, that Grants of extraordinary Honours and Liberties made by a King to his subjects, do no more diminish his greatnesse, then when one torch lighteth another; for it hath no lesse light then it had before, *Quis vetat appposito lumen de lumine sumi?* Yet many times, inconveniences doe arise thereuppon: And those Princes have held up their Sovereignty best, which have beene sparing in those Graunts. And truely as these Graunts of little Kingdomes, and great Royalties, to a few private persons, did produce the mischiefes spoken of before: So the true cause of the making of these Graunts, did proceede from this; That the Kings of England beeing otherwise employed and diverted, did not make the Conquest of *Ireland, their own worke*, and undertake it not royally at their owne charge; but as it was first begun by perticular Adventurers, so they left the prosecution thereof, to them, and other voluntaries, who came to seeke their fortunes in Ireland; wherein if they could prevayle, they thought that in reason and honor they could doe no lesse, then make them proprietors of such scopes of land as they could conquer, people, and plant at their owne charge, reserving only the Sovereigne Lordshippe to the Crowne of England. *But if the Lyon had gone to hunt himselfe, the shares of the inferiour Beastes had not beene so great:* If the invasion had been made by an army transmitted, furnished, and supplied only at the kings charges, and wholly paid with the Kings Treasure, as the Armies of Queene ELIZABETH, and King *James* have been; as the conquest had beene sooner atchived, so the servitors had beene contented with lesser proportions.

The first Adventurers obtained these liberal graunts, because the Kings of England did not prosecute the warre at their owne charge.

For, when *Scipio, Pompey, Cæsar*, and other Generals of the Roman Armies, as *Subjects* and *Servants* of that State, and with the publicke Charge had conquered many Kingdomes and Commonweales, we finde them rewarded with

How the State of Rome rewarded their men of warre.

*William
the Con-
queror.*

*Camden in
Chester.*

*Wales dis-
tributed to
the Lords
Marchers.*

honorable Offices and Triumphes at their returne; and not made Lords and proprietors of whole Provinces and Kingdoms which they had subdued to the Empire of Rome. Likewise, when the Duke of *Normandy* had conquered England, which he made his owne worke and performed it in his owne person, he distributed sundry Lordships and Mannors unto his followers, but gave not away whole Shires and Countreyes in demesne to any of his servitors, whom he most desired to advance. Only, he made *Hugh Lupus* County Palatine of *Chester*, and gave that Earledome to him and his heyres, to hold the same, *Ita libere ad gladium, sicut Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam*. Whereby that Earledome indeed had a royal Jurisdiction, and Seigniory, though the Landes of that Countie in demesne, were possessed for the most part by the auncient Inheritors.

Againe, from the time of the Norman Conquest, till the raigne of King Edward the First, many of our English Lords made warre upon the Welshmen at their owne charge; the lands which they gained they held to their owne use, were called *Lords Marchers*, and had Royal Liberties within their Lorshippes. Howbeit, these particular Adventurers, could never make a perfect Conquest of Wales.

But when King *Edward* the First, came in person with his army thither, kept his residence and Court there; made the reducing of *Wales*, an enterprize of his owne; he finished that worke in a yeare or two, whereof the *Lords Marchers* had not performed a third part, with their continuall bordering warre, for two hundred years before. And withall we may observe, that though this King had nowe the Dominion of Wales in *Jure proprietatis*, as the Statute of *Rutland* affirmeth; which before was subject unto him, but in *Jure feodali*: And though he had lost divers principall Knights and Noblemen in that Warre, yet did he not reward his servitors with whole Countries or Counties, but with particular Mannors and Lordships: as to *Henry Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*, he gave the Lordship of *Denbigh*; and to *Reignold Gray*, the Lordship of *Ruthen*, and so to others. And if the like course had beene used in the winning and distributing of the Lands of *Ireland*,

that Island had beene fully conquered before the continent of *Wales* had beene reduced. But the troth is, when Private men attempt the Conquest of Countries at their own charge, commonly their enterprizes doe perrish without success: as when, in the time of Queene *Elizabeth*, Sir *Thomas Smith* undertooke to recover the *Ardes*: and *Chatterton*, to reconquer then *Fues* and *Orier*. The one lost his Sonne; and the other, Himselfe; and both their Adventures came to nothing. And as for the Crowne of England, it hath had the like fortune in the Conquest of this Land, as some purchasers have; who desire to buy Land at too easie a Rate: they finde those cheap purchases so full of trouble, as they spende twice as much as the Land is woorth, before they get the quiet possession thereof.

And as the best policy was not observed in the distribution of the Conquered Lands; so as I Conceyve, that the first Adventurers intending to make a full Conquest of the Irish, were deceived in the Choyse of the *Fittest places for their plantation*. For they sate downe, and erected their Castles and Habitations in the *Pluines and open Countries*; where they found most fruitfull and profitable Lands, and turned the Irish into the *Woods and Mountains*: Which, as they were proper places for Out-Lawes and Theeves, so were they their Naturall Castles and Fortifications; thither they drave their preyes and stealths; there they lurkt and lay in waite to doe mischief. These fast-places they kept unknowne, by making the wayes and Entries thereunto impassable; there they kept their Creaghts or Heardes of Cattle, living by the Milke of the Cowe, without Husbandry or Tillage; there they encreased and multiplied unto infinite numbers, by promiscuous generation among themselves; there they made their Assemblies and Conspiracies without discovery: But they discovered the weaknes of the English dwelling in the open plaines; and thereupon made their sallies and retraites with great advantage. Whereas, on the other side, if the English had builded their Castles and Towns in those places of fastnesse, and had driven the Irish into the Plaines and open Countries, where they might have had an eye and observation

upon them, the Irish had beene easily kept in Order, and in short time reclaimed from their wildnesse; there they would have used Tillage, dwelt together in Towne-ships, learned Mechanicall Arts and Sciences. The woods had bin wasted with the English Habitations, as they are about the Forts of *Marlborough* and *Philipston* which were built in the fastest places in *Leinster*, and the wayes and passages throughout Ireland would have beene as cleare and open as they are in England at this day.

The English Lords did not reduce the woodes and wasts in Forrests and Parkes. *Chart. de Forest. c. 2 and 3.*

AGAINE, if King *Henry* the Second, who is said to be the King that Conquered this Land, had made Forrests in Ireland, as he did enlarge the Forrests in England (for it appeareth by *Charta de Foresta*, that he afforrested many woods and wasts, to the Greevance of the Subject, which by that Lawe were disafforrested,) or if those English Lordes, amongst whom the whole Kingdome was devided, had beene good Hunters, and had reduced the Mountaines, Boggs, and woods within the limits of Forrests, Chases, and Parkes; assuredly, the very Forrest Law, and the Law *de Malefactoribus in parcis*, would in time have driven them into the Plaines and Countries inhabited and Mannured, and have made them yeeld uppe their fast places to those wilde Beastes which were indeede lesse hurtfull and wilde, than they. But it seemeth straunge to me, that in all the Recordes of this Kingdome, I seldome find any mention made of a Forrest; and never of anie Parke or Free-warren; considering the great plenty both of *Vert* and Venison within this Land; and that the cheefe of the Nobility and Gentry are discended of English race; and yet at this day, there is but one Parke stored with Deere in all this Kingdome: which is a Parke of the Earl of *Ormonds* neer *Kilkenny*. It is then manifest, by that which is before expressed; that the not communicating of the English lawes to the Irish; the over large Graunts of Lands and Liberties to the English; the plantation made by the English in the Plaines and open Countries, leaving the Woods and Mountaines to the Irish, were great defects in the Civill policy, and hindered the perfection of the Conquest verie much. Howbeit, notwithstanding these De-

fects and Errours, the English Colonies stood and maintained themselves in a reasonable good estate, as long as they retained their owne auncient Lawes and Customes, according to that of *Ennius: Moribus antiquis res stat. Romana virisque*. But when the civil Government grew so weake and so loose, as that the English Lords, would not suffer the English Lawes to be put in execution within their Territories and Seigniories, but in place thereof, both they and their people, embraced the Irish Customes: Then the estate of things, *like a Game at Irish*, was so turned about, as the English, which hoped to make a perfect Conquest of the Irish, were by them perfectly and absolutely conquered; because *Victi victoribus leges dedere*. *A just punishment to our Nation, that wold not give Lawes to the Irish when they might: and therefore nowe the Irish gave Lawes to them*. Therefore, this Defect and failing of the English Justice, in the English Colonies; and the inducing of the Irish Customes in lieu thereof, was the maine impediment that did arrest and stoppe the course of the Conquest; and was the only meane that enabled the Irishry to recover their strength againe.

The English Colonies rejected the English lawes and customes, and embraced the Irish.

For, if we consider the Nature of the Irish Customes, we shall finde that the people which doth use them, must of necessitie be Rebelles to all good Government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbarisme and desolation upon the richest and most fruitfull Land in the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable Law of England, and by the Lawes of all other well-governed Kingdomes and Commonweals, Murder, Man-slaughter, Rape, Robbery, and Theft, are punished with death; By the Irish Custome, or *Brehon Law*, the highest of these offences was punished onely by Fine, which they called an *Ericke*. Therefore, when Sir *William Fitz-williams*, (being Lord Deputy) told *Maguyre* that he was to send a Sheriffe into *Fermaunagh*, being lately before made a County: your Sheriffe (saide *Maguyre*) shall be welcome to me, but let me knowe his *Ericke*, or the price of his head afore hand; that if my people cut it off, I may cut the *Ericke* upon the Countrey. As for

The nature of the Irish Customes.

The Irish Lawes and Customes, differing from the Lawes and Customes of all civill Nations. The Irish Law in Criminnall causes.

Oppression, Extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had never anie remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to passe, that no man could enjoy his Life, his Wife, his Lands or Goodes in safety, if a mightier man then himselfe had an appetite to take the same from him. Wherein they were little better then *Canniballes*, who doe hunt one another; and he that hath most strength and swiftness, doth eate and devoure all his fellowes.

The Irish
Custome
of *Tanistry*.

Againe, in England, and all well ordered Common-weales, men have certaine estates in their Lands and possessions, and their inheritances discend from Father to Son, which doth give them encouragement to builde, and to plant, and to improve their Landes, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish Custome of *Tanistry*, the Cheefetanes of every Countrey, and the chiefe of every Sept, had no longer estate then for life in their Cheeferies, the inheritance whereof, did rest in no man. And these Cheeferies, though they had some portions of Lande allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and Cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoyle and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their Chieftanes were dead, their sonnes or next heires did not succede them, but their *Tanistes*, who were Elective, and purchased their elections by stronge hande; And by the Irish Custome of Gavelkinde, the inferiour Tennanties were partible amongst all the Males of the Sept, both Bastards and Legitimate: And after partition made, if any one of the Sept had died, his portion was not divided among his Sonnes, but the cheefe of the sept, made a new partition of all the Lands belonging to that Sept, and gave everie one his part according to his antiquity.

The Irish
Custome
of Gavel-
kinde.

The mis-
chiefs that
arise by
these two
Customes.

THESE two Irish Customes made all their possessions uncertain, being shuffled, and changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates, hath bin the true cause of such Desolation and Barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any Countrey that professed the name of Christ. For, though the Irishry be a Nation of great Antiquity, and wanted

neither wit nor valour; and though they had received the Christian Faith, above 1200 yeares since; and were Lovers of Musicke, Poetry, and all kinde of learning; and possessed a Land abounding with all thinges necessary for the Civill life of man; yet (which is strange to be related) they did never builde any houses of Bricke or stone (some few poor Religious Houses excepted) before the raigne of King *Henrie* the Second, though they were Lords of this Island for many hundred yeares before, and since the Conquest attempted by the English: Albeit, when they sawe us builde Castles upon their borders, they have only in imitation of us, erected some few piles for the Captaines of the Country: yet I dare boldly say, that never any particuler person, eyther before or since, did builde anie stone or bricke house for his private Habitation; but such as have latelie obtained estates, according to the course of the Law of *England*. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any Gardens or Orchards, Inclose or improve their Lands, live together in settled Villages or Townes, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needes be imputed to those unreasonable Customes, which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions.

For, who would plant or improove, or build upon that Land, which a stranger whom he knew not, should possess after his death? For that (as *Salomon* noteth) is one of the strangest Vanities under the Sunne. And this is the true reason why *Ulster*, and all the Irish Countries are found so wast and desolate at this day; and so would they continue till the worlds end, if these Customes were not abolished by the Law of *England*.

Againe, that Irish Custom of Gavelkinde, did breede another mischief; for thereby, every man being borne to Land, aswell Bastard, as Legitimate, they all held themselves to be *Gentlemen*. And though their portions were never so small, and themselves never so poor (For *Gavelkinde must needs in the end make a poore Gentility*.) yet did they scorne to discend to Husbandry or Marchandize, or to learn any Mechanicall Art or Science. And this is the true cause why

there were never any Corporate Towns erected in the Irish Countries. As for the Maritime Cities and Townes, most certaine it is, that they were built and peopled by the *Ostmen* or *Easterlings*: for the natives of Ireland never perfourmed so good a worke, as to build a City. Besides, these poore Gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of Land, as they rather chose to live at home by Theft, Extortion, and Coshering, then to seeke any better fortunes abroad: which encreased their *Septs* or *Syrnames* into such numbers, as there are not to be found in anie Kingdome of *Europe*, so many Gentlemen of one Blood, Familie, and Syrname, as there are of the *O Neales* in *Ulster*; of the *Bourkes*, in *Conaght*; of the *Geraldines*, and *Butlers*, in *Munster* and *Leinster*. And the like may be saide of the Inferior Bloodes and Families; whereby it came to passe in times of trouble and Dissention, that they made great parties and factions adhering one to another, with much constancie; because they were tied together, *Vinculo sanguinis*; whereas Rebels and Malefactors which are tyed to their Leaders by no band, either of Dutie or Blood, do more easily breake and fall off one from another. And besides, their Coe-habitation in one Countrey or Territory, gave them opportunity suddenly to assemble, and Conspire, and rise in multitudes against the Crowne. And even now, in the time of peace, we finde this inconvenience, that there can hardly be an indifferent triall had between the King and the Subject, or between partie and partie, by reason of this generall Kindred and Consanguinity.

The
wicked
Customes
of *Coigne*
and *Livery*.

BUT the most wicked and mischeevous Custome of all others, was that of *Coigne* and *Livery*, often before mentioned; which consisted in taking of *Mansmeat*, *Horsemeat*, and *Money* of all the inhabitants of the Country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who as the phrase of Scripture is, *Did eat up the people as it were Bread*: for that he had no other entertainment. This Extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay *Bonaght* upon their people, and never gave their Soldier any other pay. But when the English had Learned it they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable;

The mis-
chiefs that
did arise

lerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but because there was every where a continuall warre, either Offensive, or Defensive; and every Lord of a Countrey, and every Marcher made warre and peace at his pleasure; it became Universal and Perpetuall; and was indeede the most heavy oppression, that ever was used in any Christian or Heathen Kingdom. And therefore *Vox Oppressorum*, this crying sinne, did drawe downe as great or greater plagues upon Ireland, then the oppression of the *Israelites*, did draw upon the Land of *Egypt*. For the plagues of *Egypt*, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance. But the plagues of *Ireland*, lasted 400 yeares together. This Extortion of Coigne and Livery, did produce two notorious Effects. First, it made the Land wast; Next, it made the people, idle. For when the Husbandman had laboured all the yeare, the soldier in one night, did consume the fruits of all his labour, *Longique perit labor irritus anni*. Had he reason then to manure the Land for the next yeare? Or rather might he not complaine as the Shepherd in *Virgil*:

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia Cives
Perduxit miseros? En quis consevimus agros?*

AND hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects; and such as remained became idle, and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evill times: So as this extreme Extortion and Oppression, hath beene the true cause of the Idleness of this Irish Nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be Beggars in forraign Countries, then to manure their own fruitful Land at home.

Lastly, this Oppression did of force and necessity make the Irish a craftie people: for such as are oppressed and live in slavery, are ever put to their shifts; *Ingenium mala sæpe movent*; And therefore, in the old Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence*, the Bond slave doth always act the cunning and Craftie part. Besides, all the Common people have a whynning tune or Accent in their speech, as if they did still smart

Why the
Irish are
inquisitive
after news.

or suffer some oppression. And this Idlenesse, together with feare of imminent mischiefes, which did continually hang over their heads, have bin the cause, that the Irish were ever the most inquisitive people after newes, of any nation in the world. As *St. Paule* himselfe made observation upon the people of *Athens*; that they were an idle people, and did nothing but learne and tell Newes. And because these Newes-Carriers, did by their false intelligence, many times raise troubles and rebellions in this Realme, the Statute of *Kilkenny*, doth punish Newes-tellers (by the name of *Skelaghes*) with Fine and ransome.

Cosherings.

Sessings.

Cuttings.

This Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery*, was taken for the maintenaunce of their men of warre: but their Irish exactions extorted by the Chieftanes and *Tanists*, by colour of their barbarous Seigniory, were almost as grievous a burthen as the other; namely, *Cosherings*, which were visitations and progresses made by the Lord and his followers, among his Tenants: wherein he did eate them (as the English Proverbe is) *Out of House and Home*. *Sessings* of the *Kerne*, of his family, called *Kernety*, of his Horses and Hors-boyes; of his Dogges and Dog-boyes, and the like: And lastly, *Cuttings*, *Tallages*, or *Spendinges*, high or low, at his pleasure; all which, made the Lorde an absolute Tyrant, and the Tennant a very slave and villain; and in one respect more miserable then Bond slaves. *For commonly the Bond slave is fed by his Lord, but heere the Lord was fedde by his Bond slave.*

Lastly, there were two other Customes proper and peculiar to the Irishry, which being the cause of many strong combinations and factions do tend to the utter ruine of a Commonwealth: The one was *Fostering*; the other *Gossipred*; both which have ever bin of greater estimation among this people, then with any other Nation in the Christian world. For *Fostering*, I did never heare or read, that it was in that use or reputation in anie other Countrey, Barbarous or Civill, as it hath beene, and yet is, in *Ireland*: where they put away all their children to Fosterers: the potent and rich men *Selling*; the meaner sort *Buying*, the alterage of their Children; and the reason is, because in the opinion of this people, *Fos-*

tering hath alwayes beene a stronger alliance then *Bloud*; and the Foster-Children doe love and are beloved of their foster-fathers and their Sept, more then of their owne naturall Parents and Kindred; and do participate of their meanes more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy, And though *Tully* in his Book of Friendship doth observe, that children of Princes being sometimes in cases of necessity for saving of their lives delivered to Shepheards to be nourished and bred up, when they have bin restored to their great fortunes, have still retained their love and affection to their Fosterers, whom for manie yeares they tooke to be their Parents: yet this was a rare case, and few examples are to be found thereof.

But such a generall Custome in a Kingdome, in giving and taking children to Foster, making such a firme Alliance as it doth in *Ireland*, was never seene or heard of, in any other Countrey of the world besides.

THE like may be said of *Gossipred* or *Compaternitie*, which *Gossipred*. though by the Cannon Law, it be a spirituall affinity, and a Juror that was a Gossip to either of the parties, might in former times have bin challenged, as not indifferent by our Law, yet there was no nation under the Sun, that ever made so Religious accompt thereof as the Irish.

Now these two Customes, which of themselves are indifferent in other Kingdomes, became exceeding evill and full of mischief in this Realme, by reason of the inconveniences which followed thereupon. For they made (as I said before) strong parties, and factions, wherby the great men were enabled to oppresse their Inferiors, and to oppose their Equals: and their followers were borne out and countenanced in all their lewde and wicked actions: For Fosterers and Gossips by the common Custome of Ireland, were to maintaine one another in all causes lawful, and unlawfull; which as it is a Combination and Confederacy punishable in all well governed Common-weales, so was it not one of the least causes of the common misery of this Kingdome.

I omit their common repudiation of their Wives; their pro-

miscuous generation of Children; their neglect of lawfull Matrimony; their uncleannesse in apparell, Diet and Lodging, and their contempt and scorne of all thinges necessary for the Civill life of man.

How the
English
Colonies
became de-
generate.

These were the Irish Customes, which the English Colonies did embrace and use, after they had rejected the Civill and Honorable Lawes and Customes of *England*, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphosed like *Nebuchadnezzar*: who although he had the face of a man, had the heart of a Beast: or like those who had drunke of *Circes* Cuppe, and were turned into very Beasts; and yet tooke such pleasure in their beastly manner of life, as they would not returne to their shape of men againe: insomuch as within lesse time then the Age of a man, they had no markes or differences left amongst them of that Noble nation, from which they were discended. For, as they did not only forget the English Language, and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very English Names, though they were noble and of great Antiquity; and tooke Irish *Surnames* and *Nicke-names*. Namely, the two most potent families of the *Bourks* in *Conaght* (after the house of the Red Earle failed of Heyres-males) called their Cheefes, *Mac William Eighter* and *Mac William Oughter*. In the same Province, *Bremingham*, Baron of *Athenrie*, called himself *Mac Yorris*. *Dexcester*, or *De'exon*, was called *Mac Jordan*. *Mangle* or *de Angulo*, took the name of *Mac Costelo*. Of the Inferior families of the *Bourkes* one was called *Mac Hubbard*, another *Mac David*. In *Munster*, of the great Families of the *Geraldines* planted there; One was called *Mac Morice* chiefe of the house of *Lixnaw*; and another, *Mac Gibbon*, who was also called the *white Knight*. The chiefe of the Baron of *Dunboynes* house, who is a branch of the house of *Ormond*, tooke the Surnames of *Mac Pheris*. *Condon* of the County of *Waterford*, was called *Mac Mioge*: and the Arch-Deacon of the County of *Kilkenny*, *Mac Odo*. And this they did in contempt and hatred of the English Name and Nation; whereof these degenerate families became mere mortal enemies, then the meere Irish. And whereas the state and Govern-

ment being growne weake by their defection, did to reduce them to Obedience, grant them many protections and Pardons, (*The cheapnesse whereof, in all ages, hath brought great dishonour and damage to this Commonweal*) they grew so ungratefull and unnaturall, as in the end they scorned that grace and favour, because the acceptance thereof, did argue them to be subjects, and they desired rather to be accounted Enemies, then Rebels to the Crowne of England.

Hereupon was the olde Verse made, which I finde Written *Alb. Hbr. Scacc. Dublin.* in the White Booke of the Exchequer, in a hand as auncient as the time of King *Edward* the Third.

*By granting Charters of peas,
To false English withouten les,
This Land shall be mick undo.
But Gossipred, and alterage,
And leeing of our Language,
Have mickely help theretoo.*

And therefore, in a close Roll in the Tower, bearing this Title; *Articuli in Hibernia observandi*: we find these two Articles among others. 1. *Justiciarius Hiberniæ non concedat perdonationes de morte hominis, nec de Roberiis, seu incendiis, et quod de cætero certificet dominum regem de nominibus petentium.* 2. *Item, Quod nec Justiciarius nec aliquis Magnas Hiberniæ concedat protectiones alicui contra pacem Regis existent, &c.* But now it is fit to looke backe and consider when the old English Colonies became so degenerate; and in what Age they fell away into that Irish barbarisme, rejecting the English Laws and Customes. Assuredly, by comparing the ancient Annalles of *Ireland* with the Records remaining heere, and in the Tower of *London*, I do find that this generall defection, fell out in the latter end of the raigne of king *Edward* the Second, and in the beginning of the raigne of King *Edward* the Thirde. And all this great innovation, grewe within the space of thirty years: within the compasse of which time, there fell out divers mischievous accidents, whereby the whole kingdome was in a manner lost. For first, *Edward le Bruce* invaded *Ireland* with the Scottish

When and how the English Colonies became degenerate.

The Scots
overrun
Ireland.

Army, and prevailed so farre, as that he possessed the Maritime parts of *Ulster*, marched up to the walles of *Dublin*, spoiled the English Pale, passed through *Leinster* and *Munster*, as farre as *Limericke*, and was Maister of the field in every part of the kingdom.

*Annales
Hibernie
in Camden.*

This hapned in the tenth yeare of King *Edward* the Second, at what time the Crowne of *England* was weaker, and suffred more dishonor in both kingdomes, then it did at any time since the *Norman* Conquest. Then did the State of *England* send over *John de Hotham* to be Treasurer heere, with commission to call the great Lords of Ireland together; and to take of them an Oath of Association, that they should loyally joyne together in life and death to preserve the right of the King of *England*, and to expell the common enemy. But this Treasurer brought neither men, nor money, to performe this service.

*Desmond
chiefe
Commander
in the
warre
against the
Scots.*

At that time, though *Richard Bourk* Earle of *Ulster* (commonly called the Redde-Earle) were of greater power then any other subject in *Ireland*, yet was he so farre stricken in yeares, as that he was unable to mannage the martiall affaires, as he had done during all the raigne of King *Edward* the First: having bin Generall of the Irish forces, not onely in this kingdom, but in the Wars of *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Gascoigne*. And therefore, *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* of *Desmond*, being then the most active Nobleman in this realm, tooke upon him the chiefe command in this Warre: for the support whereof, the Revennue of this Lande, was farre too short, and yet no supply of Treasure was sent out of *England*.

When and
how the
extortion
of Coigne
and Livery
began
among the
English.

Then was there no mean to maintain the army, but by Sessing the soldiers upon the subject, as the Irish were wont to impose their *Bonaught*. Whereupon, grewe that wicked Extortion of *Coigne* and *Liverie* spoken of before, which in short time banished the greatest part of the Free-holders out of the County of *Kerrie*, *Limerick*, *Corke*, and *Waterford*; Into whose possessions, *Desmond* and his Kinsmen, Alies, and Followers, which were then more Irish then English, did enter and appropriate these Lands unto themselves, *Desmond* himselfe taking what scopes he best liked for his demesnes in

every Countrey, and reserving an Irish Seigniorie out of the rest. And heere, that I may verifie and maintaine by matter of Record, that which is before delivered touching the Nature of this wicked Extortion, called *Coigne* and *Liverie*; and the manifold mischiefs it did produce, I think it fit and pertinent to insert the preamble of the Statute of the 10 of *Henry 7*, c. 4, not printed, but recorded in Parliament Rols of *Dublin*, in these words: *At the request and supplication of the Commons of this Land of Ireland, that where of long time there hath bin used and exacted by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land, many and divers damnable customes and usages, which bin called Coigne, and Livery, and Pay; that is, Horsemeat, and Mansmeat, for the finding of their Horsemen and Footmen; and over that 4d. or 6d. daily to every of them to be had and paide of the poore Earth-Tillers, and Tenants, inhabitants of the said Land, without any thing doing or paying therefore. Besides, manie Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other manifold extortions and oppressions by the saide Horsemen and Footmen, dayly and nightly committed and done; which bin the principall causes of the Desolation and destruction of the said Land, and hath brought the same into Ruine and Decay, so as the most part of the English Free-holders and Tenants of this land bin departed out thereof, some into the Realme of England, and other some to other strange Lands; whereupon the foresaide Lordes and Gentlemen of this Land, have intruded into the said Free-holders and Tenants inheritances; and the same keepeth and occupieth as their owne inheritances; and setten under them in the same Land the Kings Irish Enemies, to the diminishing of Holie Churches Rites, the disherison of the King, and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruine and desolation of the Land. For Reformation whereof, be it enacted, That the King shall receive a Subsidie of 26s. 8d. out of every 120 acres of arable Land manured, &c.* But to return to *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* of *Desmond*; By this extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery*, he suddenly grewe from a meane, to a mighty estate; insomuch as the *Baron Finglas* in his discourse of the decay of *Ireland*, affirmeth; that his ancient inheritance being not one thou-

sand markes yearly, he became able to dispend every way, ten thousand pounds, *per annum*.

These possessions being thus unlawfully gotten, could not be maintained by the just and honourable law of England, which would have restored the true Owners to their Land againe. And therefore, this Great man found no meanes to continue and uphold his ill-purchased greatnesse, but by rejecting the English Lawe and Government, and assuming in lieu thereof, the barbarous customs of the Irish. And heereupon, followed the defection of those foure shires, containing the greatest part of *Munster*, from the obedience of the Law.

In like manner (saith Baron *Finglas*) the Lord *Tipperary* (perceiving how well the house of *Desmond* hadde thrived by *Coigne* and *Liverie*, and other Irish exactions) began to holde the like course in the Counties of *Tipperary* and *Kilkenny*; whereby he got great scopes of Land, especially in *Ormond*; and raised many Irish exactions upon the English Free-holders there; which made him so potent and absolute among them, as at that time they knew no other Lawe then the will of their Lord. Besides, finding, that the Earle of *Desmond* excluded the ordinary Ministers of Justice, under colour of a Royal Liberty, which he claimed in the Counties of *Kerry*, *Corke*, and *Waterford*, by a graunt of King *Edward* the First (as appeareth in a *Quo warranto*, brought against him, Anno 12 *Edward* the First) the Record whereof, remaineth in *Breminghams* Tower, among the common Plea-Rolls there.

This Lord also, in the third of *Edward* the Third, obtained a Graunt of the like Liberty in the County of *Tipperary*, whereby he got the Lawe into his owne hands, and shut out the Common Lawe and Justice of the Realme.

And thus we see, that all *Munster* fell away from the English Lawe and Government, in the end of King *Edward* the Second, his raigne; and in the beginning of the raigne of King *Edward* the Third. Again, about the same time, (*viz.*) in the 20 yeare of King *Edward* the Second, when the State of *England* was well-ny ruined by the Rebellion of the Barons, and the Government of Ireland utterly neglected, there arose in *Leinster*, one of the *Cavanagh*s, named *Donald Mac Art*,

The rising
of *MacMur-*

who named himself *Mac Murrough*, King of *Leinster*, and possessed himself of the Countie of *Catherlogh* and of the greatest part of the County of *Wexford*. And shortly after, *Lisagh O Moore*, called himself *O Moore*, took 8 Castles in one Evening, destroyed *Dunamase* the principall house of the *L. Mortimer* in *Leix*, recovered that whole Countrey, *De servo Dominus, de subjecto princeps effectus*, saith Friar *Clynne* in his Annalles.

rough and
O Moore in
Leinster.
Annales
Hibernia
in Camden.
Annales
Johannis
Clynne.
Manus.
The defect
and losse of
a great part
of Leinster.

Besides, the Earle of *Kildare*, imitating his Cousin of *Desmond*, did not omit to make the like use of Coigne and Livery in *Kildare*, and the West part of *Meth*, which brought the like barbarisme into those parts. And thus a great part of *Leinster* was lost, and fell away from the Obedience of the Crowne, neere about the time before expressed.

Againe, in the seaventh yeare of King *Edward* the Third, the Lord *William Bourke*, Earle of *Ulster*, and Lorde of *Conaght*, was treacherously murdered by his owne Squires at *Knockefergus*, leaving behinde him, *Unicam et unius anni filiam* (saith Friar *Clynne*.) Immediately upon the murder committed, the Countesse with her young daughter, fledde into England; so as the Government of that Countrey, was wholly neglected, until, that young Ladie being married to *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, that Prince came over with an Army, to recover his wives inheritance, and to reforme this Kingdome, Anno 36 of *Eduard* the Third. But in the mean time, what became of that great Inheritance both in *Ulster* and *Conaght*? Assuredly, in *Ulster*, the Sept of *Hugh-Boy O Neal*, then possessing *Glaucoukeyn* and *Killeightra* in *Tyrone*, tooke the opportunity; and passing over the *Banne*, did first expell the English out of the Barony of *Tuscard*, which is now called the *Rout*; and likewise, out of the *Glynnes* and other Landes up as farre as *Knockefergus*, which Countrey or extent of Lande, is at this day called, the lower *Clan Hugh-Boy*. And shortly after that, they came up into the great *Ardes*, which the Latine writers call, *Altitudines Ultonia*, and was ther the inheritance of the *Savages*; by whom, they were valiantly resisted for divers yeares: but at last, for want of Castles and fortifications (for the saying of *Henrie Savage* mentioned in

The Earle
of Ulster
murdered.
Annales
Johannis
Clynne.
Manus.

The Earle-
dom of
Ulster re-
covered by
the Irish.

Abridge-
ment of
*Salus po-
puli, Manu-
script.*
*Baron
Finglas,
Manu-
script.*

*Annales
Hiberniae
in Camden.*

every Story, is very memorable; That a Castle of *Bones* was better than a Castle of *Stones*) the English were over-run by the multitude of the Irishry: So as about the thirtieth of King *Edward* the Third some few yeares before the arrivall of the Duke of *Clarence*, the *Savages* were utterly driven out of the Great *Ardes*, into a little nooke of land neere the River of *Strangford*; where they now possesse a little Territory, called the little *Ardes*; and their greater patrimony tooke the name of the upper *Clan Hugh-Boy*, from the Sept of *Hugh*, *Boy O Neale* who became Invaders thereof.

The defection of
Conaght.

FOR *Conaght*, some younger branches of the family of the *Bourkes*, being planted there by the Red Earle and his Ancestors, seeing their Chiefe to be cutt off, and dead without Heire-male, and no man left to govern or protect that province, intruded presently into all the Earles Landes, which ought to have bin seized into the Kings hands, by reason of the minoritie of the heire. And within a short space, two of the most potent among them, divided that great Seigniory betwixt them: the one taking the name of *Mac William Oughter*; and the other of *Mac William Eighter*; as if the Lorde *William Bourk* the last Earle of *Ulster*, had left two sonnes of one name behinde him to inherit that Lordship in course of Gavelkind. But they well knewe, that they were but intruders upon the Kings possession during the minority of the heire; they knewe those landes were the rightfull inheritance of that young Lady; and consequently, that the Law of England would speedily evict them out of their possession; and therefore, they held it the best policy to cast off the yoake of English Law, and to become meere Irish: and according to their example, drew all the rest of the English in that Province, to do the like; so as from thenceforth they suffered their possessions to run in course of *Tanistry* and *Gavelkinde*. They changed their names, language, and apparel, and all their civil manners and Customes of living. Lastly, about the 25 yeare of King *Edward* the Third, Sir

*Annales
Hiberniae in
Camden.*

Richard de Clare was slaine in *Thomond*, and all the English Colonies there, utterly supplanted.

Thus in that space of time, which was betweene the tenth yeare of King *Edward* the Second, and the 30 yeare of King *Edward* the Third (I speak within compasse) by the concurrence of the mischiefes before recited, all the old English Colonies in *Munster*, *Conaght*, and *Ulster*; and more then a third part of *Leinster* became degenerate and fell away from the Crowne of England; so as onely the foure Shyres of the English Pale remained under the Obedience of the Lawe; and yet the Borders and Marches thereof, were growne unruly, and out of order too, being subject to *Blacke-rents* and *Tribute* of the Irish; which was a greater defection then when tenne of twelve Tribes departed, and fell away from the Kings of Juda.

But was not the State of England sensible of this losse and dishonour? Did they not endeavour to recover the Land that was lost, and to reduce the subjects to their Obedience?

Truely King *Edward* the Second, by the incursions of the Scottish Nation, and by the insurrection of his Barons, who raised his wife and his Sonne against him, and in the end deposed him, was diverted and utterly disabled to reforme the disorders of Ireland. But as soone as the Crowne of *England* was transferred to King *Edward* the Third, though he were yet in his minority, the State there beganne to looke into the desperate estate of thinges heere. And finding such a generall defection, Letters were sent from the King, to the great men and Prelates, requiring them particularly to swear fealty to the Crowne of England.

Shortly after Sir *Anthony Lucie*, a person of great authority in England in those dayes, was sent over to work a reformation in this Kingdome, by a severe course; and to that end, the King wrote expressly to the Earle of *Ulster*, and others of the Nobilitie to assist him, as is before remembered; presently upon his arrival, he arrested *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* Earle of *Desmond*; and Sir *William Bremingham*, and committed them prisoners to the Castle of Dublin: where Sir *William Bremingham* was executed for treason, though the Earle of *Desmond* were left to Mainprize, upon condition, he should appeare before the King by a certain day, and in the meane time to continue loyall.

What courses have bin taken to reforme this kingdome, since the English Colonies became degenerate.

Edward 2. King *Edward* 3. did first endeavor a reformation.

Archie. Turr. 2. *Edward* 3. *claus. pers.* 1. m. 16.

Sir *Anthony Lucie*.

Annales Hibernia in *Camden*.

Resump-
tion of
Liberties.

*Annales
Hibernicæ in
Camden.*

Sir Raphe
Ufford.
*Annales
Johannis
Clymne,
Manus.*

*Annales
Hibernicæ in
Camden.*

AFTER this, the King being advertised that the over-large Graunts of Lands and Liberties, made to the Lords of English Bloude in Ireland, made them so insolent, as they scorned to obey the Law, and the Magistrate, did absolutely resume all such Graunts, as is before declared. But the Earle of *Desmond* above all men, found himselfe grieved with this resumption, or Repeale of Liberties; and declared his dislike and discontentment: insomuch as he did not onely refuse to come to a Parliament at *Dublin*, summoned by Sir *William Morris*, Deputie to the Lord *John Darcy*, the Kings Lieutenant: But (as we have said before) he raised such dissention betweene the English of bloud, and the English of birth, as the like was never seen, from the time of the first planting of our nation in *Ireland*. And in this factious and seditious humour, he drewe the Earle of *Kildare* and the rest of the nobility, with the Citizens and Burgesses of the principall Townes, to hold a severall Parliament by themselves, at *Kilkenny*; where they framed certaine Articles against the Deputy, and transmitted the same into England to the King.

Hereupon, Sir *Raphe Ufford*, who had lately before married the Countesse of *Ulster*, a man of courage and severity, was made Lord Justice: who forthwith calling a Parliament, sent a speciall commandment to the Earle of *Desmond*, to appeare in that great Councel; but the Earle wilfully refused to come. Whereupon, the Lord Justice raised the Kings Standard, and marching with an Army into *Munster*, seized into the Kinges handes, all the possessions of the Earle, took and executed his principall followers, Sir *Eustace le Poer*, Sir *William Graunt*, and Sir *John Cotterell*; enforced the Earle himselfe to fly and lurke, till 26 Noblemen and Knights, became Mainpernors for his appearance at a certaine day prefixed: But he making default the second time, the uttermost advantage was taken against his sureties. Besides, at the same time, this Lord Justice caused the Earle of *Kildare* to be arrested and committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, indited and imprisoned manie other disobedient subjects, called in, and cancelled such Charters as were lately before resumed; and proceeded every way so roundly and severely, as the Nobility which were wont

to suffer no controulment, did much distaste him; and the Commons who in this Land have ever bin more devoted to their immediate Lords here whom they saw every day, then unto their Sovereign Lord and King, whom they never saw; spake ill of this Governor, as of a rigorous and cruel man, though in troth he were a singular good Justicer; and, if he had not dyed in the second yeare of his government, was the likeliest person of that Age, to have reformed and reduced the degenerate English Colonies, to their natural obedience of the Crowne of *England*.

Thus much then we may observe by the way, that *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, the first Earle of *Desmond*, was the first English Lord that imposed *Coigne* and *Livery* upon the Kings subjects; and the first that raised his estate to immoderate greatnesse, by that wicked Extortion and Oppression; that he was the first that rejected the English Lawes and Government, and drew others by his example to do the like; that he was the first Peere of *Ireland* that refused to come to the Parliament summoned by the Kings Authority; that he was the first that made a division and distinction betweene the English of bloud, and the English birth.

Maurice Fitz-Thomas the first Earle of *Desmond*, the author of the great oppressions and dissensions which destroyed the English Colonies.

AND as this Earle was the onely Author, and first Actour, of these mischiefs, which gave the greatest impediment to the full Conquest of *Ireland*; So it is to be noted, that albeit others of his ranke afterwarde offended in the same kinde; whereby their Houses were many times in danger of ruin, yet was there not ever any Noble house of English race in *Ireland*, utterly destroyed and finally rooted out by the hand of Justice, but the house of *Desmond* onely; nor any Peere of this Realme ever put to death (though divers have bin attainted) but *Thomas Fitz-James* the Earle of *Desmond* onely, and onely for those wicked Customes brought in by the first Earle, and practised by his posterity, though by severall Lawes they were made High-Treason. And therefore, though in the 7 of Edward the Fourth, during the Government of the Lord *Tiptoft* Earle of *Worcester*, both the Earles

The fortune of the house of *Desmond*.

The Coun-
sel Booke
of Ireland.
32 H. 8.

of *Desmond* and *Kildare* were attainted by Parliament at *Drogheda*, for alliance and fostering with the Irish; and for taking *Coigne* and *Livery* of the Kings subjects, yet was *Desmond* onely put to death; for the Earle of *Kildare* received his pardon. And albeit the sonne of this Earle of *Desmond*, who lost his head at *Drogheda* were restored to the Earldom; yet could not the Kings grace regenerate obedience in that degenerate house, but it grew rather more wilde and barbarous, then before. For from thenceforth they reclaimed a strange priviledge: *That the Earles of Desmond should never come to any Parliament or Grand-Counsell, or within any walled towne, but at their will and pleasure.* Which pretended priviledge, *James Earle of Desmond*, the Father of *Girald* the last Earle, renounced and surrendered by his Deed, in the Chancery of Ireland, in the 32 of *Henry* the Eight. At what time, among the meer Irishry, he submitted himselfe to Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, then Lord Deputy; tooke an Oath of Allegiance; Covenanted that he would suffer the law of England to be executed in his Countrey; and assist the Kings Judges in their Circuits; and if any Subsidies should be granted by Parliament, he would permit the same to be levied upon his Tenants and followers. Which Covenants are as straunge as the priviledge itselfe, spoken of before. But that which I conceive most worthy of Observation, upon the fortunes of the house of *Desmond*, is this; that as *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, the first Earle, did first raise the greatnes of that house, by Irish exactions and oppressions; so *Girald* the last Earle, did at last ruine and reduce it to nothing, by using the like extortions. For certain it is, that the first occasion of his rebellion, grew from hence; that when he attempted to charge the *Decies* in the County of *Waterford*, with *Coigne* and *Livery*, Black Rents and Cosheries, after the Irish manner, he was resisted by the Earle of *Ormond*, and upon an encounter, overthrowne and taken prisoner; which made his heart so unquiet, as it easily conceived treason against the Crowne, and brought forth actuall and open Rebellion, wherein he perished himselfe, and made a final extinguishment of his house and honour. Oppression and extortion did

maintain the greatnesse; and oppression and extortion, did extinguish the greatnesse of that house. Which may well be exprest, by the old Embleme of a Torch turned downe-wards, with this word, *Quod me alit, extinguit.*

Now let us returne to the course of reformation, helde and pursued here, after the death of Sir *Raphe Ufford*, which happened in the 20 yeare of King *Edward 3.* After which time, albeit all the power and Counsell of England was converted towards the Conquest of *Fraunce*, yet was not the worke of reformation altogether discontinued. For in the 25 yeare of King *Edward the Third*, Sir *Thomas Rookeby*, another worthy Governor (whome I have once before named) held a Parliament at *Kilkenny*, wherein many excellent Lawes were propounded and enacted for the reducing of the English Colonies to their Obedience; which Lawes we find enrolled in the Remembrauncers Office heere; and differ not much in substance, from those other Statutes of *Kilkenny*, which not long after (during the Government of *Lionell Duke of Clarence*) were not onely enacted, but put in execution. This Noble Prince having married the Daughter and Heire of *Ulster*; and being likewise a Coparcener of the County of *Kilkenny*, in the 36 yeare of King *Edward the Third*, came over the Kings Lieutenant, attended with a good retinue of martiall men as is before remembred, and a Grave and Honorable Counsell, aswell for peace as for warre. But because this Armie was not of a Competent strength to break and subdue all the Irishry, although he quieted the borders of the English Pale, and helde all Ireland in awe with his name and presence. The principal service that he intended, was to reforme the degenerate English Colonies, and to reduce them to obedience of the English Lawe, and Magistrate. To that end, in the fortieth yeare of King *Edward the Third*, he held that famous Parliament at *Kilkenny*, wherein many notable lawes were enacted, which do shew and lay open (*For the law doth best discover enormities*) how much the English Colonies were corrupted at the time, and do infallibly prove that which is laide downe before; that they were wholly degenerate, and

The course
of Reformation pur-
sued by
Lionell
Duke of
Clarence.

*Archiv. in
Castro
Dublin.
Statutes of
Kilkenny.
C. 2.
C. 3.*

fallen away from their obedience. For first, it appeareth by the Preamble of these Lawes, that the English of this Realme before the comming over of *Lionell Duke of Clarence*, were at that time become meere Irish in their Language, Names, Apparell, and all their manner of living, and had rejected the English Lawes, and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had many Marriages and Alliances, which tended to the utter ruine and destruction of the commonwealth. Therefore alliance by Marriage, *Nurture of Infants*, and *Gossiped with the Irish*, are by this Statute made High-treason. Againe, if anie man of English race, should use an Irish Name, Irish Language, or Irish Apparell, or any other guise or fashion of the Irish; if he had Lands or Tenements, the same should be seized, till he had given security to the Chancery, to conform himselfe in all points to the English manner of living. And if he had no lands, his bodie was to be taken and imprisoned, till he found sureties as aforesaid.

C. 4. Againe, it was established and commanded, that the English in all their Controversies, should be ruled and governed by the common Lawe of England: and if any did submit himselfe to the *Brehon* law, or *March* law, he should be adjudged a Traitor.

C. 10. Againe because the English at that time, made warre and peace with the bordering enemy at their pleasure; they were expresly prohibited to leavie warre upon the Irish, without speciall warrant and direction from the State.

C. 12. Againe it was made pænall to the English, to permit the
C. 13. Irish to creaght or graze upon their Landes: to present them
C. 15. to Ecclesiasticall Benefices; to receive them into any Monas-
C. 17. teries, or Religious Houses, or to entertaine any of their Min-
C. 22. strels, Rimers, or Newes-tellers: to impose or sesse any horse
or foot uppon the English Subjects against their willes, was made felony. And because the great Liberties or Franchises spoken of before, were become Sanctuaries for all Malefactours, expresse power was given to the Kings Sheriffes, to enter into all franchises, and there to apprehend all Fellons and Traitors. And lastly, because the great Lordes, when they levied forces for the publick service, did lay unequall

burdens upon the Gentlemen and Free-holders, it was ordained, that foure Wardens of the peace in every Countie, should set downe and appoint what men and armour every man should beare, according to his Free-hold, or other ability of estate.

THESE and other Lawes, tending to a generall reformation, were enacted in that Parliament. And the Execution of these Lawes, together with the *Presence of the Kings Son*, made a notable alteration in the State and Manners of this people, within the space of seaven yeares, which was the tearme of this Princes Lieutenancy.

The Statutes of Kilkenny, did much reforme the degenerate English.

For all the *Discourses* that I have seene of the Decay of Ireland, doe agree in this; that the presence of Lord *Lionel*, and these Statutes of *Kilkenny*, did restore the English Government, in the degenerate Colonies, for divers yeares. And the Statute of the tenth of *Henry* the Seventh, which reviveth and confirmeth the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, doth confirme as much. For it declareth, *that as long as these Lawes were put in use and execution, this Lande continued in prosperity and honor: and since they were not executed, the subjects rebelled and digressed from their allegiance, and the Land fell to ruine and desolation.* And withall, we find the effect of these Lawes in the Pipe-Rolles, and Plea-Rolles, of this Kingdome: For from the 36 of *Edward* the Third, when this Prince entred into his Government, till the beginning of *Richard* the Second his Reigne, we find the Revennue of the Crowne both certaine and casuall in *Ulster*, *Munster*, and *Conaght*, accounted for; and that the Kings Writ did run, and the Common-Law was executed in every of these Provinces. I joyne with these Lawes, the personall presence of the Kings Son, as a concurrent cause of this Reformation:

Stat. 10 Henry 7, c. 8.

Because the people of this Land both English and Irish, out of a naturall pride, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons. And therefore, I may heere justly take occasion to note, that first the absence of the Kings of England; and nexte, the absence of those great Lords who were inheritors of those mighty Seigniories of *Leinster*, *Ulster*, *Conaght*, *The presence of the Kings Son, did much advance the reformation.* Absence of our Kings and great English Lords, a chief cause why the Kingdom

was not
reduced.

and *Meth*, have bin maine causes why this Kingdome was not reduced in so many ages.

Absence of
our Kings.

TOUCHING the absence of our Kings, three of them onely since the Norman Conquest, have made royall journies into this Land; namely, King *Henry* the Second, King *John*, and King *Richard* the Second. And yet they no sooner arrived heere, but that all the Irishry, (as if they had bin but one man) submitted themselves; tooke oaths of fidelity, and gave pledges and hostages to continue loyall. And, if any of those Kings hadde continued here in person a competent time, till they had settled both English and Irish in their severall possessions, and had set the Law in a due course throughout the Kingdome; these times wherein we live, had not gained the honor of the finall Conquest and reducing of *Ireland*. For the King (saith *Solomon*) *dissipat omne malum intuitu suo*. But when *Moses* was absent in the Mount, the people committed Idolatry: and when there was no King in *Israel*, every man did what seemed best in his own eyes.

And therefore, when *Alexander* had conquered the East part of the world, and demaunded of one what was the fittest place for the seat of his Empire, he brought and laid a dry hide before him, and desired him to set his foote on the one side thereof; which being done, all the other parts of the hide did rise up: but when he did set his foot in the middle of the hide, all the other parts lay flat and even: which was a lively demonstration, that if a Prince keep his residence in the Borders of his Dominions, the remoate parts will easily rise and rebell against him: but if he make the Center thereof, his seat, he shall easily keepe them in peace and obedience.

The absence of
the great
English
Lords.

TOUCHING the absence of the great Lords: All Writers doe impute the decay and losse of *Leinster*, to the absence of these English Lords, who married the five Daughters of *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke* (to whom that great Seigniory descended) when his five sonnes, who inherited the same successively, and during their times, held the same in peace and obedience to the Law of *England*, were all dead without

Baron
Finglas,
Manuscript.

Issue: which happened about the fortieth yeare of King *Henry* the Third: for the eldest being married to *Hugh Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, who in right of his wife, had the Marshalship of *England*; The second, to *Warren de Mountchensy*, whose sole daughter and heire was match to *William de Valentia* halfe Brother to King *Henry* the Third, who by that match was made Earle of *Pembroke*; The third, to *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*; The fourth, to *William Ferrers*, Earle of *Darby*; The fifth, to *William de Bruce*, Lord of *Brecknocke*: These great Lordes, having greater inheritances in their own right in *England*, then they hadde in *Ireland* in right of their wives (and yet each of the Coparceners, had an entire Countie allotted for her purparty, as is before declared) could not be drawne to make their personal residence in this Kingdom; but managed their estates heere by their *Seneschals and Servants*. And to defend their territories against the bordering Irish, they entertained some of the Natives, who pretended a perpetuall Title to those great lordships. For the Irish after a thousande Conquests and Attainders by our law, would in those daies pretend title still, because by the Irish Lawe no man could forfeit his Land. These natives taking the opportunity in weake and desperate times, usurped those Seigniories; and so *Donald Mac Art Cavanagh*, being entertained by the Earl of *Norfolke*, made himselfe Lorde of the County of *Catherlogh*: And *Lisagh O Moore*, being trusted by the Lord *Mortimer*, who married the Daughter and Heire of the Lord *Bruce*, made himselfe Lord of the Lands in *Leix*, in the latter end of King *Edward* the Secondes raigne, as is before declared.

*Baron
Finglas,
Manuscript.*

Again, the decay and losse of *Ulster* and *Conaght*, is attributed to this; that the Lorde *William Bourke*, the last Earle of that name, died without issue Male; whose Ancestors, namely, the Red-Earle, and Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, before him, being personally resident, helde up their greatnesse there: and kept the English in peace, and the Irish in awe: But when those Provinces discended uppon an *Heire Female* and an *Infant*, the Irish overran *Ulster*, and the younger branches of the *Bourkes*, usurped *Conaght*. And therefore,

*Archiv.
Turr. Rot.
Parlia. n.
42.*

the Ordinance made in *England*, the Third of *Richard* the Second, against such as were absent from their Lands in *Ireland*; and gave two third parts of the profits thereof unto the King, untill they returned, or placed a sufficient number of men to defend the same, was grounded upon good reason of state: which Ordinaunce was put in execution for many yeares after, as appeareth by sundry seizures made thereupon, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth, whereof there remaine

*Archiv. in
Offic.
Remem.
Dublin.*

Recordes in the Remembrancers Office heere. Among the rest, the Duke of *Norfolke* himself was not spared, but was impleaded upon this Ordinance, for two parts of the profits of *Dorburies* Island, and other Landes in the Countie of *Wexford*, in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth. And afterwards, upon the same reason of State, all the Landes of the house of *Norfolke*, of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, the Lord *Barkly*, and others (who having Lands in *Ireland*, kept their continuall residence in *England*) were entirely resumed by the Act of Absentees, made in the 28 yeare of King *Henry* the Eighth.

*Act of
Absentees.
28 Hen. 8.*

But now againe, let us look back and see how long the effect of that reformation did continue, which was begun by *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, in the fortieth yeare of King *Edward* the Third, and what courses have bin held, to reduce and reforme this people by other Lieutenants and Governors since that time.

The English Colonies being in some good measure reformed by the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, did not utterly fall away into Barbarisme againe, till the warres of the two Houses had almost destroyed both these Kingdoms; for in that miserable time, the Irish found opportunity, without opposition, to banish the English Law and Government, out of all the Provinces, and to confine it onely to the English Pale: Howbeit, in the mean time, between the Government of the Duke of *Clarence*, and the beginning of those civill Warres of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, we find that the State of *England* did sundry times resolve to proceede in this worke of reformation.

*The re-
formation
intended*

For first, King *Richard* the Second sent over Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, to survey the possessions of the Crowne; and to

call to accompt the Officers of the revenue; Next, (to draw by King
his English Subjects to manure and defend their lands in *Richard 2.*
Ireland) he made that Ordinance against Absentees, spoken *Archiv.*
of before. Again, he shewed an excellent example of Justice, *Turr. 3*
upon Sir *Phillip Courtney*, being his lieutenant of that king- *Richard 2,*
dome, when he caused him to be arrested by special Com- *claus. m. 3.*
missioners, upon complaint made of sundry greivous oppres- *3 Richard 2,*
sions and wrongs, which during his Government, he had done *Rot. Par-*
unto that people. *liam. 11,*
42.
9 Richd. 2,
claus. m. 1.
Walsing. in
Richard 2,
349 a.

After this, the Parliament of England did resolve, that
Thomas Duke of Glocester the Kings Unkle, should be
employed in the reformation and reducing of that Kingdome:
the Fame wherof was no sooner bruted in *Ireland*, but all
the Irishry were ready to submit themselves, before his
coming: so much the very Name of a great personage,
specially of a Prince of the blood, did ever prevayle with this
people. But the King and his Minions, who were ever
jealous of this Duke of *Glocester*, would not suffer him to
have the honor of that service. But the King himselfe
thought it a worke worthy of his own presence and pains:
and thereupon, Himselfe in person, made those two royall
journies mentioned before: At what time, he received the
submissions of all the Irish Lordes and Captaines, who bounde
themselves both by indenture and oath to become and con-
tinue his Loyall Subjects. And withall, laid a particular
project, for a civill plantation of the Mountains and Maritime
Counties, betweene *Dublin* and *Wexford*; by removing all
the Irish Septs from thence, as appeareth by the covenants
betweene the Earle Marshall of England, and those Irish
Septs: which are before remembred, and are yet preserved,
and remaine of Record in the Kings Remembrancers Office
at *Westminster*. Lastly, this King being present in *Ireland*,
tooke speciall care to supply and furnish the Courtes of
Justice with able and sufficient Judges; And to that end, he
made that grave and learned Judge, Sir *William Hankeford*,
Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench heere (who afterwards for
his service in this Realme, was made Chiefe Justice of the
Kings Bench in England, by King *Henry* the Fourth,) and

Plac. coram
Rege in
Hibernia.
Hillar. 18
Richard 2.

did withall, associate unto him, *William Sturmy*, a well learned man in the Law; who likewise came out of England with the King, that the legal proceedings (which were out of order too, as all other things in that Realme were) might be amended, and made formall, according to the course and Presidents of *England*. But all the good purposes and projects of this King, were interrupted and utterly defeated, by his sodaine departure out of Ireland, and unhappy deposition from the Crowne of England.

The re-
formation
intended
by *Hen. 4.*

HOWBEIT, King *Henry* the Fourth, intending likewise to prosecute this noble worke in the thirde yeare of his raigne, made the Lord *Thomas of Lancaster*, his second sonne, Lieutenant of *Ireland*: Who came over in person, and accepted againe the submissions of divers Irish Lords and Captaines, as is before remembred; and held also a Parliament, wherein he gave newe life to the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, and made other good Lawes tending to the Reformation of the Kingdome. But the troubles rayseed against the King his father in England, drew him home again so soon, as that seed of reformation, tooke no roote at all; neither had his service in that kinde, any good effect or successe.

After this, the State of England had no leisure to thinke of a general reformation in this Realme, till the civill dissensions of England were apeased, and the peace of that kingdom settled by King *Henry* the Seventh.

For, albeit in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth, *Richard* duke of *York*, a Prince of the blood, of great wisdom and valour, and heir to a third part of the Kingdome at least, being Earle of *Ulster*, and Lord of *Conaght* and *Meth*, was sent the Kinges Lieutenant into Ireland, to recover and reforme that Realme where he was resident in person for the greatest part of 10 yeares, yet the troth is, he aymed at another marke, which was the Crown of *England*. And therefore, he thought it no pollicy to distast either the English or Irish, by a course of reformation, but sought by all meanes to please them, and by popular courses to steale away their hearts, to the end, he might strengthen his party,

when

when he should set on foot his Title (as is before declared.) Which policy of his tooke such effect, as that he drew over with him into England, the Flower of all the English Colonies, specially of *Ulster* and *Meth*, whereof many Noblemen and Gentlemen were slain with him at *Wakefield* (as is likewise before remembred.) And after his Death, when the warres between the Houses were in their heat, almost all the good English bloud which was left in Ireland, was spent in those civill dissentions: so as the Irish became victorious over all, *without Bloud, or Sweat*. Onely, that little Canton of Lande, called the English Pale, containing 4 small Shires, did maintain a bordering war with the Irish, and retaine the forme of English Government.

But out of that little Precinct, there were no Lordes, Knights, or Burgesses, summoned to the Parliament; neither did the Kings Writt run in any other part of the kingdome: and yet upon the Marches and Borders, which at that time were growne so large, as they tooke up halfe *Dublin*, half *Meth*, and a third part of *Kildare* and *Lowth*; there was no law in use, but the *March-Lawe*, which in the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, is said to be no Law, but a leud Custome.

So, as upon the end of these civill warres in *England*, the English Law and Government was well banisht out of Ireland, so as no foot-steppe or print was left of any former Reformation.

THEN did King *Henry* the Seventh send over Sir *Edward* The course of Reformation held by Sir Edward Poynings, in the time of King Henry 7. *Poynings* to be his Deputy, a right worthy servitor both in war and peace. The principall end of his employment was to expel *Perkin Warbecke* out of this kingdome; but that service being perfourmed, that worthy Deputy finding nothing but a common misery, tooke the best course he possibly could, to establish a Common-wealth in Ireland: and to that end, he helde a Parliament no lesse famous, then that of *Kilkenny*; and more availeable for the reformation of the whole Kingdome. For whereas all wise men did ever concur in opinion, that the readiest way to reform Ireland, is to settle a forme of Civill Government there, conformable to that of *England*:

Poynings
Act.

To bring this to passe, Sir *Edward Poynings* did passe an Acte, whereby all the Statutes made in *England* before that time were enacted, established, and made of force in *Ireland*. Neither did he onely respect the time past, but provided also for the time to come. For, he caused another Law to be made, that no Act should be propounded in any Parliament of *Ireland*, but such as should be first transmitted into *England*, and approved by the King and Counsell there, as good and expedient for that Land, and so returned backe againe, under the Great Seale of *England*. This Act, though it seeme *prima facie* to restrain the liberty of the subjects of *Ireland*; yet it was made at the Prayer of the Commons, upon just and important cause.

For the Governours of that realm, specially such as were of that Country Birth, had layd many oppressions upon the Commons: and amongst the rest, they had imposed Lawes upon them, not tending to the general good, but to serve private turnes, and to strengthen their particular factions. This moved them to referre all Lawes, that were to be passed in *Ireland*, to be considered, corrected, and allowed, first by the State of *England*, which had alwaies bin tender and carefull of the good of this people, and had long since made them a Civill, Rich, and Happy Nation, if their own Lords and Governours there, had not sent bad intelligence into *England*. Besides this, he took special order, that the summons of Parliament should go into all the shires of *Ireland*, and not to the foure shires onely; and for that cause specially, he caused all the Acts of a Parliament, lately before holden by the *Viscount of Gormanston*, to be repealed and made voide. Moreover, that the Parliamentes of *Ireland*, might want no desent or honourable forme that was used in *England*, he caused a particular Act to passe, that the Lords of *Ireland* should appeare in the like Parliament Robes, as the English Lords are wont to weare in the *Parliaments of England*. Having thus established all the Statutes of *England* in *Ireland*, and set in order the great Counsell of that Realme, he did not omit to passe other Lawes, as well for the encrease of the Kings Revenue, as the preservation of publick peace.

To advance the profits of the Crown; First he obtained a subsidy of 26s. 8d. out of every sixe score Acres manured, payable yearly for 5 years. Next, he resumed all the Crown land, which had been aliened (for the most part) by *Richard Duke of Yorke*: and lastly, he procured a subsidy of *Pondage*, out of all Merchandizes imported and exported, to be granted to the Crown in perpetuity.

To preserve the publicke peace, he revived the Statutes of *Kilkenny*. He made wilful murther High-Treason; he caused the Marchers to book their men for whom they should answer; and restrained the making Warre or Peace, without special Commission from the State.

These Lawes, and others as important as these, for the making of a commonwealth in Ireland, were made in the Government of Sir *Edward Poynings*. But these Lawes did not spread their Vertue beyonde the English Pale, though they were made generally for the whole *Kingdome*. For the *Provinces* without the *Pale*, which during the warre of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, had wholly cast off the English Government, were not apt to receyve this seed of reformation, because they were not first broken and mastered againe with the sword. Besides, the *Irish Countreyes*, which contained two third parts of the *Kingdome*, were not reduced to Shire-Ground, so as in them the Lawes of *England* could not possibly be put in Execution. Therefore, these good Lawes and provisions made by Sir *Edward Poynings*, were like good lessons set for a Lute, that is broken and out of tune; of which Lessons, little use can be made, till the Lute be made fit to be plaid upon.

And that the execution of all these *Lawes*, had no greater Latitude then the *Pale*, is manifest by the Statute of 13 of *Henry* the Eight, c. 3, which reciteth, that at that time, the *Kings* Lawes were obeyed and executed in the four shires onely; and yet then was the *Earle of Surrey Lieutenant of Ireland*, a Governor much feared of the *Kings* Enemies, and exceedingly honoured and beloved of the *Kings* subjects. And the instructions given by the state of Ireland, to *John Allen*, Maister of the *Rols*, employed into *England*, neere

The Coun-
sell Booke

of Ireland. about the same time, doe declare as much; wherein among
 16 Henry 8. other things, he is required to advertise the King, that his
 Land of Ireland was so much decayed, as that the Kings
 Lawes were not obeyed twenty miles in compas. Where-
 upon, grew that By-word used by the Irish, (viz;) *That they
 dwell Bywest the Law, which dwell beyond the River of the
 Barrow*, which is within 30 miles of *Dublin*. The same is
 testified by Baron *Finglas*, in his *Discourse of the Decay of
 Ireland*, which he wrote about the 20 yeare of King *Henry
 the Eight*. And thus we see the effect of the Reformation
 which was intended by Sir *Edward Poynings*.

The refor-
 mation
 intended
 by the L.
*Leonard
 Grey*, 28
Henry 8.

*Annales
 Hibernias
 Manus.*

THE next attempt of Reformation, was made in the 28 yeare
 of King *Henry the Eight*, by the Lorde *Leonard Gray*, who
 was created Viscount of *Garny* in this Kingdome, and helde
 a *Parliament*, wherein many excellent Lawes were made.
 But to prepare the mindes of the people to obey these Lawes,
 he began first with a Martiall course: For being sent over to
 suppress the Rebellion of the *Giraldines*, (which he per-
 formed in a few months) he afterwards made a victorious
 Circuit round about the Kingdome; beginning in *Offaly*,
 against *O Connor*, who had ayded the *Giraldines* in their
 Rebellion; and from thence passing along through all the
 Irish Countries in *Leinster*, and so into *Munster*, where he
 tooke pledges of the degenerate Earle of *Desmond*, and thence
 into *Conaght*, and thence into *Ulster*; and then concluded
 this warlike Progresse with the Battell of *Belahoo*, in the
 Borders of *Meth*, as is before remembred.

The Coun-
 sell Booke
 of Ireland.
 28 Henry 8

The principall Septs of the Irishry being all terrified, and
 most of them broken in this journey, manie of their chiefe
 Lordes upon this Deputies returne came to *Dublin*, and made
 their submissions to the Crown of England; Namely, the
O Neales and *O Relies* of *Ulster*, *Mac Murrough*, *O Birne*, and
O Carrol of *Leinster*, and the *Bourks* of *Conaght*.

This preparation being made he first propounded and passed
 in Parliament these Lawes, which made the great alteration
 in the State *Ecclesiastical*; Namely, the *Act* which declared
 King *Henry the Eight* to be supreme Head of the Church of
 Ireland.

Ireland. The *Act* prohibiting Apeales to the Church of *Rome*: the *Act* for first fruites, and twentieth part to be paid to the King: the *Act* for Faculties and Dispensations: And lastly the *Act* that did utterly abolish the usurped Authoritie of the Pope. Next, for the encrease of the Kings Revennew: By one Act, he suppressed sundry Abbeyes and Religious Houses; and by another Act, resumed the Lands of the Absentees, (as is before remembered.)

And for the Civill Government, a special Statute was made, to abolish the Black-Rents and tributes, exacted by the Irish, upon the English Colonies; and another Law enacted, that the English Apparell, Language, and manner of living, should be used by all such, as would acknowledge themselves the Kings subjects. This Parliament being ended, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, was suddenly revokt, and put to death in England, so as he lived not to finish the worke of Reformation which he had begun: which notwithstanding, was well pursued by his successors Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*; Unto whom all the Lords and Chiefetanes of the Irishry, and of the degenerate English throughout the Kingdome, made their several submissions by Indenture (which was the fourth general submission of the Irish, made since the first attempt of the Conquest of Ireland) whereof the first was made to King *Henry* the Second, the second to King *John*, the third to King *Richard* the Second, and this last to Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, in 33 of *Henry* the Eight.

The course of Reformation pursued by Sir *Anthony St.-Leger*. Foure generall Submissions of the Irish.

In these Indentures of submission, all the Irish Lords do acknowledge King *Henry* the Eight to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and desire to be accepted of him as subjects. They confesse the Kings supremacy in all causes, and do utterly renounce the Popes Jurisdiction, which I conceive to be worth the noting, because, *when the Irish had once resolved to obey the King, they made no scruple to renounce the Pope* And this was not onely done by the meere Irish, but the chiefe of the degenerate English Families did perfourme the same: as *Desmond*, *Barry*, and *Roche*, in *Mounster*; and the *Bourkes*, which bore the Title of *Mac William* in *Conaght*.

The Counsell Booke of Ireland. 82, 83, and 84 of *Henry* 8.

The Irish and degenerate English renounce the Pope.

The Coun-
sell Booke
of Ireland.
33 Henry 8.

These submissions being thus taken, the Lorde Deputy and Counsell for the present Government of those Irish Counties, made certaine Ordinances of state, not agreeable altogether with the Rules of the Law of *England*; the reason whereof, is expressed in the preamble of those Ordinances; *Quia nondum sic sapiunt leges et Jura, ut secundum ea jam immediate vivere et regi possint.* The chiefe points or Articles of which Orders registered in the Counsell-Booke are these: That King *Henry* the Eight, should be accepted, reputed and named King of *Ireland*, by all the inhabitants of the Kingdome; that all Archbishops and Bishops should be permitted to exercise their Jurisdiction in every Diocesse throughout the Land: that tithes should be duely set out, and paide: that Children should not be admitted to Benefices: that for every manslaughter, and theft above 14 d. committed in the Irish Countries, the offender should pay a fine of 40 li. twenty pound to the King and 20 li. to the Captaine of the Country; and for every theft under 14 d. a fine of five marks should be paid 46 s. viij. d. to the Captaine, and 20 s. to the *Tanister*: That Horsemen and *Kearn* should not be imposed uppon the common people, to be fed and maintained by them: That the Maister should answer for his servants, and the Father for his Children. That *Cuttinges* should not be made by the Lord uppon his Tenants to maintaine war with his neighbors, but onely to beare his necessary expences, &c.

These Ordinances of state being made and published, there were nominated and appointed in every province, certaine Orderers or Arbitraters, who instead of these Irish *Brehons*, should heare and determine all their Controversies. In *Conaght*, the Archbishop of *Tuam*, the Bishop of *Clonfert*, Captaine *Wakeley*, and Captaine *Ovington*. In *Munster*, the Bishop of *Waterford*, the Bishop of *Corke* and *Rossc*, the Maior of *Corke*, and Maior of *Youghall*. In *Ulster*, the Archbishop of *Ardmagh* and the Lord of *Lowth*. And if any difference did arise, which they could not end, either for the difficultie of the cause, or for the obstinacy of the parties, they were to certifie the Lord Deputy and Counsell, who would decide the matter by their authority.

Hereuppon, the Irish Captaines of lesser Territories, which had ever bin oppressed by the greater and mightier; some, with Risings out; others, with *Bonaght*, and others, with *Cuttingses*, and spendings at pleasure, did appeale for Justice to the Lord Deputy; who uppon hearing their Complaints, did alwayes order, that they should all immediately depend uppon the King; and that the weaker should have no dependancy uppon the stronger.

Lastly, he prevailed so much with the greatest of them; Namely, *O Neale*, *O Brien*, and *Mac William*, as that they willingly did passe into *England* and presented themselves to the King, who thereuppon was pleased to advance them to the degree and honour of Earles, and to grant unto them their severall Countries, by Letters patents. Besides, that they might learne Obedience and Civility of manners, by often repairing unto the State, the King upon the motion of the same Deputy, gave each of them a house and Lands neere *Dublin*, for the entertainment of their severall traines.

This course, did this Governour take to reforme the Irishry; but withall, he did not omit to advance both the honour and profit of the King. For in the Parliament which he helde the 33 of *Henry* the Eight he caused an Acte to passe, which gave unto King *Henry* the Eight, his heyres and successors, the name, stile, and Title of *King* of Ireland; whereas before that time, the Kings of *England* were stiled but Lords of *Ireland*: albeit indeed, they were absolute *Monarks* thereof, and had in right all Royall and Imperial Jurisdiction and power there, as they had in the Realm of England. And yet because in the vulgar conceit the name of *King*, is higher then the name of Lorde; assuredly, the assuming of this title, hath not a little raysed the soveraignty of the King of England in the minds of this people. Lastly, this Deputy brought a great augmentation to the *Kings* Revenue, by dissolving of all the Monasteries and Religious Houses in Ireland, which was done in the same Parliament: and afterward, by procuring *Min* and *Cavendish*, two skilfull Auditours, to be sent over out of England. Who tooke an exact survey of all the possessions of the Crowne, and brought manie things into charge,

which had beene concealed and substracted for manie yeares before. And thus far did Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger* proceed, in the course of Reformation; which though it were a good beginning, yet was it far from reducing Ireland to the perfect Obedience of the Crowne of England. For all this while, the Provinces of *Conaght* and *Ulster*, and a good parte of *Leinster*, were not reduced to Shire-Ground. And though *Munster* were anciently divided into Counties, the people were so degenerate, as no Justice of Assise, durst execute his Commission amongst them. None of the Irish Lordes or Tenants were settled in their possessions, by any graunt or Confirmation from the Crowne, except the three great Earles before named; who notwithstanding, did govern their Tenants and Followers, by the Irish or *Brehon* Law; so as no treason, murther, rape, or theft, committed in those Countries, was inquired of, or punisht by the Law of England; and consequently no Escheat, Forfeiture, or Fine; no Revenue (certaine or casuall) did accrew to the Crowne out of those Provinces.

The course of Reformation prosecuted by *Thomas Earle of Sussex*, in the time of *Queen Mary*. *Leix* and *Offaly* made two Counties, 3 and 4 *Philip* and *Maria*.

The next worthy Governor that endeavoured to advance this Reformation, was *Thomas Earle of Sussex*; who having thoroughly broken and subdued the two most rebellious and powerful Irish Septs in *Leinster*; namely, the *Moore*s and *O Connors*, possessing the territories of *Leix* and *Offaly*, did by Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 *Phil.* and *Maria*, reduce those Countries into two severall Counties; naming the one, the *Kinges*; and the other the *Queenes* County; which were the first two Counties that had beene made in this Kingdome, since the twelfth yeare of King *John*; at what time the Territories then possessed by the English Colonies, were reduced into 12 Shires, as is before expressed.

This Noble Earle, having thus extended the Jurisdiction of the English Lawe into two Counties more, was not satisfied with that addition, but tooke a resolution to divide all the rest of the Irish Countries unreduced, into severall Shires; and to that end, he caused an Act to passe in the same Parliament, authorising the Lord Chancellour, from time to time, to award Commissions to such persons, as the Lord Deputy

should nominate and appoint, to viewe, and perambulate those Irish territories; and thereuppon, to divide and limit the same into such and so many severall Counties as they should thinke meete; which being certified to the Lord Deputy, and approved by him, should be returned and enrolled in the Chancery, and from thenceforth be of like force and effect, as if it were doone by Act of Parliament.

Thus did the Earle of *Sussex* lay open a passage for the Civill Government into the unreformed partes of this Kingdome, but himselfe proceeded no further then is before declared.

HOWBEIT afterwarde, during the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, (who hath lefte behinde him many Monuments of a good Governour in this Land) did not onely pursue that course which the Earle of *Sussex* began, in reducing the Irish Countries into Shires, and placing therein Sheriffes, and other Ministers of the Law; (for first he made the *Annaly* a Territory in *Leynster*, possessed by the Sept of *Offerralles*, one entire Shire by itselfe, and called it the County of *Longford*; and after that he divided the whole Province of *Conaght* into sixe Counties more; namely, *Clare* (which containeth all *Thomond*) *Galloway*, *Sligo*, *Mayo*, *Roscomon*, and *Leytrim*;) But he also had caused divers good Lawes to be made, and performed sundry other services, tending greatly to the Reformation of this Kingdome. For first, to diminish the greatnesse of the Irish Lordes, and to take from them the dependancy of the Common people, in the Parliament which he held 11 *Elizabeth*, he did abolish their pretended and usurped Captain-ships, and all exactions, and extortions incident thereunto. Next, to settle their Seigniories and possessions in a course of Inheritance, according to the course of the Common Law, he caused an Act to passe, whereby the Lord Deputy was authorised to accept their Surrenders, and to regrant estates unto them, to hold of the Crowne by English tenures and services. Againe, because the Inferior sort were loose and poor, and not amesnable to the Law; he provided by another Act, that five of the best and eldest persons of every Sept, should bring in all the idle persons of their sur-

The course of Reformation followed by Sir Henry Sidney in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

name, to be justified by the Law. Moreover, to give a civill education to the Youth of this Land in the time to come, provision was made by another Law, that there should be one Free-schoole, at least, erected in every Diocesse of the Kingdome. And lastly, to inure and acquaint the people of *Mounster* and *Conaght*, with the English Government againe (which had not been in use among them, for the space of 200 yeares before:) he instituted two Presidency Courtes in those two Provinces, placing Sir *Edward Fitton* in *Conaght*, and Sir *John Perrot* in *Mounster*.

To augment the Kings Revenue in the same Parliament, uppon the attainder of *Shane O Neale*, he resumed and vested in the Crowne, more then halfe the Province of *Ulster*: He raised the Customes uppon the principall commodities of the Kingdome: He reformed the abuses of the Exchequer, by many good orders and instructions sent out of *England*; and lastly, he established the composition of the *Pale*, in liewe of Purveyance and Sesse of Souldiers.

These were good proceedings in the worke of Reformation, but there were many defects and omissions withall; for though he reduced all *Conaght* into Counties, he never sent any Justices of Assize to visit that Province, but placed Commissioners there, who governed it onely in *A course of discretion*; part Martiall, and part Civill. Againe, in the Law that dooth abolish the Irish Captain-ships, he gave waie for the reviving thereof againe, by excepting such, as should be granted by Letters Patentes from the Crowne; which exception did indeede take away the force of that Law. For no Governour during Queene *Elizabeths* raigne, did refuse to grant any of those Captain-ships, to any pretended *Irish* Lord, who would *Desire*, and with his thankfulnessse *Deserve* the same. And againe, though the greatest part of *Ulster* were vested by Act of Parliament, in the actuall and reall possession of the Crowne; yet was there never any seisure made thereof, nor any part thereof brought into charge, but the Irish were permitted to take all the profits, without rendering any dutie or acknowledgement for the same; and though the Name of *O Neale* were damned by that Act, and the assuming thereof made

High treason; yet after that, was *Tirlagh Leynagh* suffered to beare that Title, and to intrude upon the possessions of the Crowne, and yet was often entertained by the State with favour. Neither were these lands resumed, by Act of 11 of *Elizabeth* neglected onely (for the Abbaies and religious Houses in *Tirone*, *Tirconnell*, and *Fermannagh*, though they were dissolved in the 33 of *Henry* the Eight, were never surveied nor reduced into charge, but were continually possest by the religious persons) untill his Majestie that now is, came to the Crowne; and that which is more strange, the Donations of Bishopprickes, being a flower of the Crowne (which the Kings of England did ever retaine in all their Dominions, when the Popes usurped authority was at the highest.) There were three Bishopprickes in *Ulster*; namely, *Derry*, *Rapho*, and *Clogher*, which neither *Queene Elizabeth*, nor any of her Progenitors did ever bestow; though they were the undoubted Patrons thereof. Soe as King *James* was the first King of England that did ever supply those Sees with Byshops, which is an argument eyther of great negligence, or of great weakness in the State and Governours of those times. And thus farre proceeded Sir *Henry Sidney*.

AFTER him, Sir *John Perrot*, who held the last Parliament in this Kingdome, did advance the *Reformation* in three principall points. First, in establishing the great composition of *Conaght*; in which service the wisdom and industry of Sir *Richard Bingham* did concur with him: next, in reducing the unreformed partes of *Ulster* into seaven shires; namely, *Ardmagh*, *Monahan*, *Tirone*, *Coleraine*, *Donegall*, *Fermannagh*, and *Cavan*; though in his time the Law was never executed in these new Counties by any Sheriffes or Justices of Assize, but the people left to be ruled still by their owne barbarous *Lordes* and *Lawes*: And lastly, by vesting in the Crowne, the Lands of *Desmond* and his Adherents in *Mounster*, and planting the same with English though that plantation were imperfect in many points.

The Reformation advanced by Sir John Perrot

AFTER Sir *John Perrot*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* did The service good

of William
Fitz-Wil-
liams tend-
ing to re-
formation.

good service in two other points. First, in raising a composition in *Mounster*; and then in settling the possessions both of the Lordes and Tenants in *Monahan*, which was one of the last Acts of State tending to the reformation of the Civill Government that was performed in the raigne of Queene ELIZABETH.

Thus we see, by what degrees and what policy and successe the Governours of this Land from tyme to tyme, since the beginning of the raigne of King *Edward* the Third, have endeavored to reforme and reduce this people to the perfect obedience of the Crowne of *England*: And we finde that before the Civill Warres of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, they did chiefly endeavour to bring backe the degenerate English Colonies, to their Duty and Allegeaunce, not respecting the meere Irish, whom they reputed as Aliens or Enemies of the Crowne. But after King *Henry* the Seaventh had united the Roses, they labored to reduce both English and Irish together, which worke, to what passe and perfection it was brought in the latter end of Queene *Elizabeths* raigne, hath bin before declared.

Whereof sometimes when I doe consider, I doe in mine owne Conceit compare the later Governours who went about to reforme the Civill Affaires in *Ireland*, unto some of the Kings of *Israell*, of whom it is said; That they were good Kings, but they did not cutt downe the groves, and High places, but suffered the people still to burne Incense, and commit Idolatry in them: so Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, the Earle of *Sussex*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, and Sir *John Perrot*, were good Governours, but they did not abolish the Irish Customes, nor execute the Law in the Irish Countries, but suffered the people to worship their barbarous Lordes, and to remaine utterly ignorant of their Duties to God and the King.

How the
Defects and
errors in
the govern-
ment of
Ireland
have bin
supplied
and amend-

AND now am I come to the happy raigne of my most Gracious Lord and Maister King *James*; in whose time, as *there hath been a concurrence of many great Felicities*: so this among others may be numbered in the first ranke; that all the Defects in the Government of *Ireland* spoken of before, have beene fully supplied in the first nine yeares of his raigne.

In which time, there hath bin more done in the worke and reformation of this *Kingdome*; then, in the 440 yeares which are past since the Conquest was first attempted.

ed since the
beginning
of his Ma-
jesties
Raigne.

Howbeit, I have no purpose in this Discourse, to set forth at large all the proceedings of the State heere in reforming of this *Kingdome*, since his Majesty came to the Crowne, for the parts and passages thereof are so many, as to express them fully, would require a severall Treatise. Besides, I for my part, since I have not flattered the former times, but have plainly laid open the negligence and errors of every Age that is past, would not willingly seeme to flatter the present, by amplifying the diligence and true Judgement of those Servitours, that have laboured in this Vineyard since the beginning of his Majesties happy raigne.

I shall therefore summarily, without any amplification at all, shewe in what manner, and by what degrees, all the defects which I have noted before in the Government of this *Kingdome*, have bin supplied since his Majesties happy raigne beganne; and so conclude these observations concerning the State of *Ireland*.

FIRST then, touching the Martiall affayres, I shall neede to say little, in regard that the Warre which finished the Conquest of *Ireland*, was ended almost in the instant when the crowne descended upon his Majesty; and so there remained no occasion to amend the former errors committed in the prosecution of the warre. Howbeit, sithence his Majesty hath still maintained an Army heere, aswell *For a Seminary of Martiall Men*; as to *Give strength and countenance to the Civill Magistrate*; I may justly observe, that this Army hath not bin fed with *Coigne and Livery*, or *Sesse* (with which Extortions the souldier hath bin norished in the times of former Princes), but hath *bin as justly and royally paid, as ever Prince in the world did pay his Men of warre*. Besides, when there did arise an occasion of employment for this army against the Rebell *Odoghertie*; neither did his Majesty delay the re-inforcing thereof, but instantly sent supplies out of *England* and *Scotland*; neither did the Martiall men dally or

Errors in
the carriage
of the mar-
tiall affaires
amended.

prosecute the Service faintly, but *Did foorthwith quench that fire, whereby themselves would have bin the warmer* the longer it had continued, aswell by the encrease of their entertainment, as by booties and spoile of the Countrey. And thus much I thought fit to note, touching the amendment of the Errors in the Martiall affaires.

How the Defects in the civill Govern-ment, have bin supplied.

1. By establishing the publicke peace.

SECONDLY, for the supply of the Defects in the civil Government, these courses have beene pursued since his Majesties prosperous raigne began.

First, albeit upon the end of the war, whereby *Tyrones* universall Rebellion was suppress, the minds of the people were broken and prepared to Obedience of the Law; yet the *State* upon good reason, did conceive, that the publicke peace could not be settled, till the hearts of the people were also quieted, by securing them from the danger of the law, which the most part of them had incurred one way or other, in that great and general confusion.

Therefore, first by a generall Act of State, called the *Act of Oblivion* published by *Proclamation* under the great Seale; All offences against the Crown, and all perticuler Trespasses between subject and subject, done at any time before his Majesties raigne, were (to all such as would come in to the Justices of Assise by a certaine day, and claime the benefit of this Act) pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question. And by the same proclamation, all the Irishry (who for the most part, in former times, were left under the tyranny of their Lords and Chieftaines, and had no defence or Justice from the Crowne) were received into his Majesties *immediate protection*. This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued, the calmest, and most universall peace, that ever was seen in *Ireland*.

2. By establishing the publicke Justice in every part of the Kingdome.

The publicke peace being thus established, the State proceeded next to establish the publicke Justice in every part of the Realm: And to that end, Sir *George Cary* (who was a prudent Governor, and a just, and made a fair entry into the right way of reforming this Kingdome) did in the first yeare

of his Majesties raigne, make the first Sheriffes that ever were made in *Tyrone* and *Tirconnell*; and shortly after, sent Sir *Edmund Pelham* Chiefe Baron, and myselfe thither, the first Justices of Assise that ever sat in those *Countries*: and in that Circuit, we visited all the shires of that Province: Besides which visitation, though it were some-what distastfull to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the Common people; who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come.

The Lawe having made her Progresse into *Ulster* with so good successe, Sir *Arthur Chichester* (who with singular Industry, Wisedome, and Courage, hath now for the space of 7 years and more, prosecuted the great worke of Reformation, and brought it well-neere to an absolute perfection) did in the first year of his government, establish two other *Newe* Circuits for Justices of Assise; the one in *Conaght*, and the other in *Mounster*. I call them *Newe* Circuits, for that, although it be manifest by manie Recordes, that *Justices Itinerant* have in former times beene sent into all the shires of *Mounster*, and some part of *Conaght*; yet certaine it is, that in 200 yeares before (I speake much within compasse) no such Commission had bin executed in either of these 2 Provinces. But now, the whole Realme being divided into *Shires*, and everie bordering Territory, whereof anie doubt was made in what County the same should ly, being added or reduced to a County certaine (among the rest, the *Mountaines* and *Glynnes* on the south side of *Dublin*, were lately made a Shire by itself, and called the County of *Wicklow*: whereby the Inhabitants which were wont to be Thorns in the side of the *Pale*, are become civill and quiet Neighbors thereof,) the streams of the publicke Justice were derived into every part of the Kingdome; and the benefit and protection of the law of England communicated to all, aswell Irish as English, without distinction or respect of persons; By reason whereof, the worke of deriving the publick Justice,

grew so great, as that there was *Magna messis, sed Operarii pauci*. And therefore, the number of the Judges in every Bench was increased, which do now every halfe yeare (like good *Planets* in their severall *sphaeres* or *circles*) carry the light and influence of Justice, round about the *Kingdom*; whereas the Circuits in former times, went but round about the *Pole*, like the Circuit of the *Cynosura* about the *Pole*.

Quæ cursu interiore, brevi convertitur orbe.

The good effects which followed the execution of the law thorough-out the Kingdome.

UPON these Visitations of Justice, whereby the just and honourable Law of England was imparted and communicated to all the Irishry, there followed these excellent good effects.

First, the Common people were taught by the Justices of Assise, that they were free subjects to the Kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended Lords: That the *Cuttings, Cosheries, Sessings*, and other Extortions of their Lords, were unlawfull, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and mighty a Prince, as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions: They gave a willing eare unto these lessons; and thereupon, the greatnesse and power of those Irish Lords over the people, sodainly fell and vanished, when their Oppressions and Extortions were taken away which did maintain their greatnesse: Insomuch, as divers of them, who formerly made themselves Owners of all (by Force;) were now by the law reduced to this point; That wanting meanes to defray their ordinary charges, they resorted ordinarily to the Lord Deputy, and made petition, that by License and warrant of the State, they might take some aid and contribution from their people; aswell to discharge their former debts, as for competent maintenance in time to come: But some of them being impatient of this diminution, fled out of the Realme to forraign Countries. Whereupon, we may well observe; That, *as Extortion did banish the old English Free-holder, who could not live but under the Law; So the Law did banish the Irish Lord, who could not live but by Extortion.*

Againe, these Circuits of Justice, did (upon the end of the

warre) more terrifie the loose and idle personnes, then the execution of the martial law, though it were more quicke and sodaine: and in a short time after, did so cleare the Kingdome of Theeves, and other Capital Offenders, as I dare affirme, that for the space of five yeares last past, there have not bin found so many Malefactors worthy of death in all the six Circuits of this realm (which is now divided into 32 shires at large) as in one Circuit of six Shires; namely, the Westernne Circuit in England. For the troth is, that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearefull to offend the Law, then the English, or any other Nation whatsoever.

Againe, whereas the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all their Rebellions, was, *Our Ignorance of their Countries, their Persons, and their Actions*: Since the Law and her Ministers have had a passage among them, all their places of Fastnesse have been discovered and laide open; all their paces cleared; and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is knowne, not onely how they live, and what they doe, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do: Insomuch, as *Tirone* hath been heard to complaine, that he hade so many eyes watching over him, as he coule not drinke a full Carouse of Sacke, but the State was advertised thereof, within few houres after. And therefore, those allowances which I finde in the ancient Pipe-Rolles, *Pro guidagio, et spiagio*, may be well spared at this day. For the Under-Sheriffes and Bayliffes errant, are better guides and Spies in the time of peace, then any were found in the time of war.

Moreover, these civil assemblies at Assises and Sessions, have reclaymed the Irish from their wildnesse, caused them to cut off their Glibs and long Haire; to convert their Mantles into Cloaks; to conform themselves to the manner of *England* in all their behaviour and outward formes. And because they find a great inconvenience in moving their suits by an Interpreter; they do for the most part send their Children to Schools, especially to learne the English language: so as we may conceive an hope, that the next generation, will in tongue and heart, and every way else, become *English*; so as

there will be no difference or distinction, but the Irish Sea betwixt us. And thus we see a good conversion, and the *Irish Game turned againe*.

For heretofore, the neglect of the Lawe, made the English degenerate and become Irish: and now, on the other side, the execution of the Law, doth make the Irish grow civil, and become English.

Lastly, these generall Sessions now, do teach the people more obedience, and keep them more in awe then did the general hostings in former times. These Progresses of the Law, renew and confirme the Conquest of *Ireland* every halfe yeare, and supply the Defect of the Kings absence in every part of the Realme; In that every Judge sitting in the seat of Justice, dooth represent the person of the King himselfe.

These effectes, hath the establishment of the publicke *Peace* and *Justice* produced since his Majesties happie Raigne began.

3.
The settling of the
States and
possessions
of the
Irishry,
aswell as of
the English.

Howbeit, it was impossible to make a Common-weale in Ireland, without performing another service; which was, the settling of all the Estates and possessions, aswell of Irish, as English, throughout the Kingdome.

For although that in the 12 year of Queen ELIZABETH, a special Law was made, which did enable the Lord Deputy to take surrenders, and regrant Estates unto the Irishry (upon signification of her Majesties pleasure in that behalfe;) yet were there but few of the Irish Lords that made offer to surrender during her raigne: and they which made surrenders of entire Countries, obtained Graunts of the whole againe to themselves onely, and to no other, and all in demeanne. In passing of which Graunts, there was no care taken of the inferior Septes, of people, inhabiting and possessing these Countries under them, but they held their severall portions in course of Tanistry and Gavelkind, and yielded the same Irish Duties or exactions, as they did before: So that upon every such Surrender and Graunt, there was but one Freeholder made in a whole Country, which was the Lord himselfe; all the rest were but tenants at Wil, or rather tenants in villenage, and were neither fit to be sworne in Juries, nor

to performe any publicke service: And by reason of the uncertainty of their Estates, did utterly neglect to build, or to plant, or to improve the Land. And therefore, although the Lorde were become the Kings Tenant, his Countrey was no whit reformed thereby, but remained in the former Barbarisme and Desolation.

Againe, in the same Queens time, there were many Irish Lordes which did not surrender, yet obtained Letters Patents of the Captaine-ships of their Countries, and of all Lands and Duties belonging to those Captaine-ships: For the Statute which doth condemn and abolish these Captain-ries, usurped by the Irish, doth give power to the Lorde Deputy to graunt the same by Letters Patents. Howbeit, these Irish Captaines, and likewise the English, which were made Seneschalles of the Irish countries, did by colour of these Graunts, and under pretence of Government, claime an Irish Seigniory, and exercise plaine tyranny over the Common people. And this was the fruite that did arise of the Letters Patents, granted of the Irish Countries in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, where before they did extort and oppresse the people, only by colour of a leud and barbarous Custom; they did afterwards use the same Extortions and Oppressions by warrant, under the great seal of the Realme.

But now, since his Majesty came to the Crown, two speciall Commissions have bin sent out of England, for the settling and quieting of all the possessions in Ireland; The one for accepting Surrenders of the Irish and degenerate English, and for regranting Estates unto them, according to the course of the common Law; The other, for strengthening of defective Titles. In the execution of which Commissions, there hath ever bin had a special care, to settle and secure the Under-Tenants; to the end there might be a repose and establishment of every subjects Estate; Lord and Tenant, Free-holder and Farmer, thoroughout the Kingdome.

Upon Surrenders, this course hath bin helde from the beginning; when an Irish Lord doth offer to surrender his Country, his surrender is not immediately accepted, but a Commission is first awarded, to enquire of three special

How the Commissions for Surrenders, and defective Titles, have bin put in execution.

points: First, of the quantity and limits of the Land whereof he is reputed owner. Next, how much himselfe doth hold in demeasne, and how much is possest by his Tenants and Followers. And thirdly, what Customes, Duties and Services, he doth yearly receive out of those lands. This Inquisition being made and returned, the Lands which are found to be the Lords proper possessions in demeasne, are drawne into a *Particular*; and his Irish Duties; as *Cosherings*, *Sessings*, *Rents of Butter and Oatmeale*, and the like; are reasonably valued and reduced into certaine *Summes of Money*, to be paid yearly in lieu thereof. This being done, the surrender is accepted; and thereupon a Grant passed, not of the whole Country, as was used in former times, but of those Lands onely, which are found in the Lords possession, and of those certaine summes of Money, as Rents issuing out of the rest. But the Lands which are found to be possest by the Tenants, are left unto them, respectively charged with these certain Rents onely, in lieu of all uncertaine Irish exactions.

In like manner, upon all *Graunts*, which have past by vertue of the commission, for defective Titles, the Commissioners have taken speciall Caution, for preservation of the Estates of all particular Tenants.

No Grant
of Irish
Captain-
shippes, or
Seneschal-
shippes,
since his
Majesties
raigne.

And as for *Graunts of Captaine-shippes* or *Seneschal-shippes*, in the Irish Countries; albeit, this Deputy had as much power and authority to graunt the same, as any other Governors had before him; and might have raised as much profit by bestowing the same, if he had respected his private, more then the publicke good; yet hath he bin so farre from passing any such in all his time, as he hath endeavoured to resume all the *Graunts* of that kinde, that have bin made by his Predecessors to the end, the inferiour subjects of the Realme, should make their only and immediate dependencie upon the Crowne. And thus we see, how the greatest part of the possessions, (aswell of the Irish as of the English) in *Leinster*, *Conaght*, and *Mounster*, are settled and secured since his Majestie came to the Crowne: whereby the hearts of the people are also settled, not only to live in peace, but raised

and encouraged to builde, to plant, to give better education to their children, and to improve the commodities of their Landes; whereby the yearly value thereof, is already encreased double of that it was within these few yeares, and is like daily to rise higher, till it amount to the price of our Lande in England.

LASTLY the possessions of the Irishry in the Province of *Ulster*, though it were the most rude and unreformed part of Ireland, and the *Seat* and *Nest* of the last great rebellion, are now better disposed and established, then any the lands in the other *Provinces*, which have bin past and settled upon Surrenders. For, as the occasion of the disposing of those Lands, did not happen without the speciall providence and finger of God, which did cast out those wicked and ungratefull Traitors, who were the only enemies of the reformation of *Ireland*: so the distribution and plantation thereof, hath bin projected and prosecuted, by the speciall direction and care of the King himselfe; wherein his Majesty hath corrected the errors before spoken of, committed by King *Henry* the Second, and King *John*, in distributing and planting the first conquered Landes. For, although there were six whole Shires to be disposed, his Majesty gave not an entire Country, or County, to any particular person; much lesse did he graunt *Jura Regalia*, or any extraordinary Liberties. For the best *British Undertaker*, had but a proportion of 3000 Acres for himself, with power to create a Mannor, and hold a Court Baron: Albeit, many of these *Undertakers*, were of as great birth and quality, as the best Adventurers in the first conquest. Again, his Majesty did not utterly exclude the Natives out of this plantation with a purpose to root them out, as the Irish were excluded out of the first *English Colonies*; but made a mixt plantation of *British* and *Irish*, that they might grow up together in one Nation: Onely, the Irish were in some places transplanted from the Woods and Mountaines, into the Plaines and open Countries, that being removed (like wild fruit trees) they might grow the milder, and beare the better and sweeter fruit. And this truly, is

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the

the Maister-piece, and most excellent part of the worke of Reformation, and is worthy indeed of his Majesties royall paines. For when this plantation hath taken root, and bin fixt and settled but a few yeares, with the favour and blessing of God (for the son of God himselfe hath said in the Gospell, *Omnis Plantatio, quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicabitur*) it will secure the peace of *Ireland*, assure it to the Crown of England for ever; and finally, make it a Civill, and a Rich, a Mighty, and a Flourishing Kingdome.

I omit to speake of the increase of the Revenue of the Crown, both certaine and casuall, which is raised to a double proportion (at lest) above that it was, by deriving the publick Justice into all parts of the Realm; by settling all the possessions, both of the Irish and English, by re-establishing the compositions; by restoring and resuming the Customes; by reviving the Tenures in *Capite*, and *Knights-Service*; and reducing many other things into charge, which by the confusion and negligence of former times, became concealed and subtracted from the Crowne. I forbear likewise to speak of the due and ready bringing in of the Revenue, which is brought to passe by the well-ordering of the Court of *Exchequer*, and the authority and paines of the Commissioners for Accompts.

I might also adde heereunto, the encouragement that hath bin given to the Maritime Townes and Cities, as well to increase their trade of Marchandize, as to cherrish Mechanicall Arts and Sciences; in that all their Charters have bin renewed, and their Liberties more enlarged by his Majesty, then by any of his Progenitors since the Conquest. As likewise, the care and course that hath been taken, to make Civil Commerce and entercourse betweene the Subjects, newly reformed and brought under Obedience, by granting Markets and Faires to be holden in their Countries, and by erecting of corporate Townes among them.

Briefly, the clock of the civil Government, is now well set, and all the wheelles thereof doe move in Order; The strings of this Irish Harpe, which the Civill Magistrate doth finger, are all in tune (for I omit to speak of the State Ecclesiasticall)

and make a good Harmony in this Commonweale: So as we may well conceive a hope, that *Ireland* (which heeretofore might properly be called the *Land of Ire*, because the *Irascible* power was predominant there, for the space of 400 yeares together) will from henceforth proove a Land of *Peace* and *Concorde*. And though heeretofore it hath bin like the leane Cow of Egypt in *Pharaohs* Dreame, devouring the fat of *England*, and yet remaining as leane as it was before, it will heereafter be as fruitfull as the land of *Canaan*; the description whereof, in the 8 of *Deutronomie*, doth in every part agree with *Ireland*; being, *Terra Rivorum, aquarumque, et Fontium; in cujus Campis, et Montibus, erumpunt fluviorum abyssi; Terra frumenti, et hordei; Terra lactis, et mellis; ubi absque ulla penuria comedes panem tuum, et rerum abundantia perfrueris.*

And thus I have discovered and expressed the Defects and Errors, aswell in the *mannaging of the Martiall Affaires*, as *Of the Civil*; which in former Ages gave impediment to the reducing of all Ireland, to the *Obedience and Subjection* of the Crowne of England. I have likewise observed, what courses have bin taken, to *Reforme the Defects and Errors in Government*, and to *reduce the People of this Land to Obedience*, since the beginning of the raigne of King *Edward the Third*, till the latter end of the raigne of Queen *Elizabeth*.

And lastly, I have declared and set forth, *How all the said Errors have bin corrected, and the Defects supplied under the prosperous Government of his Majesty*; So as I may positively conclude in the same words, which I have used in the Title of this Discourse; *That untill the beginning of his Majesties Raigne, Ireland was never entirely subdued, and brought under the Obedience of the Crown of England.* But since the Crown of this kingdom, with the undoubted right and Title thereof, disceded upon his Majesty; The whole Island from Sea to Sea, hath bin brought into his Highnes peaceable possession; and all the Inhabitants, in every corner thereof, have bin absolutely reduced under his immediate subjection. In which condition of subjects, they will gladly continue, without defection or adhering to any other *Lord* or *King*,

King, as long as they may be *Protected*, and *Justly Governed*, without *Oppression* on the one side, or *Impunity* on the other.

- For, there is no Nation of people under the sunne, that doth love equall and indifferent Justice, better then the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves; so as they may have the protection and benefit of the Law, when uppon just cause they do desire it.

FINIS.

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